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JOURNAL  
OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY  
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OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



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VOL. XLIV.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.)

(Nos. I to IV.—1875: with twenty-six plates and six woodcuts.)

EDITED BY

THE PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.



"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.



CALCUTTA :

PRINTED BY C. B. LEWIS, AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

1875.

23-92460 - July 25



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# LIST OF PLATES

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- Pl. I & Pl. II (p. 3). Facsimile of a copper plate grant by Lakshman Sen, king of Bengal, found at Torpondighi, Dinájpur.
- Pl. III (p. 23). Sculptures on the gateway at Udayagiri, Orísá.
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# ERRATA

IN

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, FOR 1875.

## PART I.

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- Page 27, l. 33, put the [      ] before 'but such was.'  
,, 30, l. 11, *et passim*, for *Ṭughluḡ* read *Tughluḡ*.  
,, 31, l. 11, for *Muhammad Súrí* read *Muhammad-i-Súrí*.  
,, 32, l. 4, from below, for *Arab* read *the Arab*.  
,, 33, l. 10, the semicolon belongs to the end of the preceding line.  
,, 34, l. 14, for *history* read *history is*.  
,, 36, l. 1, for *shortly* read *stoutly*.  
,, 37, l. 1, for *ul-Mamálik* read *wa Mamálik*.  
,, 58, l. 3, from below, for *ngto* read *nglo*.  
,, 68, l. 19, put an H. before 'makhü'.  
,, 276, l. second note. Add—General A. Cunningham, C. S. I., identifies *ادوند بهار* with the *Otanta Vihára*, mentioned in Vassilief's 'Bouddisme' (French Translation, p. 56).  
,, 281, line 7 of the note, for *son* read *sons*.
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# JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1873.

*A Copper Plate containing a grant of land by Lakshman Sen of Bengal, found near Torpon-dighí in the District of Dínájpur, 1874.—*  
By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, C. S.

(With two plates.)

Among the works undertaken to employ the people in Dínájpúr during the scarcity of 1873-4 was the deepening of a small tank to the north of the one called Torpon-dighí, or 'the tank of offerings,' six or seven miles S. S. E. of the ancient Muhammadan capital of Debkot, and the Hindú remains called the city of Ban Rájá. 'Two miles to the eastward is a mauza', called Báneshwarbátí, and Doctor Buchanan, in his account of Dínájpur,\* mentions the traditions connecting this neighbourhood with the mythical Ban Rájá.

From the mud at the bottom of this small tank was dug a copper plate, thirteen inches long by eleven and a half wide, engraved on both sides with a grant of land made to a Bráhmaṇ by Lakshman Sen, a prince of the Hindú dynasty which Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí found on the throne of Bengal, when he carried the Muhammadan arms into that province, A. D. 1203.

At the top of the plate is affixed a circular relief, nearly three inches across, in copper, representing a ten-armed god, very similar to that lithographed by Mr. James Prinsep as at the head of a plate containing a record of a grant made by Keshab Sen, son of Lakshman Sen, found in par-ganah Edilpúr, zila' Báqirganj.†

The character approaches more nearly to that of the Keshab Sen plate, so far as I can judge of the latter from Mr. Prinsep's lithograph of a somewhat imperfect impression, than to that of any other plate which I have

\* Page 660, Vol. ii, Martin's Eastern India.

† Page 40, Vol. vii, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal.

had an opportunity of examining, but differences are perceptible, the later plate tending more to the modern Bengali. Both are of a type rather Bengali than Devanāgarī, and of a type which has advanced nearer to the Bengali than the Āṅgāchhī plate of the Pāls,\* or the inscription in the pillar in the Dīnājpur Rājbarī.† The र in both Sen plates is the Bengali one, while in the Āṅgāchhī and Rājbarī inscriptions it is the Devanāgarī. क, ज, त, ङ, द, न, प, ब, and most of the letters are identical in both Sen plates, and more Bengali than Devanāgarī; इ, ए, च, श, are the same, and at first sight remote from either Bengali or Devanāgarī; य, and घ are undistinguishable in both plates, being nearer the Devanāgarī form than the Bengali, which appears first in the Buddha Gaya inscription,‡ engraved after the death of Lakshman Sen. The letters in which Lakshman Sen's plate appear nearer Bengali than the Āṅgāchhī plate of Vighraha Pal, are त, घ, भ, श, र, and those in which Keshab Sen's plate seem to show a further step in the same direction, are च, झ, ञ, स, and the composite form of द्.

The only inscriptions relative to the Sen kings quoted by Professor Lassen§ are the Keshab Sen plate and the Buddha Gaya inscription above mentioned. In the former the Professor makes a mistake between the names of Mādhab and Keshab Sen. The grant is made by Keshab Sen, son of Lakshman Sen, and, wherever the name of the grantor occurs, there are marks which Mr. Prinsep considered the signs of the erasure of another name. As the father's name remains unaltered, the name for which that of Keshab Sen was substituted, must be that of a brother, and, from the list of Sen kings given in the Aīn i Akbarī by Abul Fazl, Mr. Prinsep suggests that of Mādhab Sen, which has the same prosodiacal value as Keshab.

I have, however, met with a notice of another copper plate, containing a grant by Lakshman Sen, which does not appear to be generally known. A transcript is given at page 371, Part II, of a Bengali work, entitled "A discourse on the Bengali Language and Literature" by Ramgati Nyaratna (Hooghly, Samvat 1930). The transcriber wrote, he says, not from the original plate, but from a copy in the Bengali character sent him by Bābu Hari Dās Datt, zamīndār of Mojilpur, and he admits that Holo-dhor Churamoni, who tried to translate it, could not read every letter of it, but supplied the gaps conjecturally. Comparing his transcript with my plate, I find that the discrepancies are so slight, that I attribute them to mistakes made either by the transcriber, or by one of the engravers of the original plate, and I find that the grants are, with variations of little more than single letters, word for word the same down to the word *bhuktyantah*

\* As. Res., ix, 440.

† Ind. Ant., i, 126.

‡ Page 657, Vol. v, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal.

§ Page 746, Vol. iii, Indische Alterthumskunde.

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Printed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.





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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
विष्णुविग्रहो  
निमहात्म्ये ॥

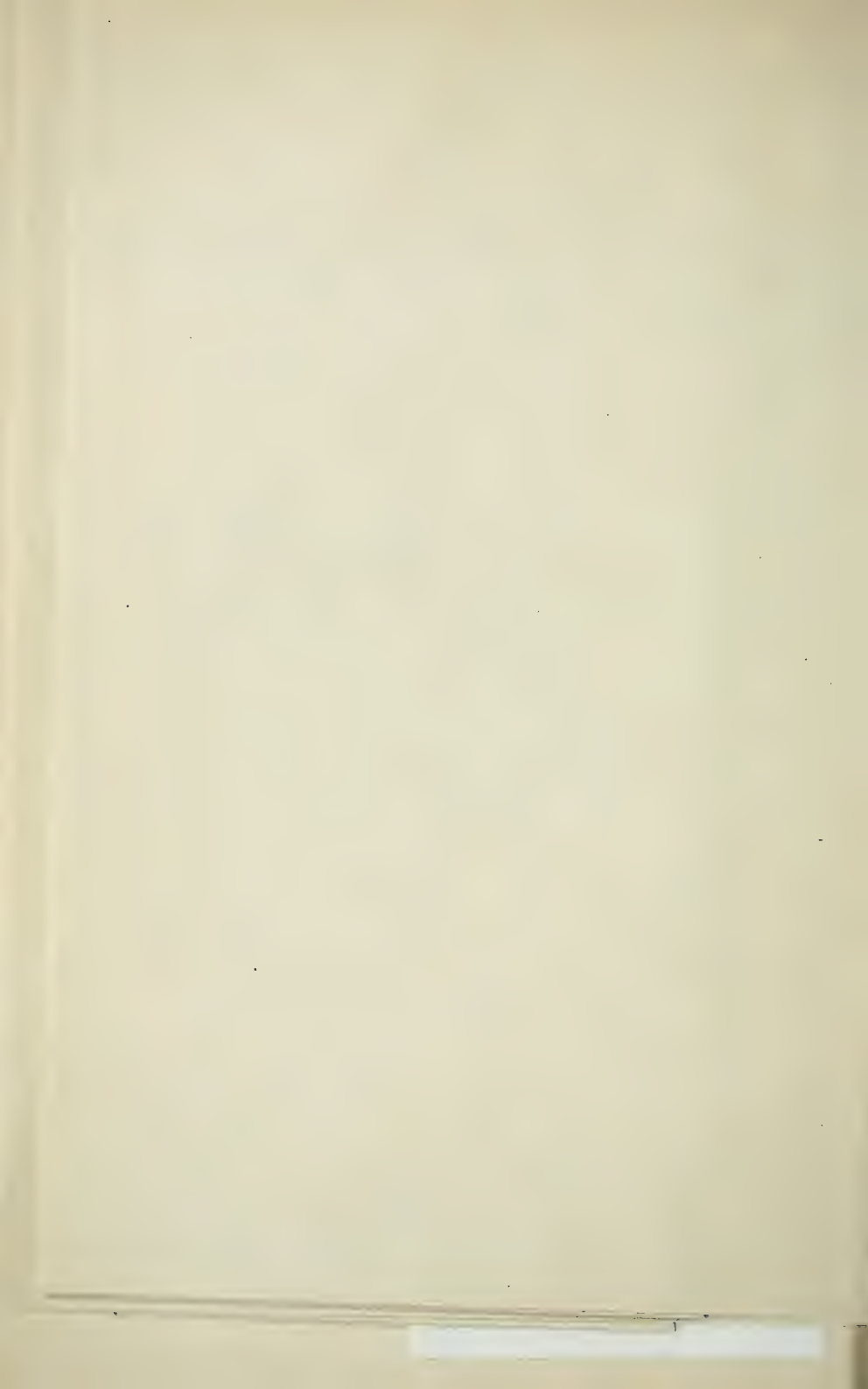
Printed at the Government Press, Calcutta.

KANPUR.





*A. P. M. L.*



*pāti*, after which different names of places and different boundaries are given. After identifying the land, the grant goes on, as mine does, with the words *samātabistah sajalasthalah sag*, where the page containing the remainder of the grant is missing.

Besides this, I hear that Mr. Beveridge has recently found a fourth copperplate of the Sen dynasty in the district of Báqirganj, but I regret not having seen it.

The grant which I am now discussing opens with an invocation to Náráyana, with which should be compared the epithet *paramabaishnava*, afterwards applied to the King making the grant.

The first stanza is an allusion to Siva, under the name of Sambhu, the various attributes of a fertilising cloud being compared with those of that deity, as depicted in the drawing of Ishwara, given on page 249, Vol. i, Asiatic Researches, namely, his matted hair, in which Basaki, the king of Serpents, is entwined, and from which Ganges flows, the crescent moon on his brow, the necklace of human skulls, and the humour of abstraction. I am bound to say that Bábu Mohesh Chandra Chakravarti, to whose assistance I am indebted for the translation, refuses to accept my reading of "necklace of white skulls" for *swetasiromálá*, saying that the expression must refer to a white garland on the head.

The second stanza is in honour of the moon, from which, in the *Chandra-vangsha*, the Sens evidently claim descent.

In the third, the poison of hostile kings is neutralised by the juice of some twining plant, to which the feet of the kings of the *Chandra-vangsha* are compared, a plant watered with the light of the gems on the coronets of prostrate kings.

The fourth stanza compares the effect produced upon their enemies by the Sen kings, with the influence of the season called *Hemanta*, the months of *Karttik* and *Agrahāyan*. Bábu Mohesh Chandra Chakravarti thinks *Hemanta* the name of an ancestor of the Sens. If so, he is not mentioned in Keshab Sen's plate. If he is a person, both he and Bijay Sen are spoken of as conquerors, but I can trace no reference by which to identify the dynasty supplanted, and to say whether it was or not that of the Pál kings of Gaur, one of whom, Vighraha Pál Deb, in the Ámgáchhí plate, speaks of his dominions or a province thereof as Paundra-Varddhana, the name used by both Lakshman Sen and his son Keshab.

The first of the Sen kings mentioned by Abul-Fazl is Su Sen, whom he makes the immediate predecessor of Ballál Sen. I do not consider Abul-Fazl's authority worth much as regards the pre-Muhammadan dynasties of Bengal, and unhesitatingly accept the testimony of the copper plates, as to the name of Bijay Sen.

Negatively the plates support the theory that Ballál Sen was not, as

the Bengal traditions say, the son of Adisur, or of the wife of Adisur, who brought Kanauj Bráhmans into Bengal. It is true that Abul-Fazl places a dynasty of which Adisur was the first, and then all the Pál kings, between Adisur and the Sens, but as I have already said, I care little for Abul-Fazl's authority, and until I found that these plates failed to support it, I have been inclined to believe the Bengal tradition. The Chakravarti family, whose ancestor is said to have been one of the Bráhmans invited by Adisur, date his migration into Bengal, from family records, in the end of the tenth century of the Christian era, which would bring Adisur after the Páls, and, in a paper on the Pál kings, I have already said that it appeared very probable that it should be upon the fall of the Pál Buddhist dynasty, that Adisur should restore Bráhmans from the west, and that his successor, Ballál Sen, should continue the work by thoroughly revising the caste system, as he is, by a very general tradition, said to have done. I can only say that I get nothing to support this theory from the Sen plates.

Passing on to Ballál Sen, the expressions used are again disappointingly vague. He too is spoken of as a conqueror, and one who walked in the way of the Veda, but there is no allusion to his traditional labours in the organisation of caste, which have rendered him famous. Lakshman Sen, his son, who makes the grant, is said to have lived at Bikrampur, which I do not hesitate to identify with the old Bikrampur near Dháká. The Paṇḍit employed by Mr. Prinsep has misunderstood the phrase giving the residence of Keshab Sen,\* and I cannot from the lithograph read the name of the place. In the Monghyr grant the name is clear, *Mudgo-giri samábáshita srimajjayaskandabarát*; in the Ámgáchhí grant the word before *samábáshita srimajjayaskandabarát* is illegible. In my plate, *Bikrampur* is quite clear; in the Keshab Sen plate I cannot read it, but the Paṇḍit reads it *Jambu-gráma parisar*, which represents no known place.

When the Muhammadans entered Bengal, A. D. 1203, they found the Sen King reigning at Nadiá, but for some generations their descendants retained some power in the neighbourhood of Bikrampur and Sunárgáon, and the indications of rebellious zamíndárs, against whom the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal from time to time led their forces into Eastern Bengal, probably refer to them.

The King is called *parameshwara paramabaishnaba parama bhattaraka*. The second of these phrases shows him to have been a worshipper of Vishnu, and in the Monghyr plate is replaced by *parama saugata*, Deb Pal being a Buddhist. In the Ámgáchhí plate the epithet corresponding to this is unfortunately illegible. The Keshab Sen plate has apparently *paramasaur*.

\* Page 50, Vol. vii, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal.



The title 'Lord of the Gaurā,' or of Gaur, which the Pál Kings bore, does not occur in this plate, nor, I think, in the Āngáchhī one, but in Keshab Sen's, he, his father, and his grandfather, are each called *Sankara gaureshwara*.

The term *pádanudhyáta*, 'meditating at the feet of', is shown by its use in at least a dozen plates to indicate the succession of a son to his father.

The list of princes and court officials who are ordered to respect the grant, correspond in some measure with other similar lists. Many of them occur in the Monghyr plate, translated by Wilkins (As. Res., Vol. I) and annotated by Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. iii, page 731), many in the Āngáchhī plate, and many in the Basáhi plate, respecting which Bábu Rájendralála Mitra has given his explanation at p. 327, Pt. I, Journ., As. Soc. Beng., 1873. I have not compared any other plates, but will note each officer's title with M., A., or B., as it occurs in one or other of the three plates I have mentioned.

*Rájá* (B.) must mean princes whom the SEN king considers subject to him.

*Rájanyaka*, may mean only persons of royal descent, or *Kshatriya*.

*Rágní*, (B.) may be either reigning queens, or queens-consort.

*Ránaka*, (M.) probably means queens' relations.

*Rájaputra*, (A., M.) kings' sons.

*Rájámátya*, (A., *Amátya* M.) members of the king's council.

*Purohita*, (B.) domestic priest.

*Mahádharmmádhyáksha*, chief-justice, mentioned by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, Essays, Vol. I, p. 495, ed. 1873.

*Mahásándhibigrahika*, (A.) a great officer for making treaties and declaring war. This officer, or a subordinate, is deputed at the end of the grant, to give effect to it.

*Mahásenapati*, (A., Senapati B.) The chief commander of the army.

*Mahámudrádhikrita*, great mint-master. The title can scarcely mean anything else, though we know of no Bengal coinage previous to the Muhammadan conquest.

*Antaranga*, servant of the interior, or perhaps confidential servant.

*Brihaduparika*, (*Uparika* M., *rájast* (?) *ánoparika*, A.) This title in the Monghyr plate follows *Rájasthāniya*, and in the Āngáchhī one the two seem to be combined. Of what this officer was superintendent, it is impossible to say. Professor Lassen thought he was overseer of the officers of criminal law, whose titles follow in the Monghyr plate.

*Mahákshapataliha*, (*mahákshapatalika* A., *akshapatalika* B.). Bábu Rájendralála translates this title 'justiciary'; *aksha patala* meaning 'law-suit' and 'collection'. I think the officer may have been keeper of law-records.

*Mahāpratīhāra*, (A., M., *pratīhār* B.) great doorkeeper, probably commander of the bodyguard.

*Mahābhogika*, I think was probably an officer in charge of revenue, from a special right over the land called *bhoga*. The letter I have read *g*, is not quite clear, and might be *p* or *y*.

*Mahāpīlupati*. The word *pīlu* has several meanings, but this officer was probably head of the Forest Department of the Revenue.

*Mahāganaska daussādika*, (*mahādauśāsahasādhanika* M.) Mr. Wilkins calls him 'chief obviator of difficulties'. Professor Lassen thinks him the same as *Mahāsādhanabhaga* in the Keshab Sen plate, and as *Sādharma* means 'material,' he considers this officer Minister of Public Works.

*Chauroddharanika* (M., A.) thiefcatcher; this was probably a military appointment, established to cope with the predatory bands which infested the country even within the last sixty years.

*Gaulmika* (M. and, I think, A.). The *gaulma* was a troop composed of nine elephants, nine chariots, twenty-seven horsemen, and forty-five foot-soldiers.

*Dandapāshika*, (M., A.) Wilkins translates 'keeper of the instruments of punishment'; it may, however, be derived from *danda* a staff, or mace.

*Dandanāyaka*, (A., *Mahādandanāyak* M.) was probably subordinate to the last.

*Bishayapati*, (M.) rendered by Wilkins 'governor of a city'. The word *bishaya* has so many meanings, that it is not easy to guess at the nature of the office indicated by this title.

The *Chattha Bhatta* caste, to whom, among others, the grant is addressed, are twice mentioned, the second time being where the grant of land is said to be free from the entrance of *Chattha Bhatta*. I see that *Chanda Bhandā* is the reading of Mr. Prinsep's paṇḍit, and Professor Blochmann also,\* accepts this as an improved reading. I can only say that the first part of the compound letter is most clearly ङ, and the second I think त, but it may be the vowel . The compound is certainly not ङत. Who the *Chattha Bhatta* were it is as yet impossible to say, but they formed probably the bulk of the cultivating population of the country, and I think it probable that the reason why the name has disappeared is that the *Chattha Bhatta* were made Muhammadans; for the Bengal Muhammadan, who cultivates in many districts more than half the land, is not the descendant of foreign conquerors, but betrays in many points a Hindu origin. *Chattha* and *Bhatta* I look upon as two distinct names, because I have seen the *Bhatta*, or *Batta*, written before the *Chattha*, instead of after.

In the Monghyr plate अचाटमट प्रवेश is enumerated among the things from which the grant is free, and Mr. Wilkins translates it 'no passage for

\* Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, Pt. I, 1873, p. 226, Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal.

troops'. The *Āmgáchhī* plate has the same expression, so has the *Báman-gháti* plate (p. 166, Pt. I, J. A. S. B., 1871).

The Keshab Sen plate speaks to the *Chatta Bhatta jātíyán*, where it might perhaps be Chanda Bhandā, as the transcript is not clear; *Chatta Bhatta prabesh*, as here, and a third time, where it is illegible in the transcript. A plate from the Sioní District, Narbadá territories, at p. 729, Vol. V., Journ. A. S. B., has *abhatta chehhatra prabesh*, as read by Mr. Prinsep's paṇḍit. I cannot read the character of that grant, and so am unable to pronounce it the expression I am looking for, but it is probably the same.

The expression *Paundra-Varddhana* appears to me to have much historical significance. The *Paundra* are, I believe, mentioned in Manu as a degraded race, that is to say, as I understand it, a race whose importance did not compel the Bráhmans to give it a high rank in the caste system, as they did to the Kshatriya. Of the *Varddhana* I do not remember to have met with any mention as a tribe or caste, but it occurs as part of the name of each king of one of the dynasties of Kashmír, and I think I have met with it elsewhere as part of personal names. The compound *Paundra-Varddhana* is the Sanskrit form to which Mr. Stanislaus Julien has reduced the Chinese name by which the pilgrim Hiouen Thsang calls an Indian kingdom which he visited in the seventh century of the Christian era. The position of this kingdom has been settled by Mr. Jas. Fergusson, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, November 1872. The pilgrim followed the course of the Ganges to some place near Rájmahal. The Ganges has shifted so much, that it is quite impossible to identify this place, but I am very much inclined to look for it near old Gaur. The appearance of the country leads me to suppose that at some time previous to the Muhammadan conquest, the main stream of the river, instead of turning southward where it now does, ran east along the present Kálindri as far as Máldah, and then turned south, along the Mahánanda, running eastward of Gaur.

The direction in which Hiouen Thsang was travelling was eastward, and after following the course of the river as far as it took that direction, he would naturally cross it and turn his back upon it as soon as it turned to the southward. The only difficulty is to ascertain the point where the river changed its direction. After crossing the river, the Chinaman went 600 *li*, or from 100 to 120 miles, eastward, and found himself in the kingdom of *Paundra-Varddhana*. Mr. Fergusson quotes from a paper in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, 1824, an account of *Pundra Desa*, abstracted from the *Brahmananda* section of the *Bhavishyot Purana*, from which it appears that the chief towns of the *Nivritti* division of *Pundra Desa*, comprising Dínájjpur, Rangpur, and Koch Bihár, were *Verddhana Kuta*, *Kach-*

*hapa*, and *Sriranga* or *Vaharica*. *Paundra-Varddhana* was probably the division of *Pundra* or *Paundra Desa*, of which *Verddhana Kuta* was the capital. Eighty miles to the east of the place where I think it probable Hiouen Tshang may have crossed, or 100 miles from Rájmahal, close to Gobindganj, is a place marked in the map *Rájbárá*, which is popularly known as *Borddhon-kúti*, and which is the residence of a zamíndár of very old family, which 250 years ago possessed estates nearly, if not exactly, coterminous with Akbar's Sarkár of Ghorághát. I have tried to identify the name of Paundra with that of Sarkár Panjara, adjoining Sarkár Ghorághát on the north-west, but am not satisfied that I am right. 150 miles further eastward brought the pilgrim to the kingdom of Kámrúp, which, as Mr. Fergusson points out, probably means the capital thereof, Gauhati, which lies a good deal to the north of east, from Borddhon-kúti, but perhaps not too much so for Hiouen Tshang to speak of it as to the eastward. The kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana extended from the Kosi in Púrniah to the Brahmaputra, and from the Ganges to the hills.

I do not think Paundra-Varddhana is mentioned in the Monghyr plate. Deb Pál addresses the Gaura as his principal subjects, as other Pál kings call themselves Gaureshwar, Gaurádhipo.

In the Ámgáchhí plate, Vighra Pál has the expression *Sri Pundra varddhanastha Kankodibasa bishayántahpáti*, and I have not yet discovered any allusion to the *Gaura*.

Keshab Sen (p. 45, Vol. vii, J. A. S. B.) says *Sri Paundra varddhana bhuktyántahpáti*, the same expression as Lakshman Sen's, where I take *bhukti*, as *bishaya* in the Ámgáchhí plate, to mean 'province', as if *Paundra-Varddhana* were only a part of the dominions of the Sen kings. Keshab Sen has *bange Bikrampur* following the expression, as if *Banga*, or Eastern Bengal, in which Bikrampur was, were a part of Paundra-Varddhana.

The word *baredyán* in the text may stand for *barenyán* 'chiefs,' or for *bárendrán*, meaning the inhabitants of Barendra, a geographical expression which once applied to the tract I understand by Paundra-Varddhana, and which I believe now survives in the name 'Borind,' by which the hilly tract in Máldah, Dinájjpur, Rájshálí, and Bográ, is popularly known.

The law requiring such an edict as this to be upon silk or copper is quoted by Mr. Colebrooke. See Misc. Ess., II., 298; Digest of Hindoo Law, II. 278; As. Res., II. 50.

The word *dakshiná* is a technical word, to express the fee given to the priest on the occasion of certain ceremonies. This grant of land was made on the occasion of the king's giving away gold, horses, and chariots. Perhaps he had consecrated a gift of a car and horses for the *ratha játra*, a suggestion of mine, which the Pandit rejects.

The *gotra* of Bharadvája is the family descended from the *Rishi*, or



Sage, of that name; the *pravara* also indicates descent, here from three, Bhāradvāja, Angirasa, and Vārhaspatya; these three are the same as those assigned to a Brāhman in a grant discussed by Mr. Colebrooke, page 305, Vol. ii, Misc. Essays, where he says that the distinction between *gotra* and *pravara* is not very clear. I may suggest that the *gotra* represents the direct line of the descent, while the *pravara* enumerates the families whose arms, as a herald would say, the person was entitled to quarter.

The description of the nature of the grant is not quite clear. The word *sankadashāparādh*, which I have rendered ‘fines for crime’, may be *sahyadashāparādh*; the transcript of the Monghyr plate, which I do not think very trustworthy, has *sadashāparādh*; at p. 322, Part I, Journ., As. Soc. Beng., 1873, Bábu Rājendralála Mitra reads *saddashāparādh*. In the Āngāchhī plate, the engraver seems to have blundered into *sadashāpachārah*. The expression has certainly some connection with the officer called in the Monghyr plate *dashāparādhik*, whom Mr. Wilkins calls ‘investigator of crimes’. In the *sanads* to zamindárs granted by the Súbadárs of Bengal in Muhammadan times, and by our earlier Governors-General, the duties of the landowners respecting the prevention and detection of crime are set forth, and I think the expression I am discussing may have some reference to similar duties.

Of the names of places mentioned, I recognise none in the neighbourhood of the tank in which the copper plate was found. *Nichdaha* appears to mean “the Pool of the Nich”, the Nich being an impure tribe whom I remember to have found mentioned occasionally, but do not recollect where.

The measurement of land by the quantity of seed corn it requires, is not unknown in Bengal to this day, especially in Silhat and Kachhár.

The tables of measures of grain are given by Mr. Colebrooke at page 533, Vol. I., Miscellaneous Essays, ed. 1873. The *árha* or *árhaka* differs in quantity in different parts of India, but the table taken from the *Bhavi-shyapurána* accords best with the denominations still known in Dínájpur, and is probably the one to which we should refer. The unit is the *mushti* or handful.

2	<i>pala</i> or <i>mushti</i>	=	1	<i>prásriti</i>
4		=	2	= 1 <i>kurava</i>
16		=	8	= 4 = 1 <i>prastha</i>
64		=	32	= 16 = 4 = 1 <i>arhaka</i>

The *árha*, according to this calculation, Mr. Colebrooke makes 224 tolás, or 2 sers 121 chataks, and corresponds nearly to the *káthá*, a wooden measure holding of *dhán* two, and of *chaul* three, seers of 96 tolás, in Dínájpur.



The name *arhiya* is also used, nearly corresponding to the *káthá*. A bighá takes six or seven *káthás* of seed, so the grant here recorded was, roughly speaking, about seven acres.

The produce is said to be 125 *purán* of cowries. It is not clear whether this refers to the gross produce or to the rent. Mr. Colebrooke's table gives

$$20 \text{ kapardak} = 1 \text{ kákiní}$$

or cowree

$$80 = 4 = 1 \text{ pan}$$

$$1280 = 64 = 16 = 1 \text{ purán.}$$

The Dínájpur people say

$$4 \text{ cowree} = 1 \text{ ganda}$$

$$80 = 20 = 1 \text{ pan}$$

$$320 = 80 = 4 = 1 \text{ dām}$$

$$1280 = 320 = 16 = 4 = 1 \text{ káhan}$$

Thus the *káhan* of Dínájpur corresponds with the ancient *purán*, and as, when cowrees were last current, six or seven *káhan* went to the rupee, the annual produce of the land granted amounts to about twenty rupees, or, calculating roughly, a rupee a bigha. Average good arable land in Dínájpur pays a rent of a rupee or a rupee and a quarter per bigha at the present time, so the language of the grant probably refers to gross produce.

The land granted is to be all good land, of which none is unculturable waste, none is sacred to a god, none is taken up with cattle paths, and none is used, as large spaces near villages are, for latrine ground.

The *slokas* with which the grant concludes, occur repeatedly in other similar grants.

The date, the year 7, appears to refer only to the reign of the King, as is the case with most grants engraved on copper plates that have come to my notice.

The age of the grant may, however, be known by the character, and by the date of the subversion of the Sen dynasty, to be between 1100 and 1200 A. D.

The words following the date I take to be the name of the scribe or the engraver. Comparing this grant with that made in the next generation by KESHAB SEN, the only points requiring notice are the use by the latter of the title *Gaureshwar*, to which I have before alluded, and the attributing to KESHAB SEN sovereignty over the Asvapati, the Gajapati, whom I take to be the King of Orissa, and the Narapati.

The Buddhagaya inscription, to which I have previously referred, is shown by the character in which it is engraved to be later than this, and is dated after the reign of Lakshman Sen, in the time of Asoka Chandra Deb.

There is nothing to show what Lakshman Sen this may be, nor is there any connection known, I believe, between a King Asoka and the Sen dynasty of Bengal. The inscription contains an allusion to the triumph of the Lion over the Elephant, a device which occurs frequently in Hindu carving, and which appears to have some connection with the Pál dynasty of Bengal; but the subject is still obscure, and I cannot find that the Buddhagaya inscription throws any light on the history of Bengal.

*Transcript.*

### ओ० नमो नारायणाय ॥

विद्युद्यत्र मणियुतिः फणिपतेर्धालेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं  
 वारिः स्वर्गतरेङ्गिणीसितशिरोमाला वलाकावलिः ।  
 ध्यानाभ्याससमीरणोपनिहितः श्रेयोऽङ्कुरोद्भूतये  
 भूयाद्दः स भवार्तितापभिदुरः शम्भोः कपर्दीम्बुदः ॥  
 आनन्देऽ(A.) स्मृनिधौ चकोरनिकरे दुष्खच्छिदात्यन्तिकी (B.)  
 कङ्कारे हतमोहता (C.) रतिपतावेकोऽ(D.) हमेवेतिधीः ।  
 यस्यामी अमृतात्मनः समुदयन्याशु प्रकाशाज्जग-  
 त्यन्ते (E.) ध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदास्त्राम्बुदे ॥  
 सेवाननम्रदृष्टकोटिकिरीटरोचिरम्बूक्षसत्पदनखद्युतिवल् (F.) रीभिः ।  
 तेजोविषज्वरमुषेद्विषतामभूवन् भूमीभुजः स्फुटमथाषधिनाथवंशे ॥  
 आकौमारविकखरैर्दिशिदिशि प्रस्थन्दिभिर्द्वीयेशः-  
 प्रालेयैरिराजवक्त्रनलिनस्त्रानीः समुन्मीलयन् ।  
 हेमन्तः स्फुटमेघ (G.) सेनजननल्लेचैवपुण्यावली-  
 शालिस्तथ्यविपाकपीवरगुणलेषामभूदंशजः ॥  
 ददीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजःसहचर-  
 र्यशोभिः शोभन्तेपरिधिपरिण्डा इव दिशः ।  
 ततः कां (H.) चीलीलाचतुरचतुरम्भेधिलहरी-  
 परीतोऽध्वीभर्ताजनिविजयसेनः स विजयी ॥  
 प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्यदामनलमेवेदाय नैकाध्वगः  
 सङ्ग्रामः श्रितजङ्गमाकृतिरभूद्वलालसेनस्ततः ।  
 यद्येतोमयमेव श्रेय्यविजयी दत्तौषधं तत्तद्वणा-  
 दक्षीणा रचयांचकार वशगाः खस्त्रिन परेषां श्रियः ॥  
 संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभोगप्रलोभादिशा-  
 मीशैरंशसमर्पणेन घटितस्तत्प्रभावस्फुटैः ।  
 दोरुक्षत्पितारिसङ्कररसोराजन्यधर्माश्रयः  
 श्रीमल्लक्षणसेनभूपतिरतः सौजन्यमीमाजनि ॥  
 शश्वद्वन्मयादिभुक्ताविषयास्तन्मात्रनिष्ठीकृत-  
 खान्ता यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाज्जयम् ।  
 दैरात्मप्रतिविम्बितेऽपि (A.) निपतत्त (I.) त्रेऽ(A.) पि चंचत्तृणेऽ(A.)  
 प्यद्वैतेन यतस्ततोऽ(A.) पि स परोदेवः परं वी (J.) क्षते ॥

स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावाशित(K.) श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् महाराजाधिराज श्रीवज्रालसे-  
नदेवपादानुध्यात परमेश्वर परमवैष्णव परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमज्जक्षणेनदेवः  
कुशली, समुपगताशेषराजराज्यक राज्ञीराणक राजपुत्र राजासाम्य पुरोहित महाधर्मा-  
ध्यक्ष महासाम्बिविग्रहिक महासेनापति महासुद्राधिष्ठत आन्तरङ्ग दृढदुपरिक महाक्षपट-  
लिक महाप्रतीहार महाभोगिक महापीलुपति महागणस्कंदौस्त्राधिक चौराडरणिक  
नौवल्लहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादियाष्टक गौत्सिक दण्डपाशिक दण्डनाथक विषयपत्यादीन्  
वन्धांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनो(A.)ऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिचाकीर्तितान् चडभट्टजातीयान्  
जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हमानयति बोधयति समादिशति च  
सतसन्तु भवतां यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धन भक्त्यन्तपाति वरेद्यान् । पूर्वे बृद्धविहारी देवता नैकर-  
देव्याम्भूमाढावापपूर्वालिः सीमा दक्षिणे निचडहार पुष्करिणी सीमा । पश्चिमे नन्दिह-  
रिपाकुण्डी सीमा उत्तरे सोल्लानखाडी सीमा इयं(L.)चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नस्त्रयदेश व्यवहारन-  
(M.)लिन देव गोपथायुसारभवहिः पञ्चोन्मानाधिक विंशत्युत्तराढावापशतैकात्म्यः संवत्सरेण  
कपट्क पूराण सार्द्धशतैकात्यक्तिको विलहिष्टीग्राभीयभूभागः समाट विटपः सजलस्खलुः  
सगर्तोपरः सगुवाक नारिकेलः सद्य शपराधः परिहृतं सर्वं पीडोऽचडभट्टप्रवेशोऽकिंचि-  
त्प्रग्राह्यस्तु यति गोचरपर्यन्तः ऊताशनदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय मार्कण्डेयदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय  
लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय भारद्वाज सगोत्राय भारद्वाज आङ्गिरस वार्हस्पत्य प्रवराय  
सामवेद कौथुस शाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने हेमास्यद(N.)थमहादानाचार्यश्रीईश्वरदेवशर्मणपुण्ये  
ऽहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायण भट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-  
यशोऽ(A.)भिटडये दत्तहेमाश्वरथमहादाने दक्षिणावेनोत्सृज्य आचन्द्रा(A.)र्कं क्षितिसमकालं  
यावत् भूमिच्छिद्र न्यायेन ताश्च शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः ॥ तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैः(O.)रेवानुमन्तव्यम् ।  
भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति-  
चात्र(P.)धर्मानुगमिनः श्लोकाः । 'बृद्धभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य हस्य यदा  
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्य-  
कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगमिनौ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुं धरां । स विष्ठायाः(Q.)  
कृमिर्भूत्वा पिबेभिः(Q.)साह पचते"(R.)॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलालां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य  
जीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्या न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलाप्याः ॥ श्रीमज्जक्ष-  
णेनो नारायणदत्त सान्नि विग्रहिकम् । इह ईश्वर शासन दाने दूतं व्यधत् नरनाथः ॥  
अं ७ भाद्रदिने २ । श्रीनिमहासनि ॥

*Notes on the Transcript.*

- A. Insertion of *ś*, suggested by Mohesh Chandra Chakravarti.
- B. को for का or की, M. C. C.
- C. *hatd* for *hātā*, M. C. C.
- D. Insertion of *ś*, M. C. C.
- E. *ante* for *antre*, M. C. C.
- F. Double the *l*, M. C. C.
- G. For *meya* read *meba*, M. C. C.
- H. M. C. C. writes the *anusvara* and *ch* instead of the compound *neh*.
- I. *Tpa* for *ttha*, M. C. C.
- J. *kshya* for *ksha*, M. C. C.
- K. *bāsita* for *bāsrita*, M. C. C.
- L. *तथ* for *य*, M. C. C.

M. म for न, M. C. C.

N. M. C. C. reads *hemāśharatha* for *hemśyadatha*.

O. *sarbbai* for *sarbbai*, M. C. C.

P. *Dharmmānusāsanaḥ slokaḥ* for *dharmmānugasinah glokah*. The engraver's blunder is obvious.

Q. Insertion of ः, M. C. C.

R. *saha* for *sāha*, M. C. C.

### *Translation.*

Om! Salutation to NARAYANA!

I. May the germ of your prosperity be developed by the cloud which is the clustered hair of SAMBO, by whom the sorrows and pains of the world are done away, the cloud whose lightning is the flash of the jewel of the serpent king, whose INDRA-BOW is the crescent moon, whose water is the river of heaven, and along which a row of herons fly, the necklace of white skulls, and whose collected air is constant meditation!

II. May you rejoice in the light of the moon, full of nectar, at whose appearance the sea is glad, partridges cease to fear, and the husband of Rati\* boasts himself peerless, the moon, which, after long series of meditations, has been proved to be always full!

III. The kings of the race of AUSHODHINATH† neutralize the sharp fever-poison of their enemies by the lustre of the nails of their feet, as with the juice of creepers, nurtured (as plants with water) by the lustre of the diadems of numbers of kings, prostrate in homage.

IV. Of that race sprang HEMANTA, in the fame of whose arms, resplendent on all sides from his infancy, the faces of the kings of his foes withered as the lotus blossom shrivels with frost, and in whose qualities the virtues of the house of SEN reached their highest development, as autumn matures‡ the rice in the fields.

V. Then BIJAY SEN, the victorious, whose mighty arms to this day clothe the four quarters of heaven with the light of the fame that attends them, became lord of the earth which the waves of four oceans girdle as with an undulating zone.

VI. Next was BALLAL SEN, an active foe to the influence of the Iron Age, walking in the path of the Vedas, an incarnation of war, who by means of his victorious heroism in a moment brought into his own hands the wealth of his enemies, undiminished.

VII. LAKSHMAN SEN, the King, formed by contributions of parts of the Lords of the quarters of heaven, who longed for the love of the Nymphs of the quarters, by the power of his arms quelling the tone of war in his enemies, holding to the virtue of the Royal race, became a standard of courtesy.§

VIII. His enemies again and again freed themselves from the ties of the world, in the same way withdrew themselves from worldly matters, and in the shade looked on him as a god and in fear of him trembled at every berry that dropped and every blade of grass that rustled.

\* Kandarpa.

† The Moon.

‡ The name of Hemanta suggests the season so called, the autumn months of Kartik and Agrahayan.

§ The heaven is divided into ten quarters, each embodied in a nymph, and each having its Lord, of whom Indra is one. It is a popular fiction that kings are made up of parts of these Lords.



[Prose.] Truly the good lord, good worshipper of Vishnu, good king, the prosperous SRI LAKSHMAN SEN DEB, meditating at the feet of SRI BALLAL SEN DEB, from out of his victorious camp, resident at BIKRAMPUR, to all who are present, Rájá, Rájanyaka, Rágní, Ránaka, Rájaputra, Rájámátya, Purohita, Mahádharmmádhyaśha, Mahásándhibigrahika, Mahásenapati, Mahámudrádhikrita, Antaranga, Brihaduparika, Mahákshapatalika, Mahápratíhára, Mahábhogika, Mahávilapati, Maháganas-kadaussádhika, Chauroddharanika, to those in charge of the ships, the elephants the horses, the cattle, the buffaloes, the goats, the sheep, and the rest; to the *Gaulmika*, the *Dandapáshika*, the *Dandanáyaka*, the *Bishayapati*, and the like, the foresters, and all who earn their livelihood at the feet of the King, all who carry out the published orders of governors, persons of the caste of CHATTA BHATTA, the countrymen, the cultivators, BRAHMANS, other than BRAHMANS, [I am not sure that this is the meaning of *Brahmanottarán*] to all persons worthy of esteem, men of understanding, men who issue orders, to all chiefs who have tenures in SRI PAUNDRA-VAEDDHANA, we proclaim that by us is given, by means of this copper decree, according to law, a piece of land, so long as the earth with the sun and moon endure, given up as a priest's fee, on account of the ceremony of my giving away gold, horses, and chariots, for the increase of my reputation for good deeds, and that of my father and mother, with my mind fixed on the Lord Náráyan, in the day of good deeds with the proper rite of pouring water, unto SRI ISHWAR DEB SHARMMAN, my preceptor in the ceremony of the great gift of gold, horses, and chariots, in the following of the Kauthuma treatise of the Sam Veda, he with the Prabara of Bháradvája, Angirasa, and Bháraspatya, of the Gotra of Bharadvája, son of LAKSHMAN DHAR DEB SHARMMAN, which was son of MARKKANDEYA DEB SHARMMAN, which was son of HUTASHAN DEB SHARMMAN. I give, with all pasture and forest, with water and land, with salt-pans, with betel nut and cocoanut, with fines for crime, exempt from all annoyance, from the entrance of Chatta Bhatta, a small acceptable portion [*kinchit pragráhya*; the reading is doubtful, and the meaning still more so] within recognised limits, a share in the land of the village BILAHISTI, bounded on the east, by the eastern *ail* of the rent-free *dman* and given to the god BUDDHA BIHARI, which is sown with an *drhá* of seed, on the south by the tank of NICHDAHA, on the west by the well NANDI HARIPA, and on the north by MOLLA'N KHARI, [The ravine of the Lotus] this land so bounded, apart from unculturable land, foul with use, endowments of gods, and cattle tracks, sown with a hundred and twenty-five *arha*, and producing yearly a hundred and fifty *purn* of *kauris*.

By you all that is to be enjoyed. By all future kings to be respected, to keep up the reputation of virtue, and from fear of falling into hell if they take it away, to this effect are the following *sloka* from the Dharma anusásan.

Slok 1. Lands have been granted by many kings, including Ságar and others; to whomsoever belongs the land, his is the produce thereof.

This *slok* occurs as No. 2. in the Monghyr copper plate, page 127, vol. i, Asiatic Researches, where, however, the latter half is either different or differently rendered. It is No. 1 in the Ámgáchhí plate, where the engraver has put *yasya* for the first *tasya*. It is No. 2, and No. 4, respectively in the two grants from Basáhi, translated by Bábu Rájendra-lála Mitra, pp. 323, 328, J. A. S. B., 1873, except that *bhukta*, 'enjoyed' is read for *datta*, 'granted.' It is No. 1, in each of the two Chaibásá



plates translated by Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosh, pp. 167, 169, J. A. S. B., 1871.

Slok 2. Both he who receives and he who makes a grant of land, are equally virtuous in deeds, and go ever to paradise.

Nos. 4 and 1, of the above grants, pp. 323, 328, J. A. S. B., 1873, except that *básinau* is read for *gáminau*. No. 2, of the Ámgáchhí plate.

Slok 3. He who taketh away land granted by himself or by others, rots with his parents, like a maggot, in filth.

No. 3 of the Monghyr grant, No. 4 of the Ámgáchhí one. Nos. 3 and 7 of the two Basáhi plates. Nos. 4 and 3 of the two from Chaibásá. In some *majjati*, 'sink', is read for *pachyati*, 'rot'.

Slok 4. Think that the wealth and the life of man are unstable as a drop of water on a leaf of the lotus; considering all this as an example, the noble deeds of others should not be lessened by a man.

No. 4 of the Monghyr grant; No. 6, of the Ámgáchhí; No. 5, in each of the Bámanghátí, or Chaibásá.

Srí Lakshman Sen, the Lord of men, hath deputed Náráyana Datta, the *Sándhi bigrahik*, to give effect to this *Ishwara Sason*.

In the year, 7, the third day of Bhadra. Sri Nimahásáni.

*Krishna-cultus in the Brhat Samhita.*—By PRANNA'TH PANDIT, M.A.

Professor Weber\* in a passage approvingly quoted by Dr. Lorinser† in the appendix to his edition of the Bhagavad Gita, says that *the worship of Krishna as sole god is one of the latest phases of Indian religious systems, of which there is no trace in Varáha-Mihira, who mentions Krishna, but only in passing*. I would, however, draw the attention of the learned Professor to a passage in the fifty-eighth chapter of the Brhat Samhita, which is perhaps the identical one which he had in view when he penned the words italicised above. The passage is this :—

कार्योऽष्टभुजो भगवान् चतुर्भुजो द्विभुज एव वा विष्णुः ।  
 श्रीवत्साङ्कितवच्चाः कौस्तुभमणिभूषितोरष्कः ॥ २१ ॥  
 अतस्तीकुसुमश्यामः पीताम्बरनिवसनः प्रसन्नमुखः ।  
 कुण्डलकिरीटधारी पीनगलोरःखलांशभुजः ॥ २२ ॥  
 खड्गगदाशरपाणिर्दक्षिणतः शान्तिदस्तुर्थकरः ।  
 वामकरेषु च कार्मुकखेटकचक्राणि शङ्खश्च ॥ २३ ॥  
 अथ च चतुर्भुजमिच्छति शान्तिद एको गदाधरश्चान्यः ।  
 दक्षिणपात्रे ह्येवं वामे शङ्खश्च चक्रश्च ॥ २४ ॥

\* Indische Studien II., 298, &c.

† Indian Antiquary, Vol. II., p. 235.

द्विभुजस्य तु शान्तिकरो दक्षिणहस्तोऽपरस्य शङ्खधरः ।  
 एवं विष्णोः प्रतिमा कर्तव्या भूतिमिच्छद्भिः ॥ ३५ ॥  
 बलदेवो हलपाणिर्मदविभ्रमलोचनस्य कर्तव्यः ।  
 विभ्रत्कुण्डलमेकं शङ्खेन्दुमृणालगौरवपुः ॥ ३६ ॥  
 एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेवकृष्णयोर्मध्ये ।  
 कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सुरोजमितरेण चोद्धृती ॥ ३७ ॥\*

31. Our Lord *Vishnu* may be represented with eight arms, with four, or with two arms, his breast being marked with the curl *Srivatsa* and adorned with the *Kaustubha* gem.

32. Darkish as the *Atasi* flower, clad in a garment of yellow-silk, a serene face, wearing earrings and a topped crown, and having the neck, chest, shoulders, and arms thick.

33. Holding in his right hands, a sword, a club and an arrow, while the fourth hand bestows blessings. In his left hands, a bow, a buckler, a discus and a conch.

34. If it be preferred to make *Vishnu* four-armed, then one hand bestows blessings, and the other holds a club; this much for the right side; in the left hands, the conch and the discus.

35. Of the two-armed image the right hand blesses and the other holds a conch. In this manner is the idol of *Vishnu* to be framed by those who desire prosperity.

36. *Baladeva* must be made having a plough in his hand, with eyes lively from drink, wearing a single earring; his complexion as the conch-shell, the moon, or lotus-fibre.

37. The goddess *Ekānamṣā*, should be made betwixt *Baladeva* and *Krishna* with the left hand resting on her hip, and with the other, holding a lotus.†

Further on we have a direction about *Sám̐ba*, *Pradyumna*, and their wives.

शाम्बस्य गदाहस्तः प्रद्युम्नस्यापभृत् सुरूपस्य ।  
 अनयोः स्त्रियो च कार्यं खेटकनिलिङ्गधारिण्यै ॥ ४० ॥

40. *Sám̐ba* holds a club in his hand; *Pradyumna* is handsome and holds a bow. Their wives too, are to be made holding in their hands buckler and sword.

Now as far as modern researches give insight to the development of the religion of the Hindus, there never was a period when *Sám̐ba* and

\* Kern's *Bṛhat Samhita*, Bibl. Indica, 317, 318.

† In translating these passages I have principally followed Kern's version of this portion of the *Bṛhat Samhita* in J. R. A. S., New series, Vol. VI., pp. 326, 327.

*Pradyumna* had any independent status in their Pantheon, their wives being of course out of the question altogether. *Baladeva* too had more the position of a satellite to *Krishna* than that of an independent divinity. It would therefore be, to say the least, paradoxical if all these personages be raised to the rank of popular divinities, when *Krishna* himself is left out in the cold, and only thought worthy of an incidental mention.

The question may be viewed from another point. Our author has been giving detailed directions as to the mode in which various divinities are to be modelled or sculptured. He first tells us that *Vishnu* may be represented with eight, four, or two hands. He then gives us details about these allotropic modifications of that deity. We have then an account of *Balarāma*, and after that we are told that the goddess *Ekānamṣa* is to be represented in a certain posture between *Krishna* and *Balarāma*. Now nowhere in the chapter, or even in the whole work, are we told as to how *Krishna* is to be represented. I submit that we are bound not to inflict the odium of this omission on *Varāhamihira*, if we can help it.

The solution that I propose of these difficulties is this: I put it that *Varāhamihira* thinks that he has already described *Krishna*, when he has given us the description of the two-handed *Vishnu*. I see nothing which can be urged against this supposition, always leaving out of account the foregone conclusions of some writers that the *Krishna-cultus* *must* be post-Christian.

But there is still another passage in the *Br̥hat Samhita* from which, I contend, the conclusion is legitimate, that *Varāhamihira* recognised the identity of *Krishna* with *Nārāyaṇa*. *Krishna* had said in the *Gita*:

कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रवृद्धः ।\*

which may be freely translated thus:

“I am time the potent destroyer”.

Pursuant perhaps to this general idea, *Varāhamihira*, in the one hundred and fifth chapter of his work, names the twelve months of the year after *Nārāyaṇa*.

मृगशीर्षाद्याः केशवनारायणमाघवाः सप्तोविन्दाः ।

विष्णुमधुसूदनाद्यौ त्रिविक्रमो वामनश्चैव ॥ १४ ॥

श्रीधरनामा तस्मात् सङ्क्षीकेशश्च पद्मनाभश्च ।

दामोदर इत्येते मासाः प्रोक्ताः यथासङ्ख्यम् ॥ १५ ॥

मासनाम समुपोषितो नरो द्वादशीषु विधिवत् प्रकीर्त्तयन् ।

केशवं समभिपूज्य तत्पदं याति यत्र न हि जन्मजं भयम् ॥ १६ ॥†

14. *Mrigas'irsha* and the rest are *Keshava*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Mādhava*, *Govinda*, *Vishnu*, *Madhūsūdana*, *Trivikrama*, and *Vamana*.

\* *Gita*, XI, 32. Also quoted by *Vijnāna Bhikshu* while commenting on the last of the *Sankhya Sūtras*.

† *Kern's Br̥hat Samhita*, pp. 503—504.

15. *Sṛīdhara* and then *Hṛishīkeśha* and *Padmanābha* and *Dāmōdara*. These are the months told in their respective order.

16. A man fasting on the twelfth day of each lunar fortnight, duly reciting the names of the months and worshipping *Keshava*, attains that place where there is no fear arising from birth.

The whole tenor of the passage makes it plain that the twelve names predicated to the months of the year are so many synonyms for *Nārāyaṇa* or *Vishnu*. Now some of the synonyms given here have no meaning unless they be applied to *Krishna*. If we succeed in establishing this proposition, the conclusion is irresistible that *Varāhamihira* identified *Krishna* with *Vishnu*. The synonyms on which I would lay stress are, *Keshava*, *Mādhava*, *Govinda*, and, last but not least, *Dāmōdara*.

*Kēśhava*. The usual grammatical etymology of this word traces its origin to *Kēśa* (hair) and the possessive affix *va*, as may be seen from Bhat-togī's commentary\* to Panini, V. 2. 109, and Ujjaladatta's commentary† to Unnadi Sūtras, V. 33. *Kṣhīraswāmī* in his commentary‡ on the *Amera-Kośha* following these authorities says: प्रशस्तः केशः सन्त्यस्य केशवः । केशाद्देशान्तरस्यास् । In the *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Book V., Chap. XVI.) however, another etymology is given accounting for the fact of *Krishna*'s getting the appellation of *Kēśava*. "For this that thou hast slain the impious *Kes'in*, thou shalt be known in the world by the name of *Kes'ava*."§ If preference is to be given to this etymology, *Kes'ava* would be meaningless unless *Krishna* be intended.

*Mādhava*. *Kṣhīraswāmī* gives two derivations. The one is सायः लक्ष्मः धवा भर्ता साधवः । ; the other is सधोरपत्यं वा । The following passage from the *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Book IV., Chap. XI.) throws light on the latter etymology. "The son of *Vṛisha* was *Madhu*; he had a hundred sons, the chief of whom was *Vṛishni*, and from him the family obtained the name of *Vṛishni*. From the name of their father, *Madhu*, they were also called *Mādhavas*; whilst from the denomination of their common ancestor *Yadu*, the whole were termed *Yādavas*."|| If we are to follow this view of the subject, *Mādhava* can be predicated to *Nārāyaṇa*, only when he is identified with *Krishna*.

*Govinda*. The word *go* in Sanskrit is a veritable *Kāmadhēnu*. *Medi-nikara* gives a dozen meanings for it. The derivation of *Govinda* given by *Kṣhīraswāmī* is as follows: गां भुवं विन्दतीति गोविन्दः । वाराहरूपेणादारात् ।

\* Taranath's *Siddhanta Kaumudi*, Vol. I., p. 683. Second edition.

† Aufrecht's *Unnadi Sūtras*.

‡ Sanskrit MS. No. 664, in the Society's Library, leaf 7, p. 1.

§ Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, London, 1840, p. 540. The passage is also quoted by *Bharata Mallika* in his commentary on the *Amera Kośha*, *Sanskṛita MS.*, No. 188, in the Society's Library, p. 19.

|| Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 418.



Considering, however, the primary signification of *go* (bull or cow), the etymology propounded in Vishnu Purāna (Book V., Chap. XII.) is more satisfactory. "I have now come by desire of cattle, grateful for their preservation, in order to install you as Upendra; and, as the Indra of the cows, thou shalt be called Govinda."\* Even if we were to take the word only in the sense of a cow-herd,† it would be meaningless when applied to Vishnu independently of Krishna.

*Dimōdara.* *Kshirasiwāmi* derives it thus: दास उदरे यस्य दासोदरः बाल्ये हि चापत्यादान्ना बद्धोऽभन् । The story is to be found in the Vishnu Purana, Book V, Chap. V.‡ "It is hence that Krishna is called Dāmodara, from the binding of the rope (dāma) round his belly (udara).§ There is another§ etymology which ascribes this name to *Krishna's* taking a large quantity of food. Whichever of these derivations be preferred, the term can apply only to Krishna.

From an attentive consideration of the facts and authorities here adduced, we cannot resist the conviction that in Varāhamihira's time Krishna had been identified with Vishnu. I hope an attentive perusal of the other works of the same author will confirm this opinion.

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*The Alti Hills in Cuttack.*—By JOHN BEAMES, B. C. S., *Magistrate of Cuttack.*

(With four plates.)

These hills are a perfect mine of archæology, and one which has not yet been thoroughly explored. An article on them appeared in Vol. XXXIX, of the Society's Journal (for 1870, p. 158), by Bābu Chandra Sekhar Banerjea, then Deputy Magistrate of the Jājjpur Subdivision, but his article is not intended to be exhaustive. It gives a very accurate and interesting general account of the hills and their treasures, but the learned author expressly states that his article is not to be considered as more than an outline of the subject. My attention was drawn to these hills by the article in question, and I had been for some time anxious to visit them. This cold weather my official duties fortunately admitted of my taking my camp close to them, and I am thus enabled to supply a further instalment of information.

\* Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 528 and note.

† Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, First Edition, Part IV, pp. 183, 206 note.

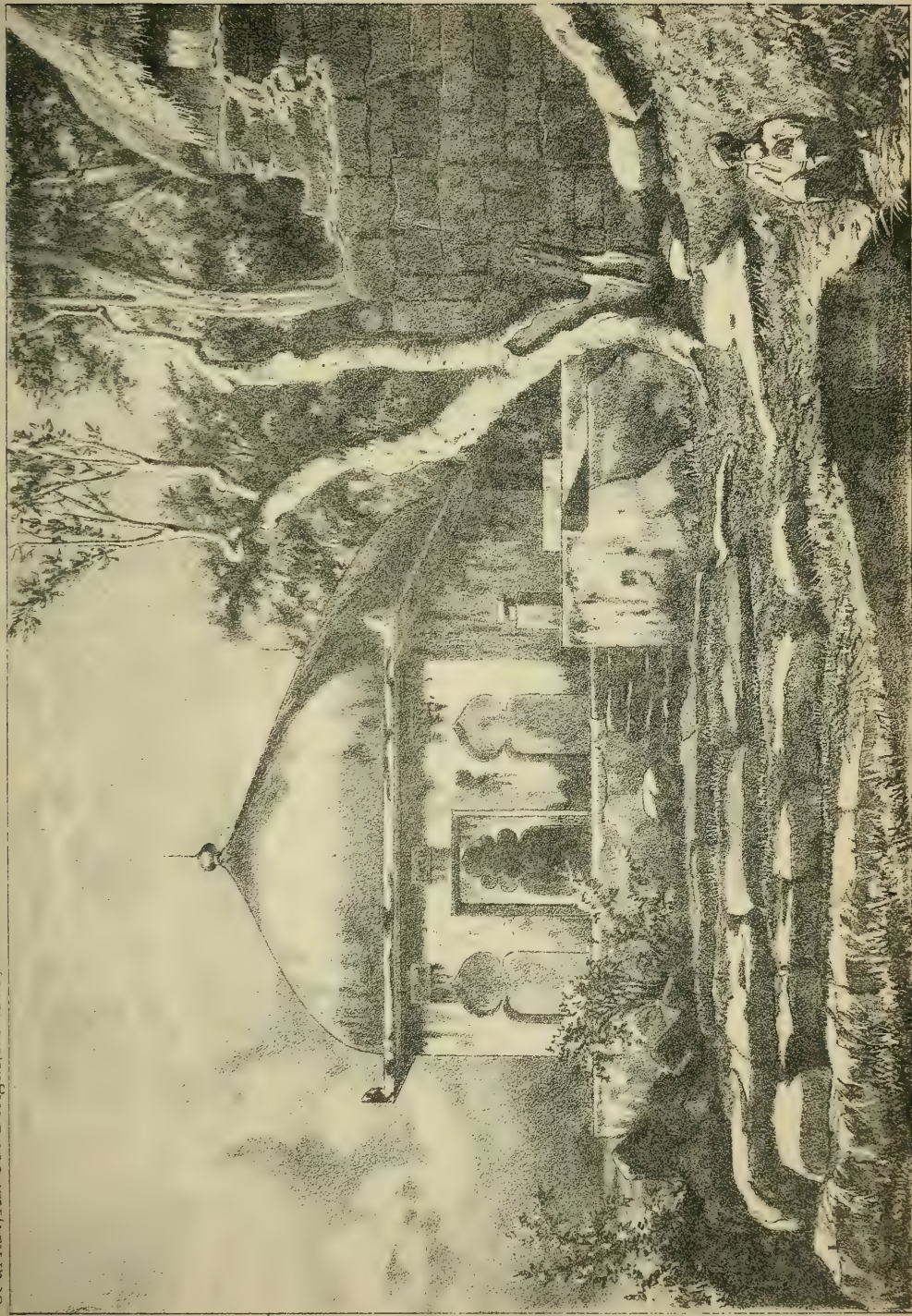
‡ Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 509.

§ Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, Part IV, p. 175.



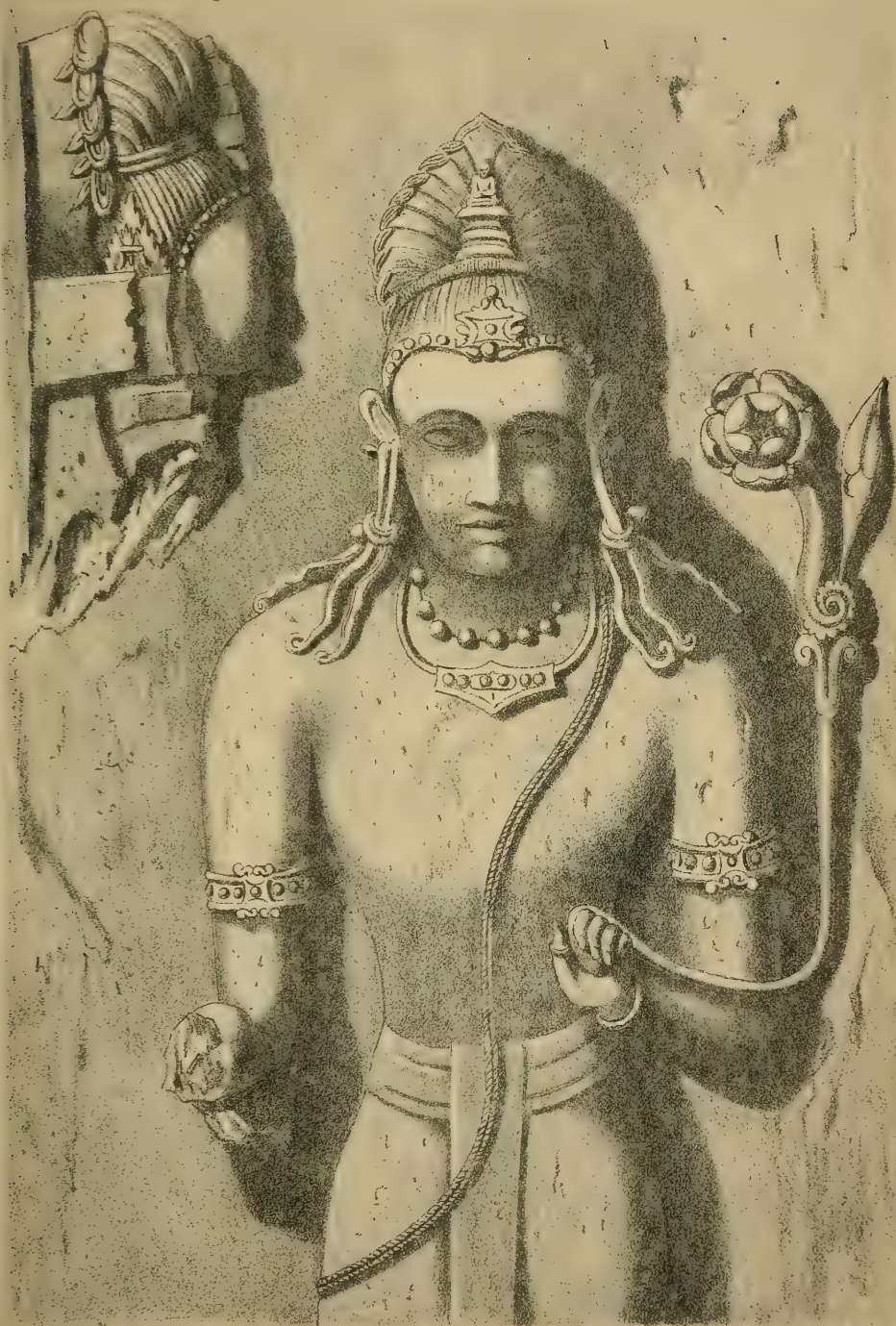
Alti is unfortunately very inaccessible. The parganah of that name, in which the hills are situated, is surrounded and intersected by rivers. On the north-east flows the Kimiriyá, an offshoot of the Bráhmāni, on the south the Birupá, an arm of the Mahánadí. These two unite at the south-east angle of the parganah and form a third river the Keluá, and the whole tract is further cut in two by the Gangútí, a stream which issues from the Birupá in the south-west and falls into the Kimiriyá just above its junction with the Birupá. Thus a river has to be crossed in reaching the hills from any direction, and as there are very few boats on the Orissa rivers, and those that do exist are not suitable for crossing horses, it is a difficult business to reach them. The hills or rather hill, for it is only one, lies between the Gangútí and the Birupá, about 30 miles north-east of the town of Cuttack. To the south of the Birupá, and about 3 miles from the main mass of Alti, lies the Nalti group, consisting of one long hog-backed hill with a depression in the centre and a small knoll rather isolated on its southern side. The derivation of the name of this hill from لعنة, 'a curse', and the legend connected with it, seem to be a pure invention of some marvel-loving and ingenious Muhammadan. The name is not Náltí, which would be the Uriya inversion of La'natí, but Nálti with short *a*, and seems to correspond to Alti just as the two parganahs of Awartak and Anáwartak a little further to the south, where the prefix an (Sanskrit अनु) means "small," so that Nalti, for Analtí or Anvaltí, would simply mean "little Alti". If the Hindus of Orissa had wished to designate the hill as cursed, they would not have used a little known Arabic word like *la'nat*, but their own ordinary word *s'rúp*; nor is it likely that the very scanty and insignificant Musalmán population would have been able to have affixed a name derived from an obscure legend on the hill and Hindu village. The legend is of itself extravagantly absurd; for it was not the prophet Muhammad, as the Bábu says, who cursed the hill, but the great king Solomon. It is not the prophet who is represented in Muslim legend as flying through the air, but king Sulaimán-bin-Dáúd, whose magic ring gave him power over the Jins, and who was in the habit of flying through the air on his magic prayer carpet. The mosque on the Alti hill is called the "Takht i Sulaimán," and the custodian thereof as he told me the legend, attributed the curse to Sulaimán.

The antiquities noticed by the Bábu on the Nalti hill are ruined temples too much dilapidated to yield any interesting results, with the exception of the temple mentioned at the bottom of page 159. I made a sketch of this (plate V). The five figures of Buddha stand in niches on the outer side of the walls of the cell, one of them is visible on the right hand of the sketch. They are executed in bold relief on large slabs of garnet gneiss, but the inscriptions are not visible, being concealed by the walls. The temple itself is now dedicated to Básuli Thákuráni, who is represented by a









*J. Beames, del.*

*J. Schramburg, lith.*

*One of the five statues of Buddha (all alike), Naliti Giri,  
and  
Profile of a colossal head of Buddha, Udaya-Giri, Cuttack.*





rudely shaped clay model of a human face, covered with red paint and draped in coarse dhoties. The images of Buddha are all exactly alike and are fine pieces of sculpture. I give a sketch of one of them (plate VI). I had no time to explore the other recesses of this hill, but hope to do so on a future occasion.

The mosque of Takht i Sulaimán stands on the southern face of the Alti hill, 2500 feet up. Its white walls form a conspicuous mark on the hill side which can be seen for many miles to the south. The ascent is from the east and consists of a steep road paved with rough stones, which still retain some semblance of steps. The mosque of which I made a sketch (plate IV) is a plain stone building standing on a small platform, and on its southern side on the edge of the precipice is the sacred tank, a small shallow hole about 10 feet by 8 and 3 deep, cut in the rock. It is now dry, but the legend is, that it was formerly a spring of water formed by Sulaimán's striking the rock with his staff. The tank was full of water till Shujá' uddin's time, so said my informant, when a soldier of his army having outraged a female pilgrim to the shrine, the '*lymphe pudica*' dried up and has never flowed since. The soldier and his unchaste companion, or his victim, for it is not clear whether the lady consented or not to the act, were buried at the foot of the hill, and every passer-by throws a stone on the grave, which has thus become a huge mound or cairn by the road side.

The following is the inscription on three slabs of chlorite, one over each door of the mosque—

چون شجاع الدین محمد خان بساخت \* بقعہ کزوی بآباد نور دین  
سال تاربخش بیستم از خرد \* تا شود سال بنای او مبدین  
دست بردار از سر جهد و بگو \* گفت هائف رشک فردوس برین

'When Shujá'-uddin Muhammad made this shrine, that from it might shine the light of religion,

'I sought from my heart the year of its táríkh, that the building of it might be made evident.

"Cease from the endeavour, and say," quoth the inspiration, "[It is] the envy of the highest Paradise."

Date A. H. 1132, as given by the Bábu. A. D. 1719-20.

The hill on which this mosque stands is called by the Hindus *Boro dihi*, বড় দীহি, or 'great site,' and was according to local tradition the seat of the palace of some great king; but who he was or when he lived, authorities are not agreed. The Birupá flows past the southern foot of the hill, and on its banks are two huge stones weighing several tons. My informant, an old Hindu of some respectability, mentioned that he had heard in his youth

that the boundary of the two zamíndáris of Altí and 'Alamgír was at one time disputed, and the disputants were coming to blows about it, when these two stones rolled from the top of the hill and fixed themselves where they now lie. Both parties agreed to recognize the occurrence as a divine interposition and accepted the spot as the boundary line between their two estates; and the stones lie there to this day as the boundary mark; 'so it must be true', said the old man.

Passing on eastwards across a small valley we come to the Udaygiri, or Sunrise Hill, the first point in Orissa on which the sun's rays light every morning, in spite of the fifty miles of lowland between it and the Bay of Bengal. It is a conical peak with three long spurs stretching respectively north, north-east, and south-east; and clothed with dense vegetation, amongst which on the southern face are noticeable five or six immense *Plumeria* trees (*gul-chíní*) with their naked fleshy branches and overpoweringly fragrant white blossoms. In gardens I have never seen this tree more than 10 or 12 feet high, but below the mosque there is a group of them upwards of fifty feet in height, the flowers of which are dropped on to the pavement and offered by the *mujávir* in front of the kīblah.

In the bay formed between the south-eastern and north-eastern peaks of Udaygiri is a sloping plain of bare laterite rock, on the edge of which stands a statue of Buddha upwards of 8 feet high. I give a sketch of the profile of this figure (plate VI, upper left hand corner) to shew the way in which it stands out from the slab on which it is carved. The nose as usual is broken, and the lower part of the figure mutilated and overgrown with lichen. All round lie numerous stone *samádhs*, marking the graves of Buddhist priests of by-gone times. There are several hundreds of these so closely resembling in shape large *lingas*, that I at first mistook them for such, till I noticed the small sitting figure of Buddha on the top. Passing from this over the broad stony plain, a small temple or "gumpa" is reached, and close to it is the celebrated well. This is cut in the laterite rock and is well described by Bábu Chandra Sekhar. The inscription is, however, as I make it out, not as he read it, but as follows:

बालक श्रीब्रजलागद्वारी.

What it means it is difficult to say, but it occurs twice over, each time in letters six or eight inches long, of the ordinary Kutila type, and after looking at it a long time I am fairly certain of every letter. If it be a name *Brajalāla*, then it is singular that the second ल should have been omitted in both cases. This could hardly be an accident.

The great glory of Udaygiri is the gateway of which I give a sketch (see plate III). It is just beyond the well, and after I had the jungle cut, stood out well against the background of trees and shrubs.

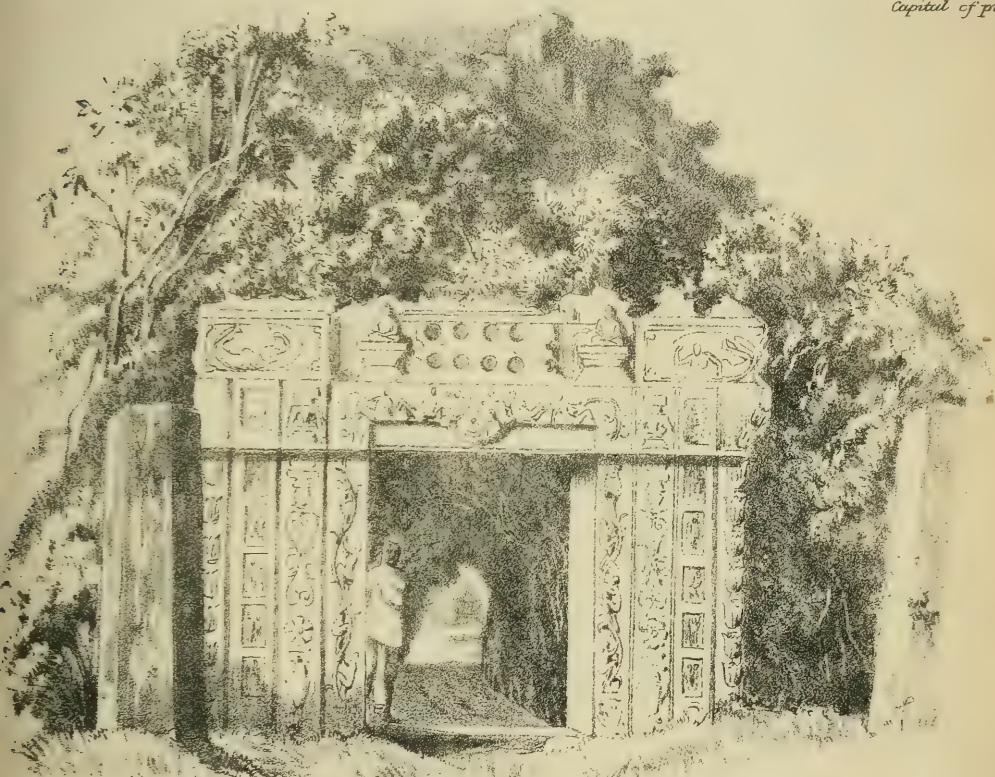


Capital of pillar.



Sculptures on the left panel of Gateway  
at Udayagiri.

Panel below  
Capital of pillar.

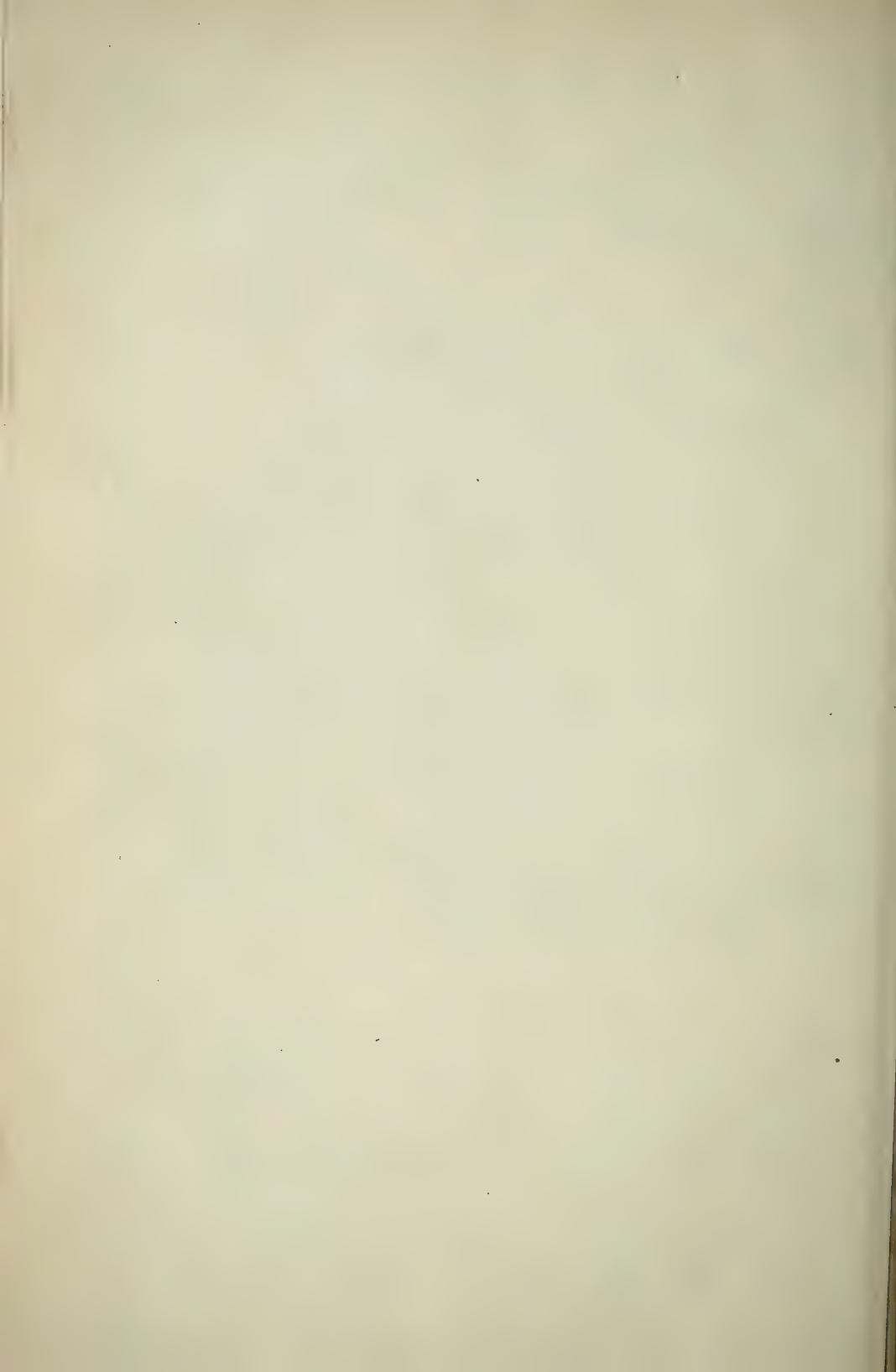


Gateway at Udayagiri.



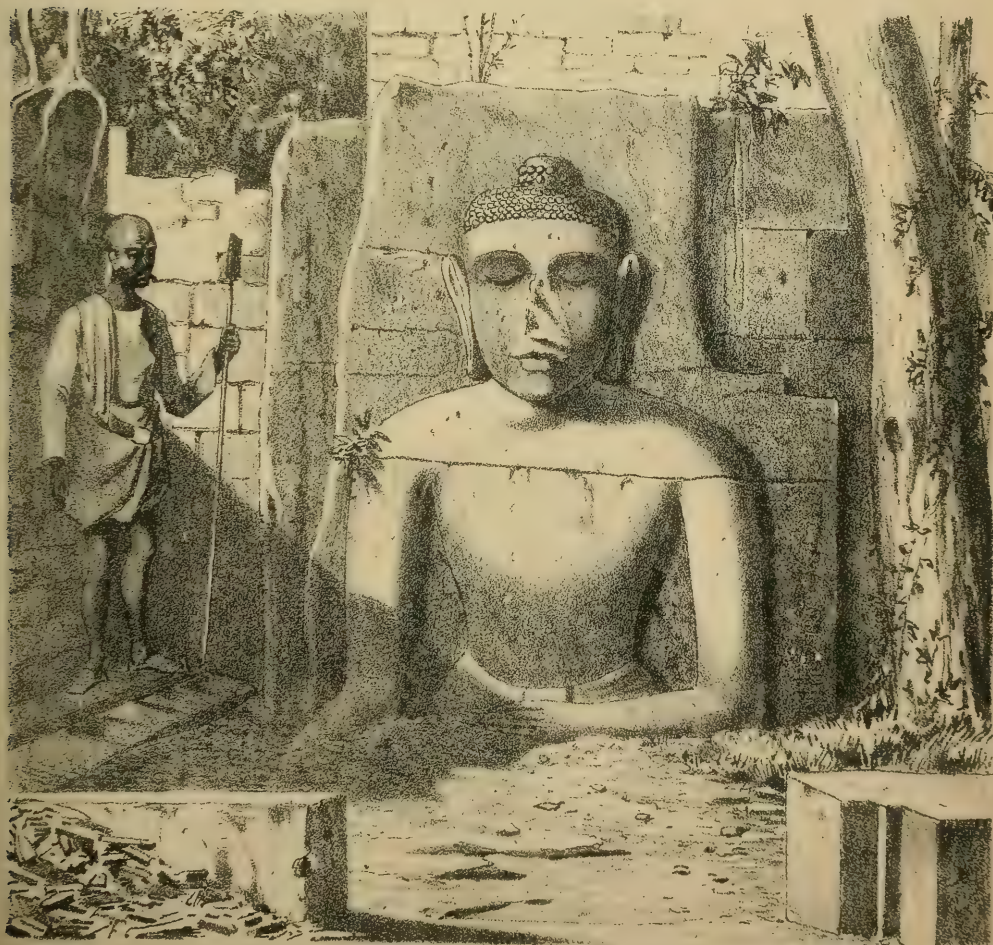
Sculptures on the gateway at Udayagiri.







*Temple of Basuli Thakurani, Nalti Giri, Cuttack.*

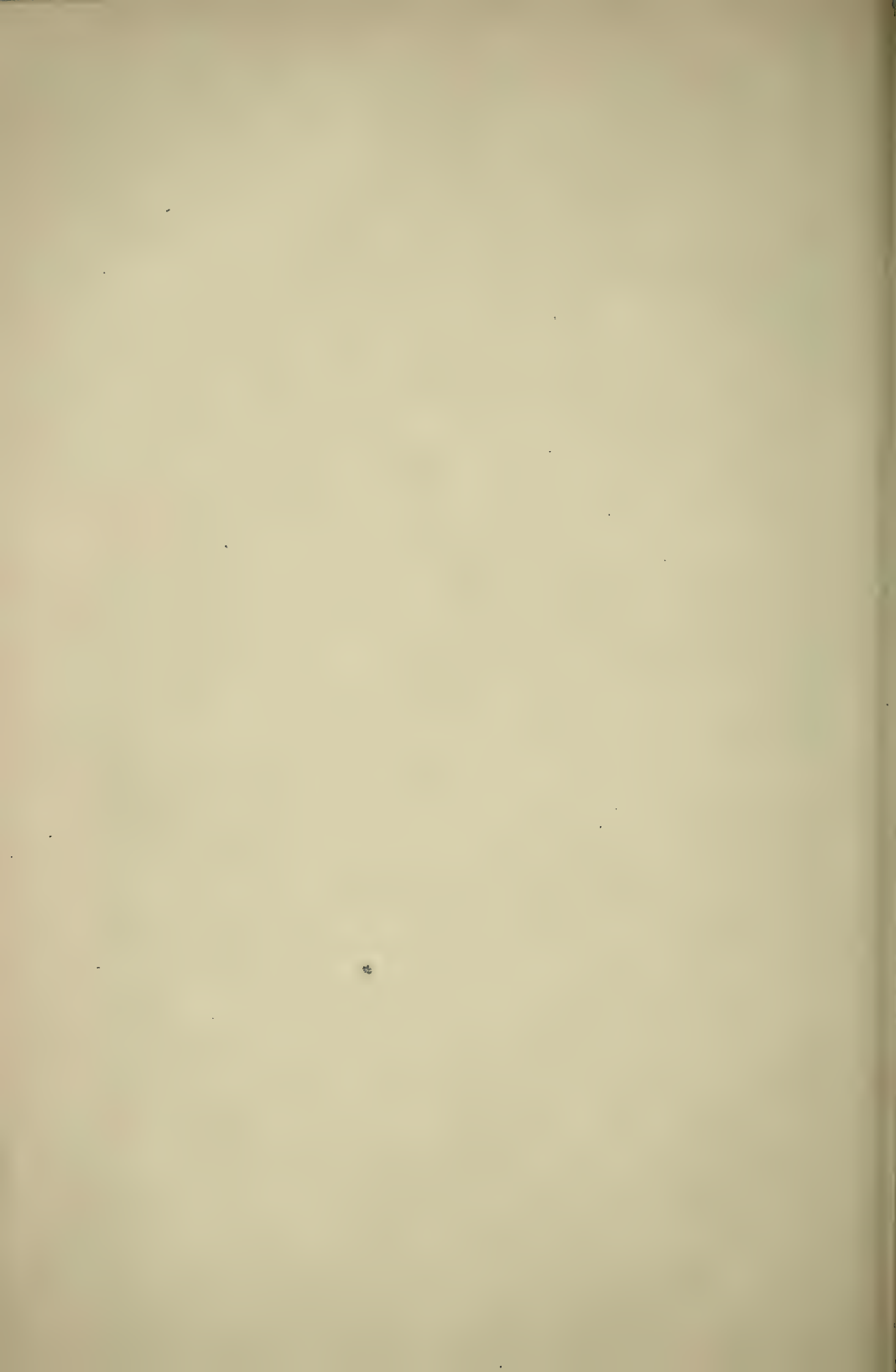


*J. Beames, del.*

*Colossal Statue of Buddha at Udaya-Giri, Alti Hills, Cuttack.*

*J. Schramburg, Lith.*





It consists of two upright slabs of stone, supporting a third as lintel. The dimensions are as follows :

	ft.	in.
Height of opening, .....	5	5
Breadth of ditto, .....	2	3½
Thickness of stone, .....	1	3½

The two side jambs are divided into bands separated by grooves,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch wide and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep. The panel or band nearest the doorway is carved with a continuous wavy creeper up which human figures are climbing in grotesque attitudes, from the excessively *nitambini'* outlines they are probably intended for females. The next band has a columnar type, and the capitals are those given by the Babu; but I append a more accurate drawing of them. The pilaster of the column is adorned with intricate arabesques and lion's heads. The next band is divided into tablets, each of which contains a beautifully carved group of a male and female figure engaged in what I may venture to call flirtation of an active kind. The beauty of these carvings is very striking, though they are much worn and covered with lichen (plate III); some indeed were so defaced that I could not make them out. The size of each tablet is 8 inches by 5. Just inside the gateway is the colossal Buddha, the size of which will be seen from the *chokí-dár* standing by. It is half buried in the earth in a damp gloomy pit and is noseless, as an Orissa statue ought to be who has heard the rattle of *Kálápahár's* kettle drum. (Plate V.)

With the permission of Bábu Rám gobind Jagdeb, the zamíndár of the estate, I am now engaged in having this beautiful gateway carefully removed by skilled workmen to Cuttack, where it will be erected in the Public Garden and taken care of. I hope to be able to get it photographed.

There are hundreds of statues and many temples on this hill, but owing to the limited time at my disposal and the denseness of the jungle, I was unable to carry my explorations further. I hope to do so on a future occasion.



*Who were the "Patan" or "Pathán" Sultáns of Dihlí?—By  
Major H. G. RAVERTY, Bombay Army (Retired).*

There is a very important period in the history of India requiring particular attention, and some strong remarks, in order to correct an error, which, since I have been engaged upon the translation of the *Ṭabaḳát-i-Nāṣirí*, has thrust itself upon my attention with greater force than ever.

It is an error which, for more than a century, has been handed down from one writer on Indian history to another, and re-echoed by others, their followers, upon all occasions. It has also misled many conscientious authors from their having placed reliance on the correctness of the translation of the commonest and most generally known history of India, in the Persian language, that is to be met with in India, and one which is tolerably well known to the generality of those educated Musalmáns who are acquainted with that language, and, to the translation of which nearly every English writer on Indian history has resorted down to this present day: and the error I refer to is still being industriously taught in our schools and colleges, both in England and in India.

I refer to the history of India, entitled *GULSHAN-I-IBRA'HÍMÍ*, by Muhammad Kásim Firishtah, and the translation I now more particularly glance at—I shall have to notice another, subsequently—is that by Dow, which I have noticed, and animadverted on, on a different subject, as well as on the present one, in my notes of the translation to the *Ṭabaḳát-i-Nāṣirí*. The error to which I have alluded is the styling of *Ḳuṭb-ud-din* of the Powerless Finger, the founder of—or rather the first of—and all the succeeding rulers of the kingdom of Dihlí, down even to the restoration of the Mughul emperor Humáyún, by the name of the "PATAN," "PATHÁN," or "AFGHÁN," dynasty.

This error, in the first instance, originated, I conceive, entirely from Dow, who, in 1768, published, what he styled, a translation of Firishtah's History, "the diction" of which he says, in his second edition, "in general, is rendered more connected, clear, elegant, and smooth." That translator also professes to have "clipped the wings of Firishtah's turgid expressions, and rendered his metaphors into common language," and further states that he "has given as few as possible of the faults of the author; but he has been cautious enough, not wittingly at least, to substitute any of his own in their place."

Notwithstanding these assertions, it was translated in such a manner as to make Gibbon suspect "that, through some odd fatality, the style of Firishtah had been improved by that of Ossian." Instead of clipping the wings of Firishtah, as Dow asserts, he is far more diffuse, and uses far more

turgid expressions; and, as the late Sir H. Elliot says in his BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX, “his own remarks are so interwoven as to convey an entirely different meaning from that which Firishtah intended,” and, “some of the commonest sentences are misunderstood, and the florid diction was occasionally used to gloss and embellish an imperfect comprehension of the original.” This is, by no means, an overdrawn picture of the translation, but a very mild one, as I shall now proceed to show, particularly respecting those passages which have caused Turkish slaves, Khaljis, Jaṭs, low caste Hindús, and Sayyids, to be turned into Paṭáns or Afgháns.

Dow commences his Preface with a blunder. He says (p. ix)—“Firishtah with great propriety begins the history of the Patan empire in Hindustan from the commencement of the kingdom of Ghizni.” Firishtah says not one word throughout his history of the “Patan empire,” much less the “Patan empire of Ghizni.” Then again he says: “The Afgans or Patans had been subjects to the imperial family of the Samania”; and he further asserts, that they, “Samania”, had revolted from the Caliphāt [*khalífāt* probably], which, likewise, is not correct. See the Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí’s account of the Sámání dynasty, or the account given by any other Asiatic writer, for the absolute contrary is the fact: they were most loyal to the Khalífahs, and acknowledged their suzerainty upon all occasions, and, indeed, received the investiture of their dominions from the Court of the Khalífahs of Baghdád. Dow winds up his paragraph by saying that “they [the ‘Afgans’] rebelled under Abistagi.” Such a statement is neither to be found in Firishtah, nor in the work of any other historian. Firishtah’s translator appears to have been as ignorant of the names of the personages therein mentioned as of the mode of spelling ‘Afghán’; for who would imagine that *Abistagi* is meant for Alb-Tigin, or would be so read by any one who could read the original for himself?

At page x of his Preface he says, “The kings of the Ghiznian Patans were obliged to relinquish their dominions in the north, and to transfer the seat of their empire to Lahore,” not because of the Ghúrís, but because of the “Charizmian [*Khawárazmí*] rulers, and afterwards to Dihlí.” Firishtah does not make any such assertion, nor will any other writer be found who states that any Ghaznawí ruler, much less a “Ghiznian Patan,” transferred his seat of empire to Dihlí.

Then he says [pp. x and xi]—“The uncommon strength of the Patan empire in Hindustan at this period may be easily accounted for. It was the policy of the adopted Turkish slaves [which he nevertheless turns into “Afgans” or “Patans”] of the family of Ghor to keep standing armies of Mountain Afghans, under their respective chiefs, who were invariably created Omrahs of the empire.” This the translator may have heard from ignorant Hindústánís with whom he came in contact, or he must have



judged from the state of India at the period in which he wrote, when Najib-ud-daulah and other Patán chieftains kept bodies of their clansmen in pay. I challenge any one to name any single Afghán chief of any tribe of “mountain Afgháns,” who was one of the “Omrah” during the sway of the whole Turkish Slave Dynasty.

Dow takes his introduction partly from Firishtah’s introduction, although in the advertisement to the second of his translation he says, “Firishtah’s account of the ancient Indians, and the invasions of the Muhammadians, before the commencement of the Ghiznián Empire, is omitted, and an introduction substituted in its place, more satisfactory, succinct, and agreeable,” but a vast deal of the original is left out for obvious reasons; and a comparison of the two proves that the translation is full of mistakes, both in meaning and in the names of persons and places.

Under the reign of the Hindú king named Kíd and Kídár Ráj, whom Dow styles “Keda-rajá,” he has—“The mountaineers of Cabul and Candahar, *who are called Afgans or Patans*, advanced against Keda-rajá, and recovered all the provinces of which he had possessed himself on the Indus. We know no more of the transactions of Keda-rajá.”

Here is what Firishtah states [page 22 of the lithographed text, which I have chosen for facility of comparison by others]. “After some time the Khokhars and Janjúhiáhs [the lithographed text here, however, has كهكران چويه, which is evidently an error for كهوكهران and جلچويه], tribes once very powerful, located in the hill tract of Makhíalah [the Salt Range] in the Sind-Ságar Doábah, who were amongst the [most] respectable zamíndárs of the Panjáb, combined with the dwellers in the plains [nomads] and the mountains [hill tribes], between Kábul and Kandahár [the name of this place *is not mentioned by any* author up to the time of, and including, the author of the *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, and the place appears not to have been then known, at least by that name, until a considerable time subsequently], and came against Kíd-Ráj, and he, becoming helpless, left that tract of country in their possession. From that time, that people dispersed [the confederacy was broken], and the chief in each mountain tract appropriated it. *Apparently* (to Firishtah, but it is not entirely correct) *that people are the Afgháns which now are* [افغانان كه اكنون هستند]. There is not a word more said about them. A proof of what the historian quoted by Firishtah says of the Afgháns and other tribes of people in connection with them, which Dow and others make one race of, is contained in this sentence in the original text, p. 29, but it is entirely left out in Dow’s version. Speaking of the Rájah of Láhor sending forces to coerce the Afgháns, he says: “On this occasion, the Khalj, and men of Ghúr *and* Kábul assisted them (the Afgháns).” Now, if these Khalj and Ghúris were Afgháns, as Dow would make out, why does Firishtah, like



many others his predecessors, however, name them separately? The reason is obvious, and he does so correctly.

After the utterance of some erroneous ideas as to why the Afghán country of Akbar's time was called Afghánistán, *centuries before it was so called*, Firishtah says: "The reason why the Hindus call them [the Afgháns] Paṭáns is not known, but it occurs to the mind that during the time of the Musalmán Sultáns [that is, those rulers who were styled Sultáns, prior to Bábar's time], when they [the Afgháns] first came into Hind, they having taken up their abode in the city of Paṭnah, the Hindús styled them Paṭáns." Here he shows his ignorance of the previous history of the Afgháns.

Alluding to the Rájah of Láhor coming to an accommodation with them [p. 30], and giving up to them sundry towns or villages in the Lamghánát, Firishtah says: "the tribe of Khalj, who dwelt in that desert tract [صحرا, in distinction from hill tracts, the more level tracts or plains] as hangers-on upon the Afgháns, he made co-partners [in possession of the lands] with them, on the stipulation that they, the Afgháns, should defend the frontier [of Hind, or his dominions], and not permit Musalmán troops to enter Hindústán. The Afgháns in the hills near Pesháwar constructed a stronghold which they named Khaibar, and, having possessed themselves of the territory of Roh, during the sway of the Sámání Maliks, they did not permit them [the Sámánís] to disturb the territory of Láhor, and hence, from first to last, their invasions and ravages were directed towards Sind and Bhaṭíah." Firishtah then proceeds to describe Roh, as Afghán writers had previously done, including Khán Jahán Lúdí himself, a contemporary of Firishtah, and the author of a History of the Afgháns, from which work, in all probability, Firishtah took his description. Khán Jahán, who was of the Lúdí tribe of Afgháns, will not be found to have made Turks [including Khaljís] and Ghúris of them, and it may be presumed that he knew something at least about his own ancestor and people, as well as the author of the Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhi, which I shall have to refer to.

Firishtah then refers to Sabuk-Tigín, "who was the sipah-sálár of the forces of Alb-Tigín," but such was not the case [as shown in the Ṭabakát-i-Nāṣirí, page 71], both of which chiefs Dow styles *Subuctagi* and *Abistagi* respectively. Firishtah appears to have been totally unacquainted with the names of Alb-Tigín's son, Is-hák, and of Balká-Tigín, and of Pírey, who held authority over Ghaznín and its dependencies before Sabuk-Tigín. "Sabuk-Tigín," he says, "was powerless in opposing [coercing?] the Afgháns; and afterwards he entered into a good understanding with them; but Mahmúd, his son, subdued and humbled them, put their chiefs to death, and compelled Afgháns to enter his service."

This last statement of Firishtah's, respecting Mahmúd's taking Af-

ghāns into his service, *may be* correct, but it is doubtful, as may be judged from the expeditions against them undertaken by his gallant son Mas'ūd, an account of which I have given from Baihaqī's *Tāriḫ* in my version of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, in note 7, para. 7, page 321, which see.

Firishtah, in his History, gives a detailed account of Sabuk-Tigīn's descent, which he took from the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* verbatim, but this Dow leaves out entirely.

At page 50 of his translation, Dow has the following with reference to Mahmūd :—" In the following year, Mamood led his army towards Ghor. The native prince of that country, Mahommed of the Soor tribe of Afgans, a principality in the mountains famous for giving birth to the Ghorian dynasty." Briggs, in his version of Firishtah, follows Dow closely and, in some cases, verbatim, as I have also shown elsewhere; and, in this place, he perpetrates the same blunder; and these two translators are, no doubt, wholly responsible for thus leading their readers astray and causing them to blunder likewise, and to disseminate the incorrect statement that the Afghāns are Ghūrīs, who are Tāziks or Tājiks, and claimed Arab origin. Briggs's version of the passage given above is thus [Vol. 1, p. 49]—" In the following year Mahmood led an army into Ghoor. The native prince of that country, Mahomed of the Afghan tribe of Soor (the same race which gave birth to the dynasty that eventually succeeded in subverting the family of Subooktugeen)," etc.

This statement on the part of Dow and Briggs is evidently the origin of the incorrect assertions of those who have had, and still have, recourse to their versions for materials for Indian history so called; indeed, as a writer in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, a few years since, wrote—" Hitherto for the pre-Mughul Muhammadan History of India we have been dependent on Firishtah. \* \* \* \* Elphinstone's History, for instance, is entirely based on that authority." The writer, however, should have said, dependent on the translators of Firishtah; for even where Firishtah is right, they have made him wrong. Elphinstone certainly quotes Dow and Briggs constantly.

What says Firishtah though? He says [p. 46]—" In the year 401 H., the Sultān [Mahmūd], having led an army into Ghūr, the ruler (حاکم) of that country, Muhammad, son of Sūrī [see translation of *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, page 321, and note 7-7], with 10,000 men in array, confronted the Sultān's ranks." There is not one word about the " Afghan tribe of Soor" nor the " Soor tribe of Afgans"; and it is from this particular passage in these two translations of Firishtah that the error arose of making " Patans" of all the rules of Dihlī down to Sultān Buhlūl of the Lūdī tribe, who is the first Paṭhān or Afghān that sat on the throne of Dihlī.

A few lines under the above quotation, Firishtah refers to the *Tāriḫ-i-Yamīnī*, and quotes the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* with reference to

the conversion of the Ghúris to Islám, and says "but the author of the *Tabakát-i-Náşirí* and *Fakhr-ud-Dín Mubárák Sháh the Marw-ar-Rúdí* [see my translation, page 301], who composed a history," etc.; but Dow leaves this out entirely, and Briggs, such seems the infatuation for viewing all things in a "Patan" light, translates the last part of the sentence [p. 50] "*Fakhr-ood-Deen Mubarik Lody who wrote a history*," etc. Instead of *Marw-ar-Rúdí* (مرو الرودي), he read *Lúdí* (لودى), the name of Sultán Buhlál's tribe, which, no doubt, he thought must be correct. People referring to these translations, and finding this statement reiterated, time after time, that the Ghaznawís and Ghúris were "Afgans or Patans", concluded that *Firishtah* must have so stated, and that he must be right, and so they wrote their accounts of "Patan Sultans," "Patan buildings," and "Patan coins," but they do not seem to have considered that, even if the Ghúris were Patáns, it did not follow that their Turkish slaves, and other Turks, and Tatárs, should also be Patáns. I do not doubt that many Persian scholars will be surprised to hear that there is nothing of the kind whatever in *Firishtah*, any more than there is in any other Asiatic writer, but such is the fact, and *Firishtah's* text on examination will prove it.

Farther on [p. 132], Dow states: "The genealogy of the kings of Ghor, according to the most authentic historians, could be traced up, by the names, for three and twenty, and downwards nine generations, from Ali to Mamood, the son of Subuctagi," &c. There is nothing of the kind in *Firishtah*. He renders the names of their ancestors as *Minhá-j-i-Siráj*, and some others give them, name by name, down to *Zuhák the Tázi*, but Dow not understanding what followed, concealed the "nine generations" down to *Mahmúd of Ghizní*, to whom the Ghúris were no more related than they were to Dow himself. It was from this passage, I have no doubt, the author of "a Student's Manual of Indian History" was led into the error of calling *Mahmúd of Ghaznín* "the great ancestor" of Sultán *Mu'izz-ud-dín*.

I now pass from the Ghúris and their Turkish slaves, and their slaves, to the *Tughluq* dynasty, who are also included among the "Patans" and "Pathans" by English writers who follow Dow and Briggs.

At p. 295, vol. I, Dow says: "We have no true account of the pedigree of *Tuglick*. It is generally believed that his father, whose name was *Tuglick*, had been in his youth brought up as an imperial slave by *Balin*. His mother was one of the tribe of *Jits*. But indeed the pedigrees of the kings of the Patan empire make such a wretched figure in history," etc. Compare Briggs also here.

*Firishtah* says [page 230]—"The chroniclers of *Hindústán*, both the ancients and the moderns, being negligent, not one of them has recorded with the pen of certainty aught respecting the origin and lineage of the



Ṭughluḡ-Sháhí dynasty. The writer of these pages, Muhammad Kásim Firishtah, when, at the commencement of the reign of Núr-ud-dín Muhammad Jahángír Badsháh, he [Firishtah] on the part of the Sultán of the age, Ibráhím 'A'díl Sháh, reached the city of Láhor, he made inquiry of some persons of that place, who had a predilection for reading the histories of the sovereigns of Hindústán, and who were acquainted with the events [of the reigns] of the Sultáns of Hind, respecting the origin and lineage of the Ṭughluḡ-Sháhí sovereigns. They replied, [saying]—We, likewise, have not seen [anything] distinctly mentioned [on the subject] in any book [Ibn Baṭúṭah's account notwithstanding]; but, in this country [province?] it is currently stated that Malik Ṭughluḡ, the father of the Bádsháh Ghiyás-ud-dín Ṭughluḡ Sháh, was attached to the train of Turk slaves of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban, and that he formed a connection with the Jáṭ race, who are the aborigines [بومي—native, homebred, one who has never been abroad] of this country, and espoused a daughter of one of them, and of her the Bádsháh Ghiyás-ud-dín Ṭughluḡ Sháh was born. It is stated in the *Mulhaḡdt* [appendices, additions—the name of a work probably] that the name Ṭughluḡ originally was Ḳutlugh, which word is Turkish; and the people of Hind, from usage, inverted it, and have turned Ḳutlugh into Ṭughluḡ, and some few have turned Ḳutlugh into Ḳutlú." This is all Firishtah says of this so-called "Patan" dynasty.

I shall content myself with one more reference to Dow's translation. It is under the reign of the Afghán ruler whom he styles "Shere", p. 159, vol. 2, and in the paragraph alluded to, that he contradicts his own former statements. He says: "The original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Hussein, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh." He then attempts to describe Roh, but blunders even in that:—"The original seat of the Afghans was Roh, which, in their language, signifies a mountainous country. It extended, they say, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckurast." The original is—"to the town of Siwí, which is a dependency of Bakar." Dow turned the proper name "Bakar" and the verb "*ast*", is, into a proper name. He then continues, "and in breadth, from *Hussein to Kabul*." The original is "from Hasan Abdál to Kábul." The Afghán writers, from the earliest down to Háfíz Rahmat Khán, thus describe the extent and boundaries of Roh; in fact, other writers take their descriptions from *Afghán* accounts, but let it be *particularly noticed* that Ghúr is not contained within the boundaries given. Dow then further states: "This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many separate tribes. Among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive themselves from the princes of Ghor, whose family held the empire after the extinction of the race of Ghizni. One of the sons of the Ghorian family, whose name was Mahommed Soor, having left his native country,

placed himself among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of *Soor*, who was esteemed the noblest among them."

Firishtah's account is vastly different. He says: "The name of Sher Sháh was Faríd, and his father's name Hasan, who is (*sic*) of the people of the Afgháns of Roh. When Sultán Buhlúl Lúdí attained dominion, the father of Hasan, the Súr, who was named Ibráhím, having evinced a desire of obtaining service, came to Dihlí." He then describes Roh, as mentioned above, and adds: "The Afgháns there are of several tribes, among which is the clan of Súr. They account themselves of the posterity of the Sultáns of Ghúr, and say that one of their sons [a son of one of that family] who was called Muhammad Súrí [not Muhammad Súr, but *son* of Súrí], in former days, having been made an exile from his native country,—[If the Afgháns were Ghúris, or the Ghúris Afgháns, as it is pretended, and dwelt in Ghúr, how could this person be an exile from his country among his own people, in his own country?—]came among the Afgháns of Roh, and, as the correctness of his descent was verified to [the satisfaction of] one of the Afghán chiefs, notwithstanding it is not the custom of Afgháns to give their daughters to strangers, that person [chief or head-man] gave his daughter to Muhammad-i-Súrí, and made him his son-in-law; and, from him offspring having sprung, they became known as the Súr Afgháns [*lit.* Afghánán-i- Súr], and may be the greater of the tribes of the Afgháns."

This is all Firishtah says on the subject, but he has himself misunderstood or confused the Afghan tradition about this son of a Ghúrí chief, with the other tradition about the Ghúris, related by several authors, which I have referred to in note 7, page 321 of my translation of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, which see; and is himself quite wrong in his account of the Afghán tribe of Súr.

The earliest authority known on the descent of the Afgháns, written by Afgháns themselves, is a work, said to have been composed by Shaikh Mali, a distinguished person among the Yúsuf-zí tribe, between 816 H. and 828 H. [Buhlúl Lúdí only came to the throne of Dihlí in 850 H.], and another composed by, or more probably at the command of, Khán Kajú, the celebrated Yúsuf-zí chief of the 100,000 spears "some time after 900 H., nearly half a century before Sher Sháh's obtaining sovereignty, and which two works, written in Pushto, are the basis of the *Tárikh-i-Háfiz Rahmat Khání* and the *Khuláṣat-ul-Ansáb* of Háfiz Rahmat himself, both of which I have translated; and in those works there is no mention of the Ghúrí connection. The other works are: The *Tazkirat-ul-Abár* of Ákhund Darwezah, a Tájik like the Ghúris, not an Afghán; the *Tawárikh-i-Ibráhím Sháhí*; the *Tárikh-i-Nisbat-i-Afághinah* of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Razzák Matí-zí, styled also Bálá Pír, son of the great Shaikh Kásim, whose fine mausoleum may still be seen near the walls of Chanár-garh, as that of Ká-



sim Sulaimání; the *Tárikh-i-Sher-Sháhi* of Shaikh 'Abbás Sarwání; the *Mir-át-ul-Afághinah* of Khán Jahán Lúdí; the *Makhzan Afghání* of Shaikh Ni'mat-ullah; and the *Ansáb-i-Afághinah* of Farid ud-dín Ahmad. The last also is silent on the Ghúrí connection.

The tradition (but not contained in Ferishtah, who quotes a totally different one, given farther on) on which the whole of the sovereigns of Dihli, from the Turkish slave *Ḳuṭb ud-dín* of the Powerless Finger—and including his master *Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad*, son of *Bahá-ud-dín Sám*, since it is because he is considered a "Patan or Afghan," that his Turkish slaves are made "Patans or Afghans" of likewise—down to *'Alá-ud-dín*, grandson of *Khizr Khán*, the last of the *Sayyid* dynasty, are *all* made Patans of, is as follows:—

"In the khiláfat of 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Marwán [65 H. to 86 H.], Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf us-Ṣakafí, was appointed to the leadership of an Arab army assembled for the conquest of Khurásán and Ghúristán, i. e. Ghúr; but some of the works previously quoted differ somewhat, and say that Muhammad Hárún was nominated to the command of this army, and also Muhammad Kásim, sister's son of Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, who was the commander of the forces of Sulaimán, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Marwán, in the year 86 H. Sultán Bahrám, ruler of Ghúr, who was descended from Zuhák, the Tájí or Tází, and contemporary with the Khalífah 'Alí, had proceeded to Kúfah, and presented himself before him, and had received from him in writing a grant of the government of Ghúr. [See *Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí*, pp. 312, 315, for another version of this.] This Sultán Bahrám had two sons. The elder was Sultán Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Husain, from whom is descended, in the third generation, Muhammad-i-Súrí. This seems to point to Muhammad, son of Súrí, mentioned in *Ṭab. Nás.* p. 319, who was the great great grandfather of the Sultán *Mu'izz-ud-dín Ghúrí*, son of Sám, the sovereignty over Ghúr being in the elder branch of the family, who overthrew Rái Pithorá and slew him, and who introduced Muhammadanism into Hindústán, and is sometimes called in Hind by the name of Shiháb-ud-dín. [Compare *Ṭab. Nás.*, pp. 302 to 313, and it will be seen whether this agrees with what the annalist of the Ghúrí Sultáns, and their contemporary Maulaná Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárák Sháh says.] The younger son of Sultán Bahrám was named Jamál-ud-dín Hasan, who had a son, *Mu'izz-ud-dín Mahmúd*, who again had a son, Sháh Husain by name."

Which one of the elder branch was ruler of Ghúr on the occasion of Arab invasion, is not said, whether son or grandson of Sultán Bahrám; but afterwards it is mentioned that *Kamál-ud-dín Mahmúd*, son of the eldest son of Bahrám—*Jalál-ud-dín*—was sent as a hostage to the capital of the Khalífah Walíd.

After stating Muhammad-i-Súrí to be the great great grandfather of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín of Indian renown, they again proceed to state that, "on the authority of the *Tárikh-i-Khurásán* [some say, *Tárikh-i-Khurásání*], the Sultáns of Ghúr are descended from Zuhák, the Tází, in this wise. Sultán Bahrám, son of Jalál-ud-dín, son of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín, son of Sultán Bahrám, etc., etc." Here the former account seems reversed, and the first Bahrám mentioned would seem to be intended for the so-called *father* of the Sultáns of Ghúr. The writers of this tradition were probably unaware also, that the early rulers of Ghúr were styled Malik, never Sultán and that *the very first* who is styled *Sultán* among the Muhammadan sovereigns is Mahmúd of Ghazní who was a *Turk*.

"Sháh Mu'izz-ud-dín, father of Sháh Husain [Sháh likewise is neither a title, nor a name occurring among the Ghúrian family], after the subjugation of his country, retired to Makkah, but his son Sháh Husain, separating from his father during these troubles, also left his native country and became an exile. He succeeded in reaching the tents of an Afghán family, which happened to be encamped in the part he first reached, the tribe or chief of which was Shaikh Bataní, or Bah-Taní, or Tabríñ, as he is also styled."

Before relating more of this tradition, I must mention that all the Afgháns, *without any exception whatever*, claim descent from 'Abd-ur-Rashíd-i-Káis al-Laik, who was contemporary with Muhammad the Prophet of Islám, who, they affirm, supported the Prophet's cause, and aided him with his arms, and was styled by Muhammad 'Paţán,' signifying the keel of a vessel; and all his descendants are, on this account, called Paţáns, so the Afghán annalists say; and he is said to have died in the 40th year of H., aged 87 years. Shaikh Bataní or Tabríñ was his son—one of three, *viz.*, Sarí, Ghari, and Tabríñ, who are also respectively styled Sarřaban, Gharghasht, and Bataní or Tabríñ. Such being the fact, as related by *all* Afghán writers, the *tribe* could not have been considerable; in fact, at the time in question, it consisted of three families.

"This noble-born youth", as Sháh Husain is styled, "having reached the tents of Shaikh Bataní's tribe (family), was hospitably received and entertained. He appeared exceedingly devout, and by degrees Bataní, a man of piety and austerity, hence styled Shaikh, took a great liking for him, treated him as a son, made him acquainted with all his affairs, and withheld nothing from him. Bataní's sons, Ismá'il, Ishbún (or Ishpún, as he is also called), and Kajín, treated him as a brother; and, as in the hills there is no concealment of females and no prohibition against seeing and meeting them in their family circle, a secret attachment grew up on the part of Sháh Husain towards Matú, Bataní's daughter; and, at last, matters proceeded to such extremities, that Matú was found to be pregnant by

him. Her mother advised Bataní that Matú should be given to Sháh Husain in marriage before this became known. He demurred, as he did not consider the fugitive youth a suitable match for his daughter. The youth affirmed that his ancestors had been princes of Ghúr, and asked him to send some one into that country and verify the truth of his statement. It was done, and Bataní gave his consent; and, shortly after, Bibí Matú brought forth a son, which, being the fruit of an illicit amour was named Ghal-zoe, *ghal* in the Afghán language signifying 'a thief', and *zoe*, 'a son', therefore signifying 'the thief-son', the illicit son. From this son is said to be descended the great tribe of Ghalzí (*zí*, applied to the tribe is plural of *zoe*), numbering, at this period, in all its divisions and subdivisions, near upon half a million of souls, and one of the two most numerous tribes of all the Afghán race.

Another history in my possession, which I have not mentioned above among the others, and the author of which was a member of the *royal tribe*—the Sado-zís, the tribe to which the late Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk belonged. He besides quoting his own Afghán authorities, mentions the Tawárikh-i-Saláṭín-i-Lúdíah wa Súriah-i-Afághinah, and the Risálah-i-Akhhár-i-Khadkah, and gives a detailed account of the early history of the Afgháns. The author styles Matú's father Tabríñ only, never by the name of Bataní, and merely mentions that *one of Tabríñ's daughters* had a son before the nuptial knot was tied, and adds "*and it is said that there was an illicit connexion between her and Mast 'Alí Ghúrí,*" whoever he may have been, but he does not, in consequence, turn the Ghúris into "Afgháns or Patans". The Ghalzís, on the other hand, deny altogether the truth of this tradition.

Before mentioning anything more respecting Sháh Husain, the "noble-born" Ghúrí youth, and the sons he is said to have been the father of, on the authority of this tradition, I must by the following short table show, from the tradition itself, what relationship existed between the said Sháh Husain, by virtue of whose *traditional* connection with Bataní's, or Tabríñ's daughter, Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad, son of Bahá-ud-dín Sám, the conqueror of Rái Pithorá, and the Ghúrí Sultáns, before and after him, are all turned into Afgháns likewise, and not only they, but their Turkish slaves, and their slaves, and slave's slaves likewise,

## Sultán Bahrám.

[contemporary of the Khalifah 'Alí,] descendant of Zuhák, the Tází or Tájí.

1. *Eldes*t son, Jalál-ud-dín Muham-mad Husain.

2. Kamál-ud-dín Mahmúd, who was sent as hostage to Walíd.

3. Son, nameless, [but as *his* son is called Muhammad-i-Súrí, it is presumed therefore *by me*, to be Súrí], great great-grandfather of the last mentioned under.

4. Son, nameless.

5. Son, nameless.

6. Son, nameless.

7. Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad, son of Bahá-ud-dín Sám, Sultán of Ghaznín, assassinated 602 H.

1. *Youngest* son, Jamál-ud-dín Hasan.

2. Sháh Mu'izz-ud-dín Mahmúd, who retired to Makkah.

3. Sháh Husain [contemporary with Hajjáj, appointed to administer the government of Khurásán, 78 H.], *who had Bibí Matú to wife*.

1, Ghalzí. 2, Ibráhím, surnamed Lúdí, properly Lo-e-day, "he is eldest", he being the eldest legitimate son; and 3, Siá-ní.

Now what relationship existed between Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad, son of Bahá-ud-dín Sám, conqueror of Rái Pithorá, and establisher of the Muhammadan power in Hindústán, whose descent is traced to Zuhák, the Tází, (*i. e.*, *Arab*: by Persian-speaking people Tájí, whence comes the name Tázík and Tájik, by which name the greater number of the *non-Afghán* people of those tracts are still known. See Tab. Náş., page 301) and the descendants of Bibí Matú's sons, whose father, by this tradition, Sháh Husain was? Is there the slightest shadow of a reason why, even if this tradition were true, the rulers of Ghúr, whether Maliks or Sultáns, should be styled, as at page 50, Vol. 1, of Dow's version of *Firishtah*, "Muhammad of the Súr tribe of Afgháns, and in Brigg's version, page 50, Vol. 1, "Muhammad of the Afghán tribe of Súr"? and is there the most remote shadow of a reason why Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín's Turkish slave should be styled "the founder" of the Afghán or "Patán" dynasty of Dihlí, and all those *Turkish slaves, and descendants of Turkish slaves*, the *Khalj Turks*, and the *Sayyids* who trace their descent to Husain, grandson of Muhammad the Prophet, and are acknowledged by all Muhammadans to be his descendants—twenty rulers in all—should be styled the "Patán" or "Pathán" kings of Dihlí?

From the error of calling the Ghúrí Sultáns "*Patans or Afgháns*" emanates another error equally great; but, in this instance, it is the turning of Afgháns into Turks! Wherever the Khalj tribe are referred to throughout *Firishtah's* work, Dow styles them 'Chilligies', which is the name of no people, tribe, or race on the face of the earth, and in this he is followed by Maurice and some others; but Briggs styles them by nearly their correct name, at least, for they are called Khaljí as well as Khalj; but



other writers have at once jumped at the conclusion and some even shortly maintain that they are Ghalzís. For example, Mr. J. C. Marshman, who has written a History of India, "at the request of the University of Calcutta" and who says, "so far as historical truth can be discovered," he is "*prepared to vouch for the accuracy of the facts detailed in it*," calls them GHILJIES:—(page 53, Vol. 1) "the Afghán mountaineers of Ghuzni and Ghore, denominated the Ghiljies". There is certainly a great similarity between the mode of writing the name of the Afghán tribe of Ghalzí غلزی and the Turkish tribe of Khalj خلیج, Khaljí خلیجی.

What Firishtah does say respecting the descent of the Afgháns, but which is very different from *their* tradition previously given, is this: "When Khálid, the son of 'Abdullah, was removed from the government of Kábul, (other authors of much greater authority than Firishtah relate differently, however) finding it difficult and dangerous to return into 'Irák-i-'Arab through fear of the newly appointed governor, under the guidance of the chiefs of Kábul, he proceeded into the Sulaimán mountains, which lie between Multán and Pesháwar and between many other places, accompanied by his family and a party of Arab followers, and therein took up his residence. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to one of the chief men among the Afgháns there, who had become Musalmáns. From this *daughter* of the 'Arab, Khálid sprung offspring who multiplied and acquired great repute. One of these was Lúdí, and another Súr; and the Afgháns come from that party of 'Arabs above mentioned. In a work, entitled Matla'-ul-Anwár, composed by one among the trustworthy, which Firishtah perused at Burhánpúr in Khándesh, it was written that the Afgháns are Kibţíah (Copts)", &c., &c., and there occur other statements foreign to this subject.

The same writer also makes a statement with respect to the Lúdí tribe, Vol. 1, p. 69 which is equally as incorrect as the preceding, and would cause some astonishment, as well as ridicule, among the people referred to. He says:—"Belcli was an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi, now known as the Lohani, which is engaged chiefly in the conveyance of merchandise between Hindustan and Persia." Nothing of the sort. Súr, son of Ismá'íl, who was the progenitor of the tribe of that name, had two brothers, each the progenitors of separate tribes, one of whom was named Núh, and he is the progenitor of the tribe of Núhání, which name has been corrupted into Lúhání. These are the people who act as the great carriers of merchandise in Central Asia.

Elphinstone in his History correctly states that the Kháljís were a Turkish tribe, long connected with the Afgháns, as Firishtah himself mentions, and does not confound them with the Afghanistan of Ghazni, of whom he gives a good account in his "Caulbul."

The 'Masálik ul-Mamálik' states that "the Khalj are a tribe of Turks, which in former days—this work was written long before the time of Mahmúd of Ghazní—settled in Garmsír, between Sijistán and the region of Hind. They are in appearance and dress like Turks, and observe the customs of that race, and all speak the Turkí language." The same work also states in two or three places, that there is a town called Khalj in that part; and in the account of Jáj, also Cháj, of Máwar-án-Nahr says that it is a populous and flourishing city, the people of which are Ghuzz and Khalj, all Musalmáns of the sect of Ghází.

The Ghalzís, so called after the illicit son of the tradition of Bibí Matú and Sháh Husain, have no tribe, subdivision, or family among them styled either "Lodí" or "Súr"; but two other sons were born to Bibí Matú, one of whom was named Ibráhim, who is surnamed Lo-e-daey, signifying in the Afghán language "(he) is great or elder", respecting which name a tradition is attached which need not be related here. It has been corrupted or rather shortened, into Lodí and Lúdí, and Ibráhim is the progenitor of the Lúdí tribe. From him sprung two sons, one of whom, named Siáni, had two sons, Pránkí and Ismá'il. Pránkí is the ancestor, eight generations back, of Buhlúl, of the Sháhú Khel, a clan of the Lúdí tribe, who, according to the authors I have been quoting, and as all educated Afgháns themselves will affirm, was the first of the race of 'Abd-ur-Rashíd Paṭán that attained sovereign power. He is the founder of the Lúdíah dynasty, but the thirtieth ruler of Dihlí, counting from ẖuṭb-ud-dín, the Turkish slave of the Tájik Sultán Mu'izz-ud-dín Muḥammad, son of Babá-ud-dín Sám Ghúrí.

From Ismá'il, brother of Pránkí and son of Siáni, son of Lúdí, sprung two sons, one of whom was named Súr, who had four sons, from one of whom, Yúnas by name, in the ninth generation, descended Farid, afterwards Sher Sháh, who dethroned the second Mughul emperor Humáyún, and was the first of the Súr division of the Lúdí tribe who attained sovereignty; and Ahmad Khán, son of Saidú, afterwards Sultán Sikandar, his kinsman, was the last of the Afghán or Paṭán dynasty. The name Súr appears to have struck those who were in search of a mare's-nest, and they at once jumped at the conclusion, that, as Súrí was the name of one of the Tájik chiefs of Ghúr, and Ghúr lay near the tract then occupied by the Afgháns, the Ghúris must be Afgháns or Paṭáns and the Afgháns Ghúris, and so this error has been handed down from one writer to another up to this present day. Although Firishtah falls into error in supposing Súrí and Súr to be the same name and to refer to the same person, he never turns Ghúris and Turks into Afgháns or Paṭáns.

One example more and I have done. At page 197, Vol. 2, Dow, under the reign of Ibráhim Súr, says: "In the mean time, Muḥammad

(*sic*) of the Afghan family of Ghor, governor of Bengal, rebelled against Muhammad". Here again we have his own ideas inserted, for Firishtah knew better than to utter such an absurdity. That author expresses himself in these words under the reign of Muhammad Sháh, nicknamed Andhlí, 'the intellectually blind'. "At this period, Muhammad Khán Súr, ruler of Bangálah, having raised the standard of hostility," &c. Dow turns the kings of Gujarát and the Bahrí rulers of Ahmadnagar into Patáns likewise. Under the reign of Salím Sháh, he says, (Vol. 2, p. 191) when mentioning his death: "In the same year, Mahmud, the Patan king of Guzerat, [He was the descendant of a Ták Rájput from near Thánesar] and the Nizám of the Deccan, who was of the same nation, died." Compare Briggs here also. Firishtah's words are these: "In this very same year, Mahmúd Sháh Gujarátí, and Burhán Nizám-ul-Mulk Bahrí, likewise died." This Burhán-ul-Mulk was the son of Ahmad Nizám Sháh, the founder of the Bahrí dynasty and of the city of Ahmadnagar, who was the son of a Bráhmaṇ of Bījānagar who being taken captive in his childhood, was made a Musalmán of, and brought up as one of the slaves of Sultán Ahmad Sháh Bahmaní."

The renowned Afghán chief and poet Khushhál Khán, of the Khaṭak tribe, mentions the two Afghán dynasties in one of his poems. See my 'Poetry of the Afgháns', page 197,—

"The whole of the deeds of the Patáns are better than those of the Mughuls;

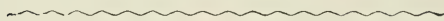
But they have no unity among them, and a great pity it is.

The fame of Buhlúl and of Sher Sháh, too, resoundeth in my ears—

Afghán emperors of India who swayed the sceptre effectually and well.

For six or seven generations did they govern so wisely,

That all their people were filled with admiration of them."



*On the Khyeng People of the Sandoway District, Arakan.—By MAJOR  
G. E. FRYER, Deputy Commissioner, Sandoway.*

(With two plates.)

PART I.

**Physical and Social Characteristics.**

*Introductory.*

The great western mountain range of Burma is peopled by tribes under a great variety of names, of whom the Khyeng race is perhaps the most extensively diffused. The geographical limits of the people are comprised within the 18th and 21st degrees of North latitude. The character of the region inhabited by the Northern Khyengs is described as rugged and inaccessible, and their life a hard one; but the Khyengs here dwell on the fertile banks of streams, and can procure the necessities of life without difficulty; moreover, though still retaining their individuality, they are gradually adopting the more civilized manners and the mode of agriculture of the Arakanese.

The subjoined statement gives the Khyeng population in the districts of Arakan (Hill Tracts excepted) as it stood at the census of 1872, together with the number of villages and houses:—

Names of Districts.	MALES.			FEMALES.			Total of population.	Number of villages.	Number of houses.	Proportion of column 9 to column 8.	Proportion of column 7 to column 9.
	Over eighteen years.	Under eighteen years.	Total.	Over eighteen years.	Under eighteen years.	Total.					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Akyab, ....	1,100	943	2,043	970	904	1,874	3,917	40	950	24	4.1
Ramree, ....	2,791	2,481	5,272	3,014	2,038	5,052	10,324	92	2,260	12	4.1
Sandoway, ..	1,396	1,106	2,502	1,317	896	2,213	4,715	96	996	10	4.7
Total, ..	5,287	4,530	9,817	5,301	3,838	9,139	18,956	228	4,206	14	4.5

*Physical Characteristics.*

Table A. exhibits the age, weight, height, and measurement in length and circumference of the limbs of twenty-five male and twenty-five female Khyengs of *average* size. The weights are expressed in pounds avoirdupois; the measurements in English inches and tenths. Four pounds, the weight



of her clothing and ornaments, have been deducted from each woman's weight.

TABLE A.  
*Showing the Age, Weight, Height, and Measurements of the Limbs of twenty-five Male and twenty-five Female Khyengs of average size.*

	Age.	Weight.	Height.	From crown to seventh cervical vertebra.	From seventh cervical vertebra to sacrum.	From sacrum to sole.	Length of sternum.	Length of scapula.	Breadth of scapula.	LENGTH IN INCHES.					CIRCUMFERENCE IN INCHES.							Proportion of the sum of columns 4 & 5 to column 3.
										Arm.	Leg.				Head.	Neck.	Chest.	Arm.	Pelvis.	Thigh.	Calf.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Shoulder to elbow.	Elbow to wrist.	Hip to knee.	Knee to sole.		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Males, .....	36	110	65·2	9·1	22·2	33·9	6·2	6·2	3·6	12·5	10·1	16·7	19·3		21·0	13·0	33·0	9·7	29·0	18·5	12·5	·48
Females, .....	29	94	57·4	8·7	20·8	27·9	5·9	6·0	3·0	11·5	9·6	15·8	17·9		20·4	10·6	30·6	8·7	29·8	17·3	11·5	·51

In Table B. are given measurements of the head of the same persons in English inches and tenths taken by calipers.

TABLE B.

*Head Measurements of the same Persons in English Inches and Tenths taken by Calipers.*

	Superorbital angle.	MEASUREMENT IN INCHES BY CALIPERS.								Proportion of column 7 in males & column 6 in females to column 2.	Proportion of column 5 to column 2.
		Individuality to occipital spine.	Occipital spine to ear.	Ear to individuality.	Ear to firmness.	Destructiveness to destructiveness.	Cautiousness to cautiousness.	Ideality to ideality.	Zygomatic or facial breadth.		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Males, .....	26°	7·5	4·3	4·7	5·8	5·4	5·5	3·9	5·3	·74	·73
Females, .....	23°	6·8	4·1	4·6	5·6	5·2	5·0	3·6	5·2	·76	·82

*Column 1* expresses in degrees the angle indicating the relation of the ear to the eyebrow. This angle is formed by a line parallel to the base of the brain with another line from the earhole to the superorbital ridge.

*Column 2* shows the long diameter of the head, the measurement being taken from immediately above the top of the nose to the small bony projection at the back part of the head.

*Column 5* indicates the height of head measured from the earhole to about the centre of crown.

*Column 6* gives the breadth from immediately above the external opening of the ear.

*Column 7*, the breadth from centre of parietal bones.

*Column 8*, the breadth immediately above the temples.

*Column 9*, the interzygomatic or facial breadth.

In the male the greatest breadth of head is the parietal. The female head is broadest just over the ear. As might be expected, there is no great breadth of forehead over the temples in either sex.

Considering how strongly brachy-cephalic\* the Burman head is, the dolichocephalism of the Khyeng head form, as shown here, is curious. In proportion to its length, the female head is both broader and higher than the head of the male.

The prevailing complexion of the people corresponds with No. 28, and the colour of the eyes with No. 1, of Broca's *tableau*. The colour of the hair is black, but among the women patches of reddish brown hair occur sometimes, generally at the crown of the head.

### *Individual and Family Life.*

*Customs.*—Under this head are included the usages observed at births, marriages, and deaths.

As regards the first, child-bearing is always assisted and by women. Deaths from child-birth are very rare. Labour is easy and seldom protracted, the woman generally goes to her work the following day. The infant is washed in clear rice water.

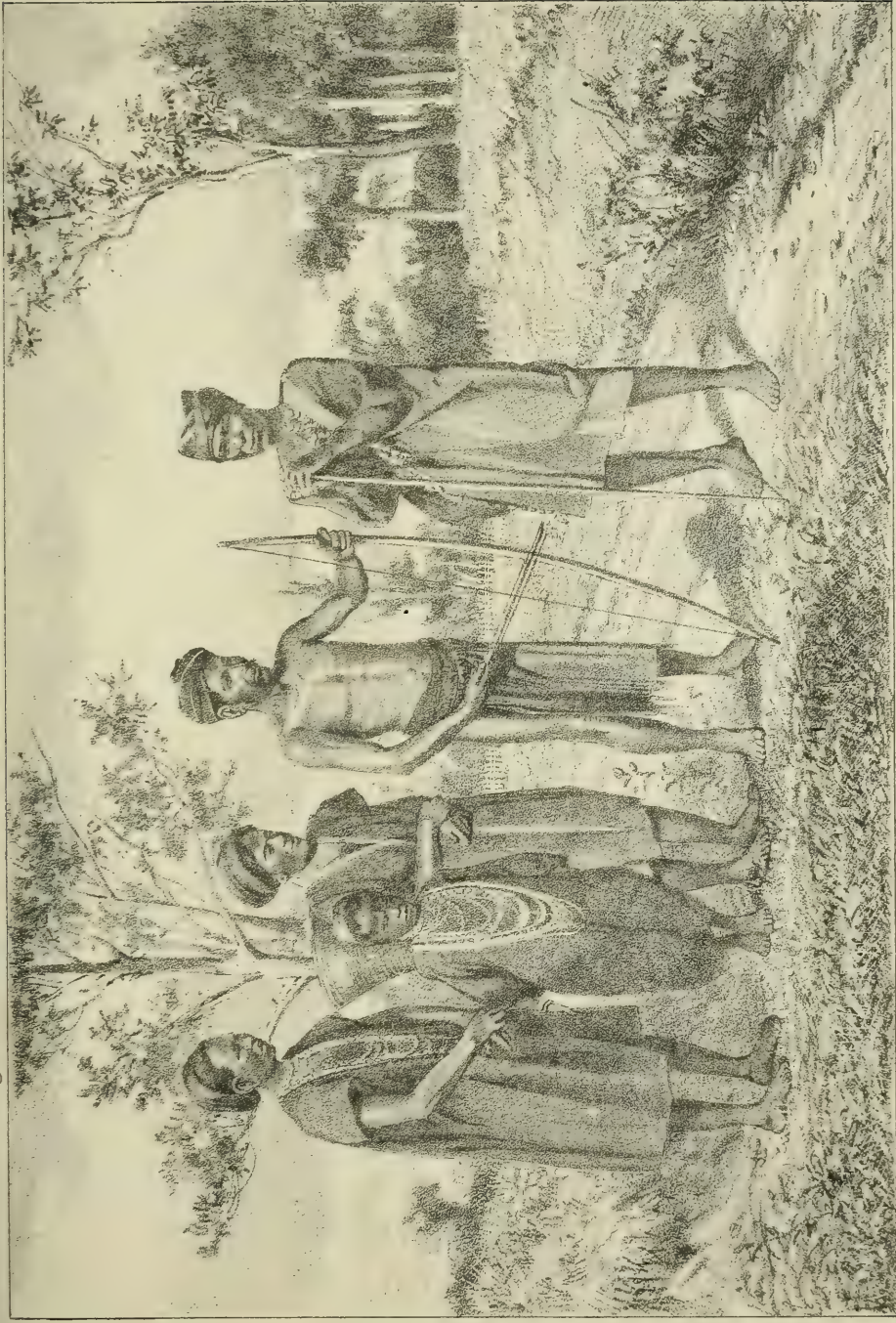
Boy's names are monosyllabic, but the girls have the particle *pa* or *ma* prefixed to theirs. The names are given either from a fanciful resemblance to some object, or with reference to circumstances occurring at the time of birth; thus, if at the time of birth there occurred a great flood, a boy would be named *Hlém*, and a girl *Pahlém*, signifying "great." A child is weaned between the ages of eighteen months or two years. Puberty takes place between the ages of twelve and fifteen, at which period the disfiguring operation of tattooing the girl's face is usually performed.

As regards marriage. When a young man wishes to court a girl, he visits her by appointment at night in her parents' dwelling, taking with him some trifling present; if subsequently approved by the parents, he lives in the house. After some months, and indeed if poor, after the birth of one or two children, the ceremony of taking the girl to his house takes place amid much feasting and dancing. On reaching her new home, the priest performs the ceremony of introducing her to the protection of her husband's household god by winding a thread seven times round the girl's right arm, and invoking numberless blessings upon her.

When a person falls sick, one or two priests are sent for and consulted; sometimes they merely state their opinion as to what spirit has seized the sufferer and a propitiatory offering suitable to such spirit is made; at other times they inquire what the sufferer dreamed of the night previous; if an elemental god or other high object of adoration, such as a Burmese pagoda,

\* The terms brachy-cephalic and dolicho-cephalic are employed in this sense, *viz.*, where the breadth is to the length in the proportion of .80, or more, to 1.00, the head is placed in the brachy-cephalic category, where it is below that proportion, or less than .80 to 1.00, in the dolicho-cephalic.





J. Schuamburg Lith.

*Group of Khyengs, Sandoway, Arakan.  
(From a photograph.)*





has been the subject of the dream, a buffalo or hog would be sacrificed; but if, as is commonly the case, the invalid had dreamt of an ordinary occurrence, such as crossing the creek in a boat, the sacrifice of a dog would be ordered, in which case a raft composed of stems of the plantain tree would be constructed, and a dog killed and placed thereon with a small quantity of rice-beer. The raft is then pushed into the stream, every one present pelting it with stones; care is taken, however, that the dog is subsequently brought back to form materials for a repast.

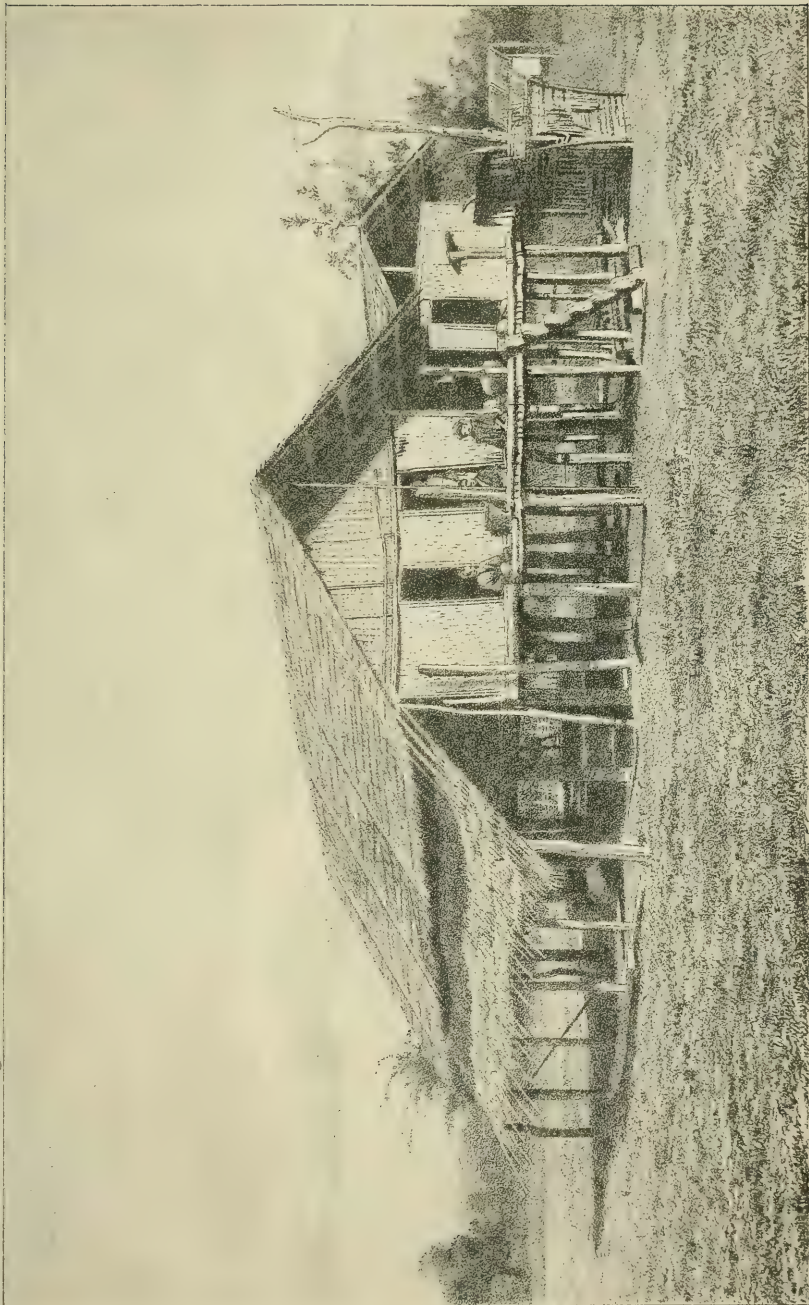
When death occurs in a family, the corpse is laid out in the house, a pig or other animal is killed, and great and prolonged feasting goes on. The day after the event, a dead fowl is tied to one of the big toes of the deceased, and an attendant priest thus apostrophizes the corpse—"Oh spirit! thou hast a long and wearisome journey before thee, so a hog has been killed upon whose spirit thou mayest ride, and the spirit of this dead fowl will so terrify the worm guarding the portals of paradise, that thou wilt find an easy entrance." The corpse, followed by the relatives and friends of the deceased, is carried to the outskirts of the village and burnt. All wait until the burning is over; water is sprinkled on the ashes and bones of the skull, hands, and feet; about nine or ten in number, having been selected, are carried back to the village in a vessel and deposited in the shed erected for the feasting. After seven days have elapsed, more feasting takes place, and the bones are then finally conveyed for burial to some distant mountain, which is the ideal place of interment of the ashes of their ancestors. In cases of violent death, as for example by drowning, or from the attack of a wild beast, the corpse and all the relatives of the deceased are tabooed by the community until a buffalo or hog has been handed over to the headman for sacrifice and feasting; even then the body may not be taken into a house, nor is a dead fowl attached to the corpse.

On all occasions of marriages, deaths, and domestic entertainment, the company is divided into what are termed inside and outside feasters, in other words into hosts and guests; for example, at the entertainment after cremation the bones in a vessel are placed at one end of the shed surrounded by pieces of pork and other greasy-looking dainties; next are seated two priests, in front of whom is placed a pot of rice-beer, which has a cover perforated with three holes, one in the centre to admit of a slender piece of bamboo being placed upright, and one on each side to receive a reed passing into the beer. When a feast is held in a house, the reed towards the sleeping chamber is the inside reed through which the host and his relatives imbibe the beverage; out-of-doors the inside is that on which the host and his people are sitting. After sucking, each person replenishes the vessel with water in proportion to the quantity of beer supposed to have been taken out.

Pork is regarded the choicest food, and when the husband brings his wife into her new home, he provides that food for her and her family, while he and his relations eat fowls. At funeral repasts the relatives of the deceased eat pork, and the guests have fowl provided for them. These points of etiquette are scrupulously observed, and breaches of them subject the offender to fine.

*Laws.*—The average number of houses in a Khyeng village is fourteen, and in each of these little communities there is a head called *Tayi* or *Nandayi*. The office passes from father to any son he considers best qualified for it; in default of such a successor, the office may be held by the father's brothers; but it never passes out of the family; when extinct, the village has to join another community. The *Nandayi* presides at all festivals, settles disputes, and acts as a priest in conjunction with the elders of the village. There is another person, however, who ranks higher than the individual just named, he is the *Dek mo tayi*, i. e. land-proprietor's *tayi*. Tradition says these men formerly received grants of land from the kings of Arakan, and were invested with supreme authority over all offenders within the limits of their respective grants; they received a share in the produce of the soil, and enjoyed the taxes levied upon all tabooed persons. Though no longer enjoying these rights and privileges, they are held in much respect. Marriage is a contract dissoluble at the will of either party: no dowry is given. On the death of the parents, two-thirds of the property pass to the eldest son, the remainder is divided among the other sons; women are deemed incapable of holding or transmitting property. Adoption is considered proper, even if there be children by marriage. If a husband take an adulterer in the act, he claims a gong and buffalo from him; he may also chastise his wife, but she is not divorced. Nor will a Khyeng divorce his wife if she is barren; those that can afford it, sometimes under such circumstances, take a second wife. When a dispute has been settled, the reconciliation is effected in the following manner:—the parties and their witnesses assemble before the elders, and a cup of water is placed before them into which a spear, dagger, or celt, has been dipped, the disputants each take a sip of the water and agree to pay a fine if they continue the quarrel. Trial by water ordeal is practised; the person who keeps his head longest under water is adjudged innocent. The principal parties may either perform the ordeal themselves or hire persons to do so.

*Religious Rites and Ceremonies.*—The religion of the Khyengs confines itself almost exclusively to the propitiation of spirits by offerings and sacrifices. Their prayers consist of lengthy invocations of protection for themselves and property, and propitiatory prayers to ward off sickness or other calamity. The elders of the communities act as priests, and direct and conduct all festivals and acts of worship. On these occasions, hogs, buffa-



*J. Schaubenburg, Lith.*

*Khyeng House, Sandoway, Arakan.  
(From a photograph.)*





loes, dogs, and fowls, are sacrificed, and immense quantities of rice-beer consumed. The three principal festivals are *Nando*, *Plaung-hio*, and *Konde*.

The *Nando* takes place in March or April, in front of the *Nandayi's* house who conducts it. Every one in the village contributes towards it. A hog, dog, two fowls, and three large pots of rice-beer are offered, and invocations for a favourable season and other blessings are mumbled by the priests to the spirits of the village.

The *Plaung-hio* is a festival in honor of Jupiter Pluvius, and should by rights be held annually just before the rains set in, but owing it is said to the expense attending it, it is only celebrated about once in every eight or ten years. At this feast buffaloes are sacrificed, oblong stones two or three feet long and five or six inches in diameter, procured from the creeks, are set up vertically at the lower end of the village, in number equal to the buffaloes to be sacrificed. The animals are killed and their blood is poured over the stone. Any sufferer from sickness who can afford it, may offer a sacrifice to this spirit, provided he has first obtained permission from the *Dek mo tayi*. The use of the upright stone is curious, and seems to point to some connection with Phallus worship. Captain Latter already remarked (*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1846), that the Khyoung-thas of the Koladyne river make offerings at stones which "are rough representations of the *Lingum* and the *Yoni*."

The *Konde* is celebrated every year for three years, and after a lapse of three years is again celebrated annually for three years. Its object is to propitiate the *Konde* spirit and his brother and sister, in order to avert sickness and other calamity; at this feast pigs are slaughtered. At the lower end of the village three miniature huts of bamboo are constructed side by side, and a small stone placed in each, together with portions of pork and some rice-beer, prayers are offered, and the proceedings terminate with much feasting.

The above are the principal festivals or sacrifices, but there are many minor spirits to whom worship is paid as circumstances require.

*Habitations and Domestic Life.*—The houses of the Khyengs are constructed of wooden posts which vary from 9 to 16 in number; the walls and floor are made of bamboo matting, and the roof is composed of grass or leaves. The length of a house varies from 12 to 16 cubits, and it is about 8 to 12 cubits broad; there are two apartments, the sleeping and the cooking, with an open verandah in front of the latter; the flooring is raised some 4 or 5 feet from the ground, and the swine and poultry are enclosed beneath it. (*Vide* Plate VII.) On festive occasions the Khyengs eat hogs, dogs, and fowls, and use abundance of a fermented liquor made from rice, which they call *Yü*. All animals are eaten by them except the tiger, bear, and otter. Their clothes are woven and made at home, and the manufactures, though coarse

are durable and good. Indigo grown by themselves is the chief dye made use of. The male dress is a strip of blue cloth folded round the hips and passed between the legs with an end hanging down before and behind, and by way of head covering a strip of cloth is wound round the head. The women wear a loose blouse reaching to the knee, very open at the bosom and back of the neck, and furnished with slits at the sides for the arms; beneath they wear a short close petticoat. Work in the fields and hill-clearing, together with basket-making, occupy the time of the men. The boys look after the domestic animals. The women are employed in spinning, weaving, and cooking; they also assist the men in the fields. The loom is an effective but very primitive arrangement. The ends of the beam farthest from the weaver, around which the warp is wound, are fastened to two pegs driven in the ground; the weaver seated on the ground has the near beam, round which the warp passes, resting on her lap, the ends of which, together with those of another beam which presses the upper warp threads on the lower, are fastened to the sides of a broad strip of hide against which she leans; transverse pieces of bamboo, turned by the hand, cause the warp-threads to rise and fall as required, and as the threads are opened the shuttle is thrown across; on the reversal of the warp another opening is made, which is similarly crossed by the shuttle.

The Khyengs call themselves *Hio u* or *Sho u*, and state that the *Shindoos*, *Khumis*, and *Lungkhes*, are members of the same race as themselves. They have a tradition that they came down many years ago from the sources of the *Kyendweng* river, but they possess no written record of their descent; they are fond, however, of singing rude ballads, which portray the delights of their ancient country, a specimen of which is here given—

1.    $\text{ania la chan don a kho a, e e \ddot{e} e}$
2.    $\text{htoan ză na baleng a hpŭan a, e e \ddot{e} e}$
3.    $\text{apŏk a poichi a oăt mlü a, e e \ddot{e} e}$
4.    $\text{htoan ză na baleng a hpŭan a, e e \ddot{e} e}$
5.    $\text{ané ye olo ve dimo e, e e e}$
6.    $\text{si sho e lo po e hnaung e, e e \ddot{e} e}$
7.    $\text{son sho e ătoan e ey e, e e \ddot{e} e}$
8.    $\text{Kănanu o suam ei o htui yo, e e e.}$

*Translation.*

1. To the upper (country of the) *Kyendweng* (river),
2. To the level (plains of the) *baleng* and dry *htoan* (grasses),
3. To the brick (walled) city of our forefathers,
4. To the level (plains of the) *baleng* and dry *htoan* (grasses),
5. Which are so charming (*lit.* not a little charming),
6. Let us hie, come along!

7. Let us haste with every speed,  
8. Oh my fairy-like young brother !

## PART II.

### Grammatical Notes on the Language.

As the *Khyeng* or *Hiou* language does not possess a series of letters by which to express elementary sounds, the *Roman* alphabet will be used for that purpose, and so far as it is applicable to this language the admirable system of orthography adopted by Professor James Summers in his *Hand-book of the Chinese Language* will be followed.

#### *The system of orthography adopted.*

##### 1. VOWELS, SIMPLE AND COMBINED.

Form	Value of each.	Short value.
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i> as <i>i</i> in <i>police</i> .	<i>bit</i> .
<i>e</i>	<i>ě</i> as <i>a</i> in <i>fame</i> ; <i>ä</i> in <i>fähig</i> (Germ.) ; <i>é</i> in <i>méme</i> (Fr.)	<i>bět</i> .
<i>a</i>	<i>ă</i> as <i>a</i> in <i>father</i> .	<i>băt</i> .
<i>ą</i>	<i>ą</i> as <i>a</i> in <i>organ</i> .	<i>băt</i> .
<i>o</i>	<i>ö</i> as <i>o</i> in <i>no</i> .	<i>nöt</i>
<i>ö</i>	as <i>ö</i> in <i>Löwe</i> (Germ.) ; or <i>œu</i> in <i>sœur</i> (Fr.)	
<i>u</i>	<i>ű</i> as <i>u</i> in <i>rule</i> .	<i>büll</i> .
<i>ü</i>	<i>u</i> as <i>u</i> in <i>lune</i> (Fr.) ; <i>ü</i> in <i>Mühe</i> (Germ.)	<i>eu</i> in <i>peutêtre</i> (Fr.)
<i>ie</i>	<i>iě</i> as <i>ie</i> in <i>pied</i> (Fr.) ; <i>yea</i> (Eng.)	<i>yě</i> in <i>yesterday</i> .
<i>ia</i>	<i>iă</i> as <i>ia</i> in <i>lia</i> , <i>plia</i> (Fr.) ; <i>ja</i> (Germ.)	<i>yă</i> in <i>Yankee</i> .
<i>io</i>	<i>iö</i> as <i>io</i> in <i>million</i> (Fr.).	<i>yă</i> in <i>yacht</i> .
<i>iü</i>	<i>iű</i> as <i>ew</i> in <i>heuw</i> , <i>yew</i> .	<i>jü</i> in <i>juchhe</i> (Germ.)
<i>ei</i>	as <i>ei</i> in <i>sein</i> (Germ.) ; <i>ie</i> in <i>pie</i> (Eng.), or <i>ei</i> in <i>height</i> .	
<i>ai</i>	as <i>ai</i> in <i>aisle</i> .	
<i>au</i>	as <i>ow</i> in <i>cow</i> .	
<i>oi</i>	as <i>oi</i> in <i>voice</i> .	
<i>ui</i>	as <i>ui</i> in <i>ruin</i> .	

##### 2. THE CONSONANTS, SINGLE AND COMBINED.

<i>b</i>	as in English.
<i>ch</i>	as <i>ch</i> in <i>hatch</i> .
<i>d</i>	as in English ; <i>d</i> pronounced by bending the tongue as far back as possible.
<i>g</i>	as <i>g</i> in <i>good</i> ; never <i>g</i> as in <i>gin</i> .
<i>h</i>	as <i>h</i> in <i>heart</i> ; before <i>i</i> and <i>ü</i> a strong aspirate, nearly <i>sh</i> .
<i>k</i>	as <i>k</i> in <i>king</i> .



<i>l</i> as <i>l</i>	in	<i>line</i> ; <i>ḷ</i> as <i>lr</i> in	<i>wheelrim</i> .
<i>m</i> as <i>m</i>	in	<i>mine</i> .	
<i>n</i> as <i>n</i>	in	<i>nine</i> ; <i>ng</i> as in	<i>anger</i> .
<i>p</i> as <i>p</i>	in	<i>pine</i> .	
<i>r</i> as <i>r</i>	in	<i>run</i> .	
<i>s</i> as <i>s</i>	in	<i>see</i> .	
<i>sh</i> as <i>sh</i>	in	<i>shine</i> .	
<i>t</i> as <i>t</i>	in	<i>tiny</i> .	
<i>w</i> as <i>w</i>	in	<i>way</i> .	
<i>y</i> as <i>y</i>	in	<i>you</i> .	
<i>z</i> as <i>z</i>	in	English.	

Adopting Mr. Beames' system of classification, the Khyeng language belongs to the Lohitic or Burmese class of the Turanian family. Its structure is monosyllabic, consisting of roots or stem words which undergo no change except for the purposes of euphony. As the affirmatives are for the most part words which have lost the power of separate existence, the language is in the agglutinated stage. It is very simple in construction and expression, but elaborate in its tones.

One or two of the most marked ones are here indicated :

The *acute accent* over a letter or syllable indicates a rising tone of the voice as when raised at the end of a question.

The *grave accent* over a letter or syllable indicates a falling tone of the voice.

The horizontal stroke above letters indicate an emphatic stress to be laid on the pronunciation of the syllable over which it appears.

Final consonants are often mute, they are formed in the mouth but not always pronounced unless a vowel follows. In this sketch final consonants in italics should not be sounded.

#### ON NOUNS.

Khyeng words of this class may be divided into :—

1. *Nouns Primitive, i. e.* such as are monosyllables bearing their primitive signification.

2. *Nouns Derivative, i. e.* such as are formed by the addition of some formative syllable.

3. *Nouns Composite, i. e.* such as are formed by the union of two different roots.

*Primitive Nouns* or those which are monosyllabic, are such as the following :—

<i>ā</i>	<i>a fowl.</i>	<i>pom</i>	<i>a forest.</i>
<i>blüm</i>	<i>a hill.</i>	<i>htěn</i>	<i>a tree.</i>
<i>dek</i>	<i>the earth.</i>	<i>tuĩ</i>	<i>water.</i>
<i>kiau</i>	<i>a mountain.</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>a dog.</i>

There are, however, few stem-words which are strictly monosyllabic. Most of them take adjuncts either as prefixes or suffixes, or both, which Mr. Hodgson has termed ‘differential servile particles’, and no doubt, as he justly remarks, “the basis of these languages is a small number of monosyllabic roots bearing necessarily many senses; hence to distinguish between those several senses is the chief function of the servile adjuncts of the roots.”\* Many of these serviles are inseparable, as for example ‘kə’ and ‘kh’ in *kəhni the sun*, and *khlo the moon*; others again are scissile in composition, as for example the prefix *mə* and suffix *ht* of *məkhuht, the hand*, in ‘*kie ku nū, my thumb*’.

*Derivative nouns* are such as are derived from verbal roots, whether living or obsolete, and which acquire the form of substantives by the addition of a formative prefix such as *ə* or *mə*; *e. g.*,

<i>əkak</i>	<i>a fragment</i>	from	<i>ak</i>	<i>to break.</i>
<i>əmlak</i>	<i>a loving</i>	from	<i>mlak</i>	<i>to love (obsolete).</i>
<i>məhau</i>	<i>a speaking</i>	from	<i>hau</i>	<i>to speak.</i>

*Composite nouns* are such as are compounded of two roots, the first of which may be said to stand in the genitive case. The members of the compound may either be two nouns, or two verbs, or a verb and noun combined; *e. g.*,

<i>on duəm</i>	lit. <i>remaining place,</i>	<i>a seat.</i>
<i>ik duəm</i>	lit. <i>sleeping place,</i>	<i>a bed.</i>
<i>kho mik</i>	lit. <i>foot's eye,</i>	<i>the ankle.</i>
<i>naḡo han</i>	lit. <i>dragon's yawning,</i>	<i>a rainbow.</i>
<i>məhau kho</i>	lit. <i>speaking aperture</i>	<i>the mouth.</i>

*Diminutives* are formed by affixing ‘so’, signifying *little*, to words, as *khlaung so, a lad*.

The distinctions of number and gender are made in a similar way by affixes.

#### OF NUMBER.

There are three numbers, the singular, dual, and plural. The noun or pronoun by itself indicates the singular. The dual is expressed by the particle ‘*hoi*’, signifying *a pair or couple*. The plural is expressed by the following particles all signifying *many*, *hio*, *loi*, *tək*, *nū*. Thus, when the subject of conversation is understood, a Khyeng would say ‘*naḡói sit u*’, *the two are going*, or without using the pronoun ‘*sit ù hóí*’; but a Burman, having no dual, would under similar circumstances commit the solecism *the two are going* all.

\* Hodgson’s ‘*Mongolian Affinities of the Caucasians*’ in Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1853, note to page 36.

## OF GENDER.

Gender is marked by affixes indicating sex; thus, *pah̄to male*, and *nah̄to female*, are affixed to *khlaung man*, to express the gender.

The general female affix is 'nū', signifying *fecundity*, as *ā nū a hen*.

The male affix for birds, and also occasionally for fish, is 'hlui', as *ā hlui a cock*.

The male affix for quadrupeds and reptiles seems to be 'htsa', as *kie htsa a tiger*; *hpo htsa a snake (male)*.

The male affix for the dog kind is 'han', as *ui han a dog (male)*.

The following are forms derived from the Burmese, *e. g.* *wok-hpa a hog*; *non hti a buffalo (male)*; *mui bo an elephant (male)*.

## OF CASE.

Those relations of words to each other which in inflected languages are termed *Cases*, are exhibited by the following particles affixed to the noun or pronoun—

*ku or gu of, the genitive particle.*

*a to or for, the dative particle.*

*āgu from, the ablative particle.*

The genitive particle is more frequently understood than expressed; the Case is then indicated by the juxtaposition of the two substantives, the former being understood to be in the genitive case.

## ON PRONOUNS.

*Personal Pronouns.* The personal pronouns have two forms, (a) a separate, full; and (b) a contracted form.\* In their contracted state they blend themselves alike with nouns and verbs.

The nominative case of each personal pronoun in its full and contracted forms is here given in the three numbers:

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Full.	Contracted.	Full.	Contracted.	Full.	Contracted.
1st <i>kie I</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>kie hni We two</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>kie me We</i>	<i>mā</i>
2nd <i>naun Thou</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>naun hni Ye two</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>naun me Ye</i>	<i>mā</i>
3rd <i>ayat He</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>ayat hni They two</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>ayatti They</i>	<i>or</i>
<i>or She</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>
<i>ya or It.</i>	<i>namā</i>	<i>ya nhi They two</i>	<i>nā hoi</i>	<i>yati</i>	<i>nā hio</i>

\* "Rosen states that the Circassian pronouns have two forms, a complete and separable one, and an incomplete and inseparable one." Hodgson *on the Mongolian Affinities of the Caucasians*, (Journ., Beng. As. Soc., 1853.)

When the sense is complete without it, the full form of the personal pronouns is often omitted.

The contracted form of the second and third persons is more frequently understood than expressed, as—*pón a ón ù hóí (they) two dwell in a forest.*

The contracted form of the third personal is often used as a nominative affix thus, *anı nā apo nā nāso yok hmu ägù kát ù hóí, the parents wept on seeing their child's corpse.*

*Demonstrative pronouns* are the following:—

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
ni	<i>This</i>	ni hóí	<i>These two,</i>	ni hio	<i>These</i>
to	} <i>That</i>	to	} hóí <i>Those two,</i>	to	} hio <i>Those</i>
toni		toni		toni	

Ni *this*, and to or tóni *that*, with the *dative* affix, become ‘ni a’ *here*, and ‘to a’ *there*; with the *ablative* particle ägu, *hence* and *thence*. The more distant *there* is expressed by ‘sówá’ or ‘sóbra’.

*Relative Pronouns.* Of these there are none in the language. The idea of relation is periphrastically expressed by a verbal root with the genitive particle affixed coupled with the object; thus *the man who runs* would be ‘son gu khlaung’, *the running man*.

*Interrogative Pronouns.* These are ‘anı’ *who*, ‘anı ku’ *whose*, ‘baung’ and ‘pi’ *which, what*.

#### ON ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives are usually placed after the nouns they qualify. They do not alter their terminations to express either number, case, or gender; indeed, many words have a substantive, adjective, or verbal, signification according to their position in the sentence.

The *Comparative* degree is formed by the word ‘san’, *great*, placed before the adjective, thus—*ähpói good, san ähpói better*.

The word ‘lon’ *more* is used synonymously with the English word *than*; thus, *tóni lon a ni hboi moi u, this is better than that*.

The *Superlative* degree is expressed by the word ‘hëk’ *very, much*; thus, *älhém hëk kuəm pihio moi u? how old is the eldest?*

#### OF NUMERALS.

The following is the cardinal series of numbers adopted by the Khyengs:—



1	hot	20	goĩ
2	hni	21	goĩ ne pumhot
3	htum	30	htum gip
4	mli	31	htum gip pumhot
5	hngo	40	mli gip
6	sop	41	mli gip pumhot
7	she	100	pia hot
8	shăp	101	pia lon ne pumhot
9	go	121	pia goĩ ne pumhot
10	ha or hnga	1000	pia hnga.
11	ha ne pumhot	1001	pia hnga lon ne pumhot
12	ha ne puhni		

The numerals 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, are borrowed from the Burmese; 'goĩ' *twenty* is evidently a corruption of the Chittagong 'kuri'; goĩ ne pumhot is *twenty with one*; htum gip, *thirty*; mli gip *forty*, up to *ninety*, signify *three claps, four claps of the hand*, the word 'gip' being a corruption of the Burmese word 'akhyet', *a stroke or blow*; pia lon ne pumhot is *one hundred more with one*.

The same peculiarity in the use of numerals which characterizes the Burmese and other Turanian tongues, exists in a modified form in Khyeng. When applied to mankind, the exponent particle 'pum' *a body or thing* is usually prefixed, as 'khlaung pun htum' *three men*; and in reckoning of a group of individuals or things, the computation proceeds thus 'pumhot,' 'pun hni', 'pun htum', 'pum mli' &c. When the numerals are applied to individuals of the brute creation, they are preceded by 'zum' for *quadrupeds*, and 'hték' for *fish*, each signifying *a brute animal*; and 'yum' *a creeper* for reptiles. But these particles are rarely used.\*

#### ON VERBS.

Most verbs in Khyeng are formed from the abstract root by the addition of certain prefixes and affixes.

In the Indicative mood the verb is in its simplest state, unconnected with any other to modify its operation.

There are three tenses, the *Present*, *Past*, and *Future*; the affixes to denote these are for the Present 'u'; the Past 'niu', or more commonly with the auxiliary 'bri', as 'bri niu'; the Future 'ei', which perhaps may be a contraction of the root 'woĩ' *to wish*.

The affirmative verb usually takes as a prefix the contracted form of the pronoun.

\* Professor Summers styles them 'exponent particles', which appears a more appropriate term than 'numeral generic affix.'

The letter *n* frequently precedes verbal roots whose initial letters are *k, g, t, d, ch, z*; and the letter *m* those roots which commence with *p* or *b*.

Roots ending in 'auk' sometimes for the sake of euphony change the 'auk' into 'o', as—'kie ka klauk u' *I am falling*; 'ayat klo u' *he is falling*.

The following will serve as a model for the variations a Khyeng verb undergoes.

'Pek', to give.

Indicative Mood.

PRESENT TENSE.

Singular.

- |    |              |              |
|----|--------------|--------------|
| 1. | kie kapek u  | I give.      |
| 2. | naun napek u | Thou givest. |
| 3. | ayat napek u | He gives.    |

Dual.

- |    |                  |                  |
|----|------------------|------------------|
| 1. | kie hni mapek u  | We two give.     |
| 2. | naun hni mapek u | } Ye two give.   |
|    | nəhói napek u    |                  |
| 3. | ayat hni mapek u | } They two give. |
|    | nəhoi napek u    |                  |

Plural.

- |    |                  |              |
|----|------------------|--------------|
| 1. | kie me mapek u   | We give.     |
| 2. | naun me mapek u  | } Ye give.   |
|    | nəhio napek u    |              |
| 3. | ayati mapek u    | } They give. |
|    | yati hio napek u |              |

PAST TENSE.

Singular.

- |    |                |              |
|----|----------------|--------------|
| 1. | kie kapek niu  | I gave.      |
| 2. | naun napek niu | Thou gavest. |
| 3. | ayat napek niu | He gave.     |

In the same manner through the dual and plural numbers.

FUTURE TENSE.

Singular.

- |    |               |                  |
|----|---------------|------------------|
| 1. | kie kapek ei  | I shall give.    |
| 2. | naun napek ei | Thou shalt give. |
| 3. | ayat napek ei | He shall give.   |

And so on through the dual and plural numbers.

The *participial* form is denoted by the genitive and dative particles being affixed to the root, as—'son gu khlaung' *the running man*; 'to hmu ägu kát ù hói' *having seen that both wept*.

As in most other uninflected languages, the *Imperative* mood is confined to the second person. It is indicated by the particle 'e' affixed to the root, thus 'pek e' *give thou*; 'sit e' *go thou*.

The *Infinitive* mood, as in Burmese, is generally expressed by the future tense, thus—'kie ayat a sit ei ka hau niu' *I told him to go*.

There are certain roots which are constantly used as *auxiliaries*. They assist in forming the various parts of the verb with which they are conjoined. Nearly all of them are roots which have lost the power of a separate existence.

The most common of these auxiliaries are—

*First.* Those which *perfect* the notion of the primitive—

(a) bri (to finish)

tua zei bri niu, *the work is now finished*.

(b) mak (to complete)

ui naē mak niu, *the dog ate it up*.

*Secondly.* Those which denote *power, obligation, &c.*

(a) kho (to be able, can)

kie kasit kho u *I can go*.

(b) hpa (lawful, right)

sit hpa u (you) *should go* (lit., it is proper to go)

(c) la (to get, obtain)

boyó pihio mbek lei mó *how much shall (I) give (you) Sir?*

*Thirdly.* Those which denote *desire, effort, risk, &c.*

(a) woĩ (to wish)

kie kasit woĩ u *I want to go*.

(b) sok (to try)

pliso kie ka ik sok u *I will try and sleep a little*.

(c) dat (to dare)

naun nasit dat u mo *will you dare to go?*

(d) bo (to return)

hōt á lo bo e *come again to-morrow*.

There are two auxiliary roots whose application is not fully understood. They are 'ey' and 'nauk' (in composition the latter is frequently changed into 'no'). One of their functions would seem to be to give a verbal signification to words borrowed from the Burmese or other language. Their use will be best illustrated by examples.

sit nauk u *he goes courting*.

kie kamlak nauk u *I love*.

tō nāhto zo kōĩ no u *that little girl is pretty*.

sit ei nashang ey u (you) *ought to go* (lit. to go is proper.)

non ē a kasit ey u (I) *go to buffalo eating (feast)*.

Here 'kói' and 'shang' are evidently corruptions of the Burmese words 'kyo' and 'htěn'.

The root 'ey' affixed to the root 'sun' (to bear, suffer) helps to form the *passive voice*, thus 'kie tuk kə sun ey u' *I am killed*; 'kie deng kəsun ey u' *I am beaten*, but it is rarely used.

There appear to be only three *substantive verbs*, namely, 'moi' *to be, exist*; 'shi' *to be true*; and 'ti' *to be*, thus:

kie nam zam kəmoi u, *I am the village elder.*

shi ba, *it is, yes.*

pikha ti u, *what is it?*

The *Interrogative* particle is 'mo', added at the end of a sentence, as,—  
'Naun a shəmi mói ù mō' *have you children?* If there is any other word in the sentence implying interrogation, it is frequently omitted, as 'naun ăi ū' *who are you?*

The *suppositional* particles 'a', 'na', or 'dina', implying *if*, are affixed to the verbal root, which drops the prefixed contracted pronoun, as, 'kie zei kho na kəzei ei' *I will do it if I can.*

The *negative* verb does not take the prefixed contracted pronouns. To express simple negation, (1) the letters n, m, or mb, may be prefixed either to the verbal root, to the particles of tense, or to both; (2) the hard initial consonant of a root, such as k, t, p, and s, is changed into its corresponding soft consonant g, d, b, and z; (3) the root often requires the substantive verb as an auxiliary.

shi ba *it is.*

sit hpa u (*you*) *may go.*

kie kapek u *I give.*

káng ù mó *is he well?*

kie kə klauk u *I am falling.*

ya kói no ù mó *is she pretty?*

nshi nu *it is not.*

zit hpa mbu (*you*) *may not go.*

kie mbek shi nu *I am not giving.*

ngang nu (*he*) *is not well.*

kie nglo nu *I am not falling.*

goi no nu (*she*) *is not pretty.*

*Prohibition* may be expressed either by the particle 'ăn' or 'n' immediately after the root, as 'sit e' *go (thou)*, 'lo e' *come (thou)*, 'zit ăn e' *go (thou) not*, 'lo ne' *come (thou) not*; or by the particle 'ti' immediately after the root and its auxiliaries as—'zit la shi di' (*you*) *must not go*; 'hôt a lo ei ti' *come not to-morrow.*

ADVERBS appear to be used indiscriminately in composition.

The language being poor in *conjunctions*, participles are largely made use of to supply the deficiency.

*Post-positive* particles are used in the same manner as the prepositions of Western tongues.



The construction of the language is simple and inartificial. In a sentence the nominative usually comes first, the object next, the verb last. The language is remarkable for its three numbers and its system of prefixed pronouns. It is probable that both these peculiarities exist in the Khumi and Kyo, and possibly may be discovered in the other hill tongues of Northern Arakan. In his sketch of the Khumis and Kyos,\* Capt. Latter speaks of the exponent particles (termed by him *numeral generic affixes*) as being entirely wanting, though he suspected a better acquaintance with those dialects would reveal them. Colloquially a Khyeng rarely uses them, and as he possesses a dual number, one is at first led to imagine that his language does not possess them; possibly a latent dual together with a like infrequent use of those particles by the Khumis and Kyos may have led Capt. Latter to imagine they were wanting in those languages. Again, he says the Khumis form their future by "the addition of the affix 'nák', which, when the roots end with a mute consonant often has the euphonic vocal 'gă' intervening: 'Kai tchek gă nák' *I go or will go.*" As regards the Kyos, he says,—“Ka is the nominative affix, chiefly used with the noun in construction with a verb in the present tense. In which case the verb dispenses with its own affix of time.” The vocal 'gă' in the one case and the nominative affix 'ka' in the other, seem to indicate the existence of a similar system of prefixed contracted pronouns in those tongues.

A fable well known to Burmese scholars rendered into Khyeng and a series of short sentences are appended in the hope that they will afford an insight into the grammatical structure of the language.

*Fable of the two wild dogs and the tiger.*

In the olden time, two wild dogs lived in a forest, and after a while had three young ones, a male and two females. Subsequently they quarrelled, and on dividing (their property) each took one of the females. The male which remained, the mother claimed saying, "He is my share, I have borne him about with me, with great suffering, therefore I ought to have him." The father said, "I being the husband and lord over my wife, ought to have him." Thus disputing they went to the abode of a tiger (to have their case decided). On arriving there, the tiger said, "So you are come to me, are you!" and having given one of the young ones to the father, and one to the mother, he cut the remaining male down the middle, and gave half to each of them. The parents looking on the dead body of their young one, lamented bitterly and said, "My lord tiger, you have indeed made a division, but not thus cruelly, alas, ought you to have done it!" Then they threw down the dead body of their young one before the tiger, and went their way.

\* Journ., As. Soc. Beng., 1846.

*In Khyeng.*

Yokha, pom ui zun hni pon a on ù hói, kla ägu pom ui han zun hot pom ui nü zun hni ataук ey u ; nàwo nàhau ey nü ägù, pom ui nü zun hni pumhot zun hot hpé ey ù hói. Pom ui han zun hot kiuān ägù, anü nà-kie hólai kà khon u kie dön kà buan ey ei ashāng ey u ; apo nà-kie kapāyā kà-boi bo kie dön kàbuan ey ei ashāng ey u. Nàwo nàhau nü ägu akié tayī on duan a sit ù hói, hpo ägù, akié tayī nà-kie on duan a nàhpo ú ! to ašo zun hni, anü a pumhôt—apo a pumhôt—pek bri ägù, pom ui han so zun hot kiuān ägù amlüng a khon u ahpé u. Anü nà apo nà nàso yok hmu ägù kát ù hói, akié tayī o ! níkha nàsei ei nshāng ey nu ; nàso yok akié hmon gon a tong u bo ù hói.

## SENTENCES.

*English.*

Come here.  
 Sit down.  
 Are you well ?  
 I am well.  
 What is the matter ?  
 There is nothing the matter.  
 What do you want ?  
 I want nothing.  
 Why have you come ?  
 The master called.  
 Are you hungry ?  
 Will you eat cooked rice ?  
 Are you thirsty ?  
 Will you drink rice-beer ?  
 I will try a little.  
 Who are you ?  
 I am the village elder.  
 Of what race is he ?  
 He is a Khyeng.  
 How does he live ? (what work)  
 He plants tobacco and chillies, and  
     sows cotton and sesamum.  
 Do you understand ?  
 I do not understand.  
 When will he come ?  
 He will come now.  
 Where are you going ?  
 I am going to court that girl.

*Khyeng.*

nì a lo e.  
 nàkho on e.  
 mākang ba mó ?  
 kākang ba.  
 pikha ti ũ ?  
 pikha ba ndi nu.  
 naun baung alü ey mó ?  
 kie baung ba lü ey nu.  
 khā ti nalo ú ?  
 aboi mawui u.  
 bū andu ey mó ?  
 bū na ē ei mó ?  
 tuī nàhei (or nàha) ey mó ?  
 naun yū nàok ei mó ?  
 pleso (*pron.* pliso) kàok sok ei.  
 naun ani ú ?  
 kie nam zām moi u.  
 ya baung miu ũ ?  
 ahiou (or ahiu) miu u.  
 baung baung zei ũ ?  
 mākhiu nāling u, hōmāk nāling u,  
     hpoi nàhpo u, aši nàhpo u.  
 naun nàyauk siē ba mó ?  
 kie yu si nu.  
 baung khoā lo ei mó ?  
 tua lo ei.  
 bāan a sit yu ?  
 to hon nü kie kà sit nauk ei.

*English.**Khyeng.*

How many houses are in your village ?

There are twelve houses.

Are all the women's faces tattooed in your village ?

They are all tattooed.

What does Pamblaung say ?

'I am beautiful', she says.

Is she beautiful ?

She is not beautiful.

How old are you ?

I am thirty.

How old is your wife ?

She is twenty-five.

How many children have you ?

I have four, one boy and three girls.

How old is the eldest ?

The eldest is seven.

Is the youngest at the breast ?

Yes, it is.

Has it cut all its teeth ?

Not yet cut.

I am going. Go not.

I cannot come.

I dare not go.

You must not go.

You ought not to go.

Go before he comes.

If you find it, bring it.

If you wish to go, go.

If you pull the cat's tail, she will scratch you.

If you go there, you will be struck.

I will do it, if I can.

I am falling. He is falling.

I am not falling. He is not falling.

I am loving. He is loving.

I am (he is) not loving.

nan ā iām pihío moi ú ?

hnga iām nhi moi u.

naun nan ā hnato zei zei ămhaung  
mashuan ù mó ?

zei zei mashuan u.

Pamblaung baung nahau ey mó.

Pamblaung nā, kie kạ kói nauk u  
nauk u.

ya kói no u mó ?

gõi no nu.

naun kuam pi hio moi ù mó ?

htum gip moi niu.

păya kuam pi hio moi ù mó ?

kạpăya gõ kuam hngo.

naun ā shămi moi ù mó ?

pum mri moi u, pato pu'hot, hnato  
pun htum.

ăhlém hek kuam pihío moi ù mó ?

ăhlém hẽk kuam she.

ămlek hẽk sui ok moi ù mó ?

ă, moi u.

ăho po mák ù mó ?

bo mak hon nu.

kie kạ sĩtyu. Zit ăn ẽ.

kie nlo khó dĩ nu.

kie zit dāt shi nu.

zit la shi dĩ.

zit hpa mbū.

nlo khlaung a sid e.

naun khon dina lo bo e.

sit woi da sĩt (d, euphonic).

min zam hómé hnük dinā mẵmplei  
èy ẽi.

naun sỏbra sĩt ănă ădeng nẵsuney ẽi.

kie zei kho nă, kạ zei ẽi.

kie kạ klauku. ăya klo u.

kie ngto nu. ăya ngto u.

kie kẵmlak nauk u. Ya nẵmlak  
nauk u.

kie (ăya) nẵmlak no nu.

*English.*

I love him.  
 He loves me.  
 I am pointing (with the finger).  
 He is pointing.  
 What is he pointing at ?  
 Is the work finished ?  
 It is not finished.  
 Do you think it will rain ?  
 I do not think it will rain.  
 Is the village far ?  
 It is near.  
 Who is coughing ?  
 He is coughing (*i. e.*, has a cough).  
 What did you beat him with ?  
 I struck him with a stick.  
 Those men went with their bows to  
 shoot wild pig.

*Khyeng.*

kie aya kamlak nauk u.  
 kie namlak nauk u.  
 kie kachi u.  
 aya namanchi u.  
 aya baung nachi u.  
 nazei pri u mó ?  
 bri hon nu.  
 yo oo ei natchian u mó ?  
 yo noo shinu kachian u.  
 to nam hló ù mó ?  
 aseng u.  
 anku ani ú ?  
 yanku shi u.  
 naun aya baung ung deng u ?  
 htén bo nung kadeng u.  
 to khlaung hio ali ung pom wok hot  
 ei sit u hió.

## PART III.

**A Vocabulary in Khyeng and English.**

The vocables in this section of the Vocabulary may perhaps be grouped under the following heads:—

(a.) The *generic* or *cognate*, such as are common to the majority of the hill tongues, as for instance; ‘kahní’ *the sun*; ‘khlo’ *the moon*; ‘kli’ *air*; ‘ui’ *a dog*.

(b.) The *specific* or, perhaps more correctly, the *dialectic*, such as are peculiar to the Khyeng tongue: as for example; ‘blüm’ *a hill*; ‘dek’ *the earth*; ‘kiau’ *a mountain*.

(c.) The *foreign* or such as are borrowed from other tongues, as for example ‘mlu’ *a town*, from the Arakanese ‘mro’; ‘anik’ *black*, from the Burmese ‘anek’; ‘sonai’ lime, from the Hindústání ‘chúná’.

The origin of these latter is indicated by the capital letters A, B, or H, being prefixed to them.

**A.**

a, *post pos.*, at, among, for, in, to; 2, *suppositional affix*, if; 3, *dative particle*.

ăgu, *post pos.*, from, in, *ablative particle*.

ā, *n.*, a fowl; — hlùi, a cock; — hlùi khong u, the cock crows;

— nü, a hen.



- ʔak, *v.*, to break ; — so, a bit, fragment.  
 ʔbo, *n.*, a mushroom.  
 ʔbōk, *adj.*, white.  
 ʔdōn, *n.*, a mat ; — hio, *v.*, to roll up a mat.  
 ʔhā, *n.*, a yam.  
 ʔham, *n.*, an otter.  
 ʔhāng, *n.*, a musquito.  
 ʔhau, *n.*, speech ; — pek, to abuse ; — yauk, to tell, relate.  
 ʔhaung, *n.*, liquid, juice.  
 ʔhboi, ʔhpoi, *adj.*, good, handsome.  
 ʔhé, *n.*, an axe.  
 ʔhē, *n.*, firewood.  
 ʔhéng, *adj.*, green, alive.  
 ʔhlém, *adj.*, great, large, big.  
 ʔhling, *n.*, a thorn.  
 ʔhlō, *adj.*, far.  
 ʔhlök, *n.*, heat ; — soat, *v.*, to perspire.  
 ʔhlüng, *adj.*, high, lofty, tall.  
 A. ʔhmaung, *adj.*, painted, ornamented ; — shuam, *v.*, to tattoo.  
 ʔhmü, *n.*, a kite (bird).  
 ʔhmuat, *n.*, the gall bladder ; with ‘mé’, to blow the fire.  
 B. ʔhmo, *n.*, hair of the body, down ; 2, a feather.  
 ʔhni or ʔhné, *n.*, a wild dog.  
 ʔhnü, *n.*, the last, the space behind a thing.  
 ʔhom, *n.*, a creek.  
 ʔhōng, *adj.*, empty, deserted.  
 ʔho, *adj.*, dry.  
 ʔhtá, *adj.*, new.  
 B. ʔhté, *n.*, the fruit of a tree or plant.  
 ʔhti, *n.*, blood ; — klong, *n.*, a vein.  
 ʔhto, *adj.*, acid, sour.  
 ʔhtö, *adj.*, angry.  
 ʔhto, *n.*, an arrow.  
 ʔhtüi, *adj.*, young, small.  
 ʔhtuk, *adj.*, deep as water.  
 B. ʔkhō, *adj.*, bitter ; *n.*, an aperture, hole.  
 ʔkié, *n.*, a tiger.  
 ʔkī, *n.*, a horn, as ‘non kī’ *buffalo’s horn* ; also, an angle, corner.  
 A. ʔklam, *n.*, advice, counsel ; 2, enclosure, fence.  
 A. ʔklong, *n.*, a line.  
 B. ʔko, or ago, *adv.* and *post pos.*, under, beneath.  
 B. ʔkoi, *n.*, an ear or spike of grain.

- B. əkü, *n.*, help, assistance ; 2, a spider.
- A. əlak, *n.*, liquor, spirit, *arrack*.
- B. əlei, *n.*, a field.
- B. əli, *n.*, a crossbow ; — wo, *n.*, a quiver ; — nkli, *v.*, to bend the bow in order to string it ; — hpö, *v.*, to draw up the string in order to let off the arrow.
- B. əlom, *n.*, a road.  
əlon a, *adv.*, moreover.
- əlö, *n.*, a forest clearing ; *adj.*, like, similar.
- B. əlün, *n.*, a stone ; exponent particle for round-like objects.  
am, *n.*, a pot, utensil.
- A. əmaung, *n.*, a dream.  
əmbu ey, *v.*, to borrow.
- B. əmé, *n.*, the sky, clouds.  
əmlak, *obsolete n.* ; — nauk, *v.*, to love, to like.  
əmlek, *adj.*, small, young.  
əmlüng, *n.* the mind ; 2, the middle ; — ta, *v.*, to like, to be pleased with ; — klauk, *v.*, to resolve ; — htö, *v.*, to be angry.  
əmuəm, *adj.*, broken, fractured, lame.  
ən, *the negative and prohibitive particle*.  
əna, *if, the suppositional affix*.  
ənau, *n.*, a younger brother, offspring.  
—— bé, *n.*, a younger sister (*pron.* əuăbé.)  
əndī, *n.*, a scorpion.  
əndu ey, *v.*, to be hungry.  
ənduəm, *n.*, a resting, a place.  
əni, *interrogative pron.*, who.
- B. ənīk, *adj.*, black.  
əнку, *n.*, a cough.  
ənteät, *adj.*, tight.  
əntö, *v.*, to awake.
- B. əoi, *adj.*, yellow.  
əpio, *n.*, a fly.  
əpeəm, *adj.*, old.  
əpoung, *n.*, a wall ; B. — *v.*, to clasp, cling to.
- B. əpok, *n.*, a grandfather.  
əpri, *n.*, a bit, fragment.  
asa, *n.*, a worm.  
əseng, *adj.*, near.  
əshe, *n.*, a star.
- B. əshāng ey, *v.*, to be proper, right.

- B. aşam, *n.*, sound, noise.  
 aşeam, *adj.*, red ; — so, *n.*, an infant, (a northern expression).  
 aşaug, *adj.*, light.  
 aşau, *adj.*, long.  
 aşho, *n.*, flesh, meat.  
 aşı, *n.*, an elder sister.  
 aşiam, *n.*, a knife ; — lop or nho, *n.*, the blade of a knife ; — ho,  
*n.*, the edge of a knife.
- B. ašo, *adj.*, wet.  
 ašō, *n.*, a child infant ; a *diminutive particle*.  
 ašói, *adj.*, short.
- B. aşoung, *n.*, rice ; — shé, cleaned pounded rice ; — dé, uncleaned  
 rice.  
 aṭa, *n.*, an elder brother.  
 aui, *adj.*, stinking, rotten.  
 aung o, *n.*, a crow.  
 awā, *n.*, light, dawn of day ; 2, a casting net.  
 awoap, *n.*, a species of leech.  
 ayam, *n.*, night.  
 ayat, ya, *pron.*, full form of third personal pronoun he, she, it ; *plur.*,  
 ayau, *adj.*, wide. [ayati, yati, they.  
 ayauk, *n.*, a bag.  
 ayi, *adj.*, heavy.  
 ayei, *adj.*, weary.  
 ayong, *adj.*, cold.  
 ayok, *n.*, a corpse.

## B.

- ba, *n.*, a kind of reed ; 2, a *euphonic affix*.  
 — leng, *n.*, a kind of grass.  
 — oap, *n.*, lemon or other fragrant grass.  
 bā, *v.*, to put into the mouth (as food, &c.).  
 baan, *adv.*, where.  
 baung, *interrog. pron.*, which, what.  
 ——— kho-ă, *adv.*, at what time, when.  
 bē, *adj.*, other, another.  
 mbing, *v.*, to shut, close as an aperture or door.  
 blüm, *n.*, a hill, hillock ; — bö, a hill mushroom.  
 bo, a *qualifying affix*, sometimes makes a neuter verb active.  
 bo, *v.*, to return.  
 mbon, *v.*, to be thin.
- B. bri or pri, *v.*, to be finished, completed.

bü, *n.*, cooked food, boiled rice ; — am, a pot in which rice is cooked ; — am teap, the rice pot cover ; — andu ey, *v.*, to be hungry.

buat, *v.*, to cook.

buam, *v.*, to get, obtain.

bük bo, *v.*, to push.

### C.

chandon, *n.*, the Khyen dwen River.

B. che pui, *n.*, an associate, friend.

chetong kuht, *n.*, the left hand.

chi or che, *n.*, the waist cloth worn by Khyeng males.

— sauk, *v.*, to put on the waist cloth.

chi, *v.*, to point out, or at.

chian, *v.*, to think, suppose, be of opinion.

chin ye, *n.*, marriage.

### D.

dat, *v.*, to dare, *auxiliary affix* (not used singly).

dek, *n.*, the earth, ground ; — moan, *v.*, to be possessed of the spirit of the earth ; — heam hot, *v.*, to make a propitiatory offering to the earth spirit.

nde, *v.*, to be disgusted.

de, *n.*, a thatched roof.

di, *n.*, a kind of grass for thatching

dei shop, *n.*, a door ; — mbing, *v.*, to shut (as a door) ; — hü, *v.*, to open (as a door).

din, *euphonic affix*, as 'khoan din lo e', come down.

dina, *suppositional affix*, if, should.

do, an extended line. Exponent particle for long things.

ndo, *v.*, to sting as a bee, or bite as a snake.

doam, *adj.*, idle, lazy, stupid.

dong, *v.*, to jump.

dön, *adj.*, only.

duat, *v.*, to shampoo.

nduam, *v.*, to rest, cease from motion.

dü, *v.*, to die.

### E.

ē, *v.*, to eat.

e, *affix of imperative mood*.

ei, *affix of future tense and of infinitive mood*.

B. ek, *n.*, dung, ordure ; 2, *v.*, to ease oneself.

ey, *auxiliary affix*.



## G.

gan, *v.*, to be strong, powerful, violent.

ngan, *v.*, to kick as an animal, as 'no nạm ngan u' *the buffalo kicks.*

gang nu, *v.*, to be not well, sick.

- B. glək, *n.*, a flash of lightning; — klö, *v.*, to flash as lightning;  
— ho, *n.*, a celt, ancient stone implement.

ngon nu, *v.*, to be busy, not at leisure, as 'kie ngon nu' I have no

- B. go, *num. adj.*, nine. [leisure.

goi, *num. adj.*, twenty.

gu, *n.*, a thing, a unit; *genitive particle.*

## H.

ha, *n.*, gold; — oi yum, a gold necklace; — ku siap, a gold finger ring; — takli, a gold armlet.

ha, *also* ngha, *num. adj.*, ten.

han, *v.*, to yawn; 2, to be rough, bad as a road; 3, *masc. affix for*

hap, *v.*, to be sharp as a knife, clever as a man. [*dogs.*

hbi, *v.* to catch, hold, as 'hbi dina lo e' *bring it.*

hbo, *euphonic affix.*

heam, *n.*, silver; — ha, silver and gold, wealth; — hot, *v.*, to go with a propitiatory offering.

hek, *n.*, a louse.

hək, *v.*, to lift or take out; 2, *superlative affix*, very, much.

hi, *v.*, to ask, to question.

hio (*or* sho), *n.*, a coverlet, blanket; — wo, *v.*, to put on a covering; — ankleät, *v.*, to fold up a covering.

hio (*or* sho), *v.*, to roll up (as a mat or tobacco); 2, to be many; 3, *a plural affix.*

- B. huiap, *or* shuap, *v.*, to loosen, untie.

hle, *v.*, to buy.

hleät, *v.*, to joke, jest.

hlém, *v.*, to be great, large.

hlo, *n.*, a shield.

hloang, *v.*, to expel, drive out.

hlök, *v.*, to be hot.

hlüng, *v.*, to be high, lofty.

hlü, *v.*, to rub, wipe.

hluam, *v.*, to shake.

hmiām, *v.*, to be ripe; to be cooked.

hmu, *v.*, to see.

hne nü, *n.*, a widow; — bo, *n.*, a widower.

hnato, *n.*, a woman.

hnauk, *v.*, to bark (as a dog); 2, to wear (as a garment); 3, to put on (as a ring).

hnaũk, *v.*, to hammer (as a nail or peg).

hnaung, *euphonic particle*, please.

hnga, *also ha, num. adj.*, ten.

— ne pumhot, eleven.

B. hngo, *num. adj.*, five; 2, to be full, satisfied with food.

B. hngõ, *v.*, to growl as an animal.

B. hngõ, *n.*, a fish; — liap, scales; — pwop, gills; — hling, dorsal fin; — pök hling, ventral fin; — hõmé, tail; — sa, dried fish; — zi nei, salted fish; — mêngõ, broiled fish.

B. hni, *num. adj.*, two.

hni, *n.*, a Khyeng woman's under-petticoat.

hnio, *v.*, to forget; — hté, *n.*, a melon.

B. hnoan, *v.*, to smell.

hno, *or* nho lop, *n.*, a leaf.

hno, *v.*, to be blunt, as a knife.

B. hnük, *v.*, to pull, drag, draw out.

hõ, *v.*, to fan; 2, to wipe.

ho, *v.*, to dry, set out to dry.

hoan, *v.*, to be young, budding, (obsolete).

— nũ, *n.*, a virgin, maiden.

hoap, *v.*, to pull with violence.

B. hoat ey, *v.*, to hinder.

hoi, *n.*, a mango.

hói, *v.*, to be a pair or couple, *dual affix*.

B. hok, *v.*, to bark as a deer.

hokka, *n.*, the buttock.

holai khon *or* khoam, *v.*, to meet with suffering, to suffer.

hõmăk, *n.*, chillies.

B. hõmé, *n.*, a tail; a beard of grain.

hon a, *post pos.*, above, overhead; *conj.* yet, still.

hot, *v.*, to go, (obsolete); *as an auxiliary it often gives strength to an active root.*

hot, *num. adj.*, one; hot a, to-morrow.

hpa, *v.*, to be lawful, right, *an auxiliary verb not used singly.*

B. hpé, *v.*, to allot, divide.

hpean, *v.*, to wear out or away.

hpiän, *n.*, the gown worn by the Khyeng women; — hio, *v.*, to put on the same.

hpo, *v.*, to arrive.

hpo, *v.*, to sow broad cast.

hpo, *n.*, a snake, serpent.

hpöhä, *n.*, a husband.

hpo i, *n.*, cotton; — yong, the cotton plant; — hté, the cotton pod; — nzi, cotton seed; — pé, dressed cotton; — hdeun, a bundle of cotton thread; — hdeun shuan, to dye cotton thread.

hpuan, *adj.*, level.

hték, *n.*, a brute animal; *exponent particle* for fish.

hti or nhti, *n.*, iron.

htin or htén, *n.*, a tree; — haung, *n.* sap.

hto, *n.*, an arrow; *v.*, to change.

B. htum, *num. adj.*, three.

hau, *v.*, to speak, talk.

## I.

B. iām, *n.*, a house, dwelling; — sho, the verandah; — kadūk, the inner or sleeping apartment; — go, the first or cooking-room.

B. iĕ, *v.*, to sleep; — duām, *n.*, a bed.

## K.

kā, contracted form of first personal pronoun.

kādi, *n.*, the mantis religiosa.

kādūk, *n.*, an inside part, a room.

kāhni, *n.*, the sun, the sky, a day; — klü, *v.*, to set, as the sun; — sauk, *v.*, to shine, as the sun.

nkap, *v.*, to hawk, clear the throat.

kat, *v.*, to weep, cry.

khlo, *n.*, the moon, lunar month; — hté, to wax; B. — luām, to wane; — yói, the halo round the moon; — wa, to shine as the moon, *n.* moon shine; — soat, to rise; — plé, full moon.

khlaung, *n.*, a man, mankind; — hap, a shrewd, sharp fellow; — so, a child, a youth; — hli, a braggart, boaster, liar; — gan, a strong powerful man, athlete; — gon, a lean man; — oo, a dumb man; — zam, an elder.

khlaung a, *qual. affix* (with 'n' prefixed to verbal root), before, as 'nlo khlaung a' *before coming*.

kho, *aux. verb.*, to be able, can; *n.*, an aperture.

khoă, *n.*, time.

kho-a, *n.*, country, region.

khōā, *n.*, dawn, light.

khoam, *also* khon, *v.*, to meet with find.

khoan, *v.*, to descend.

khôi, *n.*, a honey-bee ; — uap, a ground bee ; — hleng, a tree bee (living in the hole of tree) ; — hlém, a large kind of bee ; — sha, the nest including comb and honey ; — ho, a small kind of bee ; — haung, honey ; — kap, yellow wax ; — hne, wax of a blackish colour.

khói, *v.*, to ascend.

khon, *v.*, to sever, divide ; 2, to find.

khon *or* khun, *n.*, the domestic or household spirit.

B. — swang ey, *v.*, to introduce the bride to her husband's household spirit.

khong, *v.*, to crow, as a cock.

khuam, *v.*, to fasten, to tie with a string.

kiau, *n.*, a mountain.

kie, *pron.*, I ; kie hni, we (dual) ; kie me, we (plural).

kiě, *v.*, to fear.

A. klāng, *v.*, to intend.

klauk, *v.*, to fall (from a height).

nkleăt, *v.*, to fold up or be folded up.

kli, *n.*, air, wind ; — gan, a storm, hurricane.

klo, *or* kloso, *n.*, the spirit attached to a person from birth.

klong, *v.*, to feed, tend as creatures.

klők soat, *v.*, to perspire.

klö, *adj.*, young, budding.

klü, *v.*, to fall (from an erect posture) ; to slip, sink, set, as the sun.

kluam, *v.*, to enter, go into or under, to dive.

kluăt, *v.*, to grind.

nklük, *v.*, to fell, as timber.

ko, *v.*, to have fever.

kö, *or* — mǎng, *v.*, to groan, moan.

ko ey, *v.*, to coax, flatter.

kói, *v.*, to ascend.

B. — nauk, *v.*, to be becoming, beautiful.

nkoi, *v.*, to split, crack, be broken.

kon, *v.*, to have leisure.

kot, *v.*, to go out shooting, to shoot.

## L.

A. la, *v.*, to get obtain ; 2, (*aux. verb*) must.

A. lăk, *v.*, to scratch or paw the earth, as a fowl or dog.



lăt pang kuth, right hand.

A. lei, *v.*, to be brave, bold.

ling, *v.*, to set, plant out.

B. lo, *v.*, to come.

loan, *v.*, to dance.

### M.

ma, the contracted form of the first personal pronoun in the dual and plural numbers.

mahaũ kho, *n.*, the mouth.

mahling, *n.*, the back ; — yo, the backbone, spine.

mahlök kho, *n.*, the throat.

maho, *n.*, a tooth.

B. mahno, *n.*, the ear.

mak, *v.*, to complete, finish.

makan, *or* — zām, *n.*, the breast.

makhō, *n.*, the foot, leg ; — muam, *adj.*, lame ; — poam, the sole of the foot ; — nü, the big toe ; — lu, the knee ; — mik, the ankle ; — on, *v.*, to sit down.

makhü, *n.*, tobacco ; — héng, *n.*, green tobacco ; — sa, *n.*, dried tobacco ; — hio, a cigar : *v.*, to roll tobacco ; — ok, *v.*, to smoke ; — lop, tobacco leaf ; — kan, the midrib ; — yong, the tobacco plant.

maķiam, *n.*, the waist.

maķuht, *n.*, the arm or hand ; — nü, the thumb ; — mium, the first finger ; — dāndālan, the middle finger ; — mingo, the third or ring finger ; — so, the little finger ; — siap, a finger-ring ; — ndiam, the finger nail ; — be, *n.*, a finger breadth ; — mēng, *v.*, to snap the fingers ; — po, *n.*, the palm of the hand ; — klün, *n.*, the back of the hand ; — piām, a knuckle or the wrist ; — hnuām, the fist.

malé bong, *n.*, the tongue.

maļu, *n.*, the head.

maľung, *or* mlüng, *n.*, the mind, soul, heart.

mamlei, *n.*, the navel ; — yói, *n.*, the navel string.

mando, *n.*, a sting.

maņkuam, *n.*, the calf of the leg.

maņkho, *n.*, the chin ; — hmo, the beard.

mape, *n.*, the thigh.

maķium dui, *n.*, urine ; — iām, the bladder.

- mashom, *n.*, hair of the head.  
 maung, *v.*, to dream.  
 mawuam, *n.*, the skin.
- B. mei nai, *n.*, indigo.
- B. mēn, *n.*, fire.  
 — nshuām, a piece of fire stick or brand.  
 — nku, to smoke.
- B. — nshi, to set fire to.  
 — noo, to burn.
- B. — non, to warm oneself by the fire.
- B. — mpwa, to light or make a fire.
- B. — mhuaṭ, to blow a fire.  
 — ndo, to blaze up; *n.*, a flame or blaze.  
 — mēng, *v.*, to make a noise, bellow, roar, low, or mew.
- B. mīk, *n.*, the eye.  
 — kbe, *adj.*, blind.
- B. — ku, *n.*, the eyebrow.
- B. — kuam, *n.*, the eyelid; — hmo, the eyelashes.  
 — kbok, *n.*, the white of the eye.
- B. — knik, *n.*, the pupil.
- B. — kli, *or* — khaung, *n.*, a tear.  
 — keche pek, *v.*, to wink.  
 mim, *or* mimzām, *n.*, a cat.  
 mlo, *n.*, vegetable poison into which arrows are dipped.
- B. mri, *num. adj.*, four.
- B. mlō-ī, *n.*, a boat.
- B. mlü, *n.*, a city.  
 mo, *n.*, a lord, master, owner, proprietor.  
 mo, *interrogative particle*; 2, *euphonic particle*.  
 moăn, *v.*, to seize, catch, hold; — buan, *v.*, to have hold of; to obtain.  
 moi, *v.*, to be, exist.  
 mong, *n.*, the lip.  
 muan, *v.*, to be broken, fractured.  
 mui, *n.*, an elephant; — ho, an elephant's tusk.

## N.

- n*, *the negative particle*.  
*na*, *the suppositional particle*, if, should.  
*na*, contracted form of second and third personal pronouns in the three numbers.  
*nam*, *n.*, a village; — zām, a village elder.

- nauk, *aux. verb*, not used singly.  
 naun, *pron.*, thou ; naun-hni, ye (dual) ; naun me, ye (plural).  
 B. ne, *n.*, a day from sunrise to sunset ; 2, *conjunctive particle*, with, and.  
 B. nei, *v.*, to knead, or press into (as salt into fish).  
 ney, *v.*, to twist, wring out (as clothes).  
 nguap, *v.*, to watch, guard.  
 ni, *demon. pron.*, this ; — khoă, *adv.*, now, this time.  
     — kha, *adv.*, thus ; — kha shi na, *adv.*, therefore.  
     — lon a, *adv.*, also ; *post pos.*, besides.  
 B. nië, *v.*, to attend to, listen, obey.  
 non, *n.*, a buffalo.  
 — e, to offer to the buffalo spirit, (*lit.* to eat buffalo).  
 nü, *v.*, to be abundant.

## O.

- B. o, *v.*, to be dumb.  
 B. o, *adj.*, pleasant, charming ; *vocative particle*.  
 oam, *n.*, vegetables, pottage ; — am, *n.*, the cooking vessel, and  
     — am teăp, *n.*, its cover.  
 oap, *v.*, to be fragrant, sweet smelling.  
 on, *v.*, to remain, rest ; — duam, resting-place, seat.  
 op, *v.*, to cut as with a knife.  
 oyuam, *n.*, a necklace ; — mon, the beads of a necklace ; — yói,  
     the thread on which the beads are strung.

## P.

- pakri, *n.*, a green and gold beetle, a species of *Buprestis*.  
 pau, *n.*, a word, speech ; — hbo, *v.* to speak.  
 paung, *v.*, to cling, adhere to.  
 payá, *n.*, a wife ; — sãn, the wife first taken ; — ði, the second wife.  
 payo, *n.*, a bird ; — bü, a bird's nest ; — hmo, a bird's feather.  
 payü, *n.*, a rat or mouse.  
 pei, *v.*, to fly as a bird or as sparks of fire ; 2, to steer as a boat.  
 B. pi, *interrog. pron.*, what ; — hio, how much or many (pronounced by the southern Khyengs as 'pshaw').  
 B. — kük, how much or many (be hnit ko, *Burm.*)  
 B. piăng, *v.*, to repair, put in order.  
 pio, or piăk, *v.*, to cleanse, wash.  
 B. pium, *v.*, to be straight.  
 plö, *adj.*, shallow as water.

po, *v.*, to follow, accompany, *as an auxiliary sometimes makes active a neuter verb ; also an euphonic affix.*

pom, *n.*, a forest.

poi chi, *n.*, a kind of deer (?).

B. pok, *v.*, to cut as teeth, to come out,

pum, *n.*, a body, unit, thing, exponent particle for mankind and things generally.

## S.

B. sa, *v.*, to be dried, as fish or grass.

sām, *v.*, to be great in years, old.

sang, *v.*, to be hard.

sauk, *v.*, to shine as the sun ; 2, to put on (as a man's garment).

saum or shom, *n.*, the hair of the head.

saung, *n.*, paddy ; — hop, the husk or hull of paddy ; — hōmé, the beard of the grain ; — woap, to reap by merely cutting off the ear as is done by the hill people ; — yang, to reap as is done in the plains.

seizei, *adj.*, all.

shāp, *num. adj.*, eight.

shāmo, *n.*, a priest, soothsayer.

shāmi, *n.*, a little thing, a child.

B. shang ey, *v.*, to be proper, fit.

she, *n.*, a leaf ; 2, *num. adj.*, seven ; 3, *adj.*, bad.

she, *imperative of the above*, as ' on hnaung she ' let it remain.

shé, *n.*, a horse.

sheāt, *v.*, to count.

shi, *v.*, to be, to be true ; *as an auxiliary it implies the quality, habit, or practice of any being or thing* ; — ba, it is, yes ; nshi nu, it is not, no.

sho, *n.*, a cow.

B. sho, *v.*, to be thick ; *n.*, flesh, meat.

shom, *v.*, to take off (as a cooking pot off the fire).

B. shuāp, *v.*, to untie.

B. shuang ey, *v.*, to own.

B. shui, *v.*, to search, look for.

shuma, *v.*, to geld, castrate.

siāp, *n.*, a finger ring.

siām, *n.*, a knife.

sit, *v.*, to go ; — ey, *v.*, to go ; — nauk, to go courting.

so, *v.*, to bite.



soat, *v.*, to issue, go out ; 2, to look, look at, behold ; 3, to cut as with a knife.

nsoĩ, *v.*, to kick (as a man).

sok, *v.*, to make trial of (*an auxiliary*, not used singly).

so or su, *v.*, to dig.

son, *v.*, to run, flee, escape ; 2, to taste ; 3, *an auxiliary signifying completion*.

H. sonai, *n.*, sand, lime.

son biăn, *n.*, a young unmarried man.

suam, *n.*, a kind of fairy.

sui, *n.*, the breast ; milk ; — mong, the nipple.

B. swang ey, to cause to enter, introduce.

## T.

B. tai, *n.*, a hut.

tamuap, *n.*, ashes.

tanhup, *n.*, to-day.

tau, *adj.*, large, fine, big, superior.

tauam, *n.*, a gourd ; — yum, *n.*, the same ; — té, *n.*, a species of gourd.

tauk ey, to be born (applied chiefly to animals).

te, to commission, order.

nteäng, to be raw, uncooked.

teăp, *n.*, a lid, cover.

nteăt, to be tight, close fitting.

ti, to be, as 'kha ti u' what is it ?

ti or di, *neg. particle*, as 'hbau ei di' be silent.

to, *dem. pron.*, that (*pronounced* sometimes 'tö') ; *v.*, to whet.

ntö, to be awake.

ntö hbo, to awaken.

toi or doĩ, *n.*, an egg.

tölei, *n.*, medicine.

töni, *dem. pron.*, that ; — khoă, then, at that time.

tong, to discard, reject ; tong hot, to throw.

tou tauk, to weave ; — klaung, *n.*, the beam farthest from the weaver round which the warp is rolled ; — sũm, *n.*, the near beam in weaver's lap round which the warp passes ; — chehnam, *n.*, the strip of hide against which the weaver leans, its ends are fastened to ends of near beam ; — sak, *n.*, a shuttle.

tui, *adj.*, sweet. ; *v.*, to be sweet.

tũk, to kill, destroy.

ntuk, to commission, order.

tu-a, *adj.*, now.

toam, *v.*, to follow, pursue, accompany ; — buan, *v.*, to catch, as  
‘ toan ei kabuan niu ’ I have caught him.

tuăt u, *v.*, to hide, conceal.

tui, *n.*, water ; — li, *n.*, a lake, pond ; — htūk, deep water ;  
— plö, shallow water ; — hlok, *v.*, to bathe ; *n.*, hot spring ;  
— miauk, drinking cup ; — dzü, water-pot ; — sauk, bamboo  
for holding water ; — kluam, *v.*, to dive ; — hai or hei ey, *v.*,  
to be thirsty ; — kium, *n.*, a well ; — nhük, *v.*, to draw water.

## U.

uat nauk, *v.*, to think.

B. uat, or uap, *n.*, a brick.

B. ui, *n.*, a dog ; — han, *n.*, a male dog ; — han bo, *n.*, an old male  
dog, a term of abuse ; — yo, *n.*, a mad dog ; — nu, *n.*, a bitch.  
ung, *post. pos.*, with, by means of.

## W.

wā, *v.*, to be light, as ‘ khlo wa ’ moon-light.

wo, *n.*, a basket.

wo, *v.*, to quarrel. 2, to throw, fling ; — hau, *v.*, to wrangle.

woap, *v.*, to reap ; see ‘ saung’.

woi, *aux. verb.*, to wish, desire.

wok, *n.*, a pig, hog ; — nū, *n.*, a sow.

wök, *v.*, to crawl, creep.

wù i, or ‘ wöi,’ *v.*, to call.

## Y.

ya, *pron.*, third person, he, she, it ; — hói, the same, dual, they two ;  
yati, they ; — hio, they.

yam, *n.*, night.

B. yam yam, *adv.*, quickly.

yand a, yesterday.

yang, *v.*, to reap.

yau, *v.*, to be broad.

yauk, *v.*, to hear ; — sik, *v.*, to understand, comprehend.

yu si n, *neg. verb.*, ‘ kie yu si nu’, I do not understand.

ye, *v.*, to sell.

yei, *v.*, to be fatigued from exertion.

yei shan, *v.*, to invoke a spirit.

B. yō, *n.*, rain ; — o, *v.*, to rain ; — tui, *n.*, rain-water.

yoan, *v.*, to float.

B. yokha, *adv.*, in former times, formerly (she thau kha *Burm.*). .

yo, *n.*, a bamboo ; 2, a bone ; — yong, *n.*, the same ; — hneär, *n.*, a bamboo for holding water (*a northern word*) ; — ntang, *n.*, a species of white bamboo ; — nzing, *n.*, a species of bamboo ; — hnā, *n.*, the same.

yo, *n.*, a funeral.

yoi, *n.*, a string or cord.

yong, *n.*, a monkey.

yong ey, *v.*, to be cold.

yum, *n.*, a creeper ; *exponent particle for reptiles.*

yü, *n.*, rice beer.

## Z.

zei, *v.*, to work ; za, in northern Khyeng.

nzian, *v.*, to be clear as water.

nzo, *v.*, to ache.

n'zoat ey, *v.*, to chew.

zum, *n.*, a brute animal, *exponent particle for quadrupeds.*

nzum, *v.*, to mark ; recollect, remember.

nzün, *v.*, to be stiff, cramped ; — auk, *v.*, the same.

## A Vocabulary in English and Khyeng.

Opposite some of the words in this section appear vocables with a capital N prefixed to them. They are taken “from a man belonging to the Northern tribes”, and form part of the vocabularies of languages spoken by tribes in Arakan, furnished to Mr. Hodgson by Capt. (now Sir) A. Phayre, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1853.

Subjoined is the system of orthography adopted for them.

a	as	a	in	America.
á	as	a	in	father.
i	as	i	in	in.
í	as	i	in	police.
u	as	u	in	push.
ú	as	oo	in	food.
e	as	e	in	yet.
é	as	e	in	there.
ai	as	ai	in	air.
ei	as	i	in	mind.
ou	as	ou	in	ounce.
au	as	au	in	audience.
o	as	o	in	note.
th	as	th	in	thin.

## A.

abandon, *v.*, tong u.  
 abhor, andey u.  
 abide, on u.  
 able to be, kho u.  
 abode, *n.*, on duam. [ka.  
 above, *post pos.*, hon a. N. ada-ma-  
 absent to be, moi nu.  
 abundance, *n.*, anü.  
 abuse, *v.*, mong shé ahau pek u.  
 ache, *v.*, anzo or manzo u.  
 acid to be, *v.*, ahto u.  
 adorn, *v.*, hom bon u. (kie ka hom  
 bon u.)  
 advice, *n.*, aklam.  
 aforetime, *adv.*, yokha.  
 afraid to be, *v.*, akiē u.  
 agreeable to be, *v.*, o u.  
 aim, *v.*, anzun u.  
 air, *n.*, kli. N. kli.  
 alive, *adj.*, ahéng.  
 all, *adj.*, sěizěi; kho kho.  
 allot, hpé u.  
 also, *adv.*, ni lon a.  
 ankle, *n.*, kho mik.  
 animal, *n.*, zum; hték; yum.  
 another, *adj.*, bē.  
 ant, *n.*, mring, mling. N. lhing-  
 ză-mí.  
 arm, *n.*, makuh.  
 arrive, hpo u.  
 arrow, *n.*, ahto. N. thwá.  
 ascend, kói u.  
 ashes, *n.*, tamuap.  
 ask, *v.*, hi u.  
 assistance, *n.*, akü.  
 at, among, *post. pos.*, a.  
 awake, *v.*, anto u.  
 axe, *n.*, ahé.

## B.

bachelor, *n.*, son biän.

back, *n.*, mahling.  
 bad, *adj.*, shé, hboi nu. N. po-ya.  
 bag, *n.*, ayauk.  
 bamboo, *n.*, yo.  
 basket, *n.*, wo.  
 bathe, *v.*, tui hlok u.  
 be, *v.*, moi u; shi u; ti u.  
 bear, *v.*, sun eyu.  
 beard, *n.*, mankho hmo.  
 beat, *v.*, adeng u.  
 beautiful to be, kói nauk u. *She is*  
*beautiful*, ya kói no u.  
 become, *vide* be.  
 bed, *n.*, ik duam.  
 bee, *n.*, khoi.  
 beetle, *n.*, (the green and gold) pakri.  
 before, *prep.*, khlaung a; following  
 negative verbal root, thus 'nlo  
 khlaung a', *before coming*.  
 beg, *v.*, hi u.  
 behold, *v.*, soat u.  
 bellow, *v.*, mēng u.  
 below, *post. pos.*, ak or ago (Burm.).  
 N. dékan.  
 besides, *vide* also.  
 better, *adj.*, san ahboi.  
 big, *adj.*, ahlém.  
 bind, *v.*, khuam u.  
 bird, *n.*, payo. N. hau.  
 bit, *n.*, aak so.  
 bite, *v.*, so u.  
 bitter, *adj.*, akhō. N. khai.  
 black, *adj.*, anik (Burm.). N. kán.  
 bladder, *n.*, mapium dui iam.  
 blade (of a knife) *n.*, asiām lop.  
 blaze, *v.*, mēndo u.  
 blind, *adj.*, mikbé.  
 blood, *n.*, ahti. N. ka-thí.  
 boat, *n.*, mlō i. N. loung.  
 body, *n.*, pum, mapum.  
 bone, *n.*, yo. N. kayok.  
 borrow, *v.*, ambu ey u.



bow (crossbow), ăli.  
 brace, *n.*, ăhói.  
 brag, *v.*, hli *or* hle u.  
 brave, *adj.*, lei.  
 break, *v.*, ănkóí u.  
 breast, *n.*, sui (woman's), ămăkan.  
 brick, *n.*, ăt.  
 bring, *v.*, hbi dina lo u.  
 broad, *adj.*, ăyau.  
 broil, *v.*, mē ngö u (mēn kagö u, I broil).  
 brother, ăta (elder); ănau (younger).  
 buffalo, *n.*, nón. N. nau.  
 burn, *v.*, mēn oo u.  
 — (as a corpse) ănklu u. Kănklu mak nui, *I have burnt him.*  
 busy, *v.*, ngon nu; kie-ngon nu, *I have no leisure.*  
 buy, *v.*, hle.  
 by, by means of, *post pos.*, ung.

## C.

calf (of leg), mănduam.  
 call, *v.*, wôi őr wùí u.  
 can, *v.*, kho u.  
 cast, *v.*, wo u.  
 cat, *n.*, min, mimzam. N. mín.  
 catch, *v.*, moăn u. Moăn ei kăbuăn niu, *I have caught (him).*  
 chest (of the body), ămăkan, ămăkan-zam.  
 chew, *v.*, nzoat ey u.  
 child, *n.*, so, shămi.  
 chin, *n.*, mănkho.  
 cigar, *n.*, măkhü hio.  
 city, *n.*, mlü.  
 clear, *adj.*, ănzian (as water).  
 cling to, paung u.  
 cloud, *n.*, ămê.  
 cock, *n.*, ăhlui.  
 cold to be, ăyong u, yong ey u. N. ka-young.

come, *v.*, lo-u. N. lo.  
 — back, *v.*, lo-bo.  
 — down, *v.*, khoăn dina lo.  
 — up, *v.*, khói dina lo.  
 — out, *v.*, soăt.  
 companion, che pui, *or* shămi pui.  
 comprehend, *see* understand.  
 conceal, *v.*, tuăt u.  
 cook, *v.*, buăt u.  
 cord, *n.*, yói.  
 corner, angle, *n.*, ăkí.  
 corpse, *n.*, ăyok.  
 cotton, *n.*, hpo i.  
 cough, *v.*, ănku u; thus, yánku shi u, *he is coughing.*  
 count, *v.*, sheăt u.  
 country, *n.*, khoa.  
 couple, *n.*, ăhói.  
 coverlet, *n.*, hio (sho, nearly).  
 cow, *n.*, sho. N. sharh.  
 creek, *n.*, ăhom.  
 creep, *v.*, wôk u.  
 crossbow, *n.*, ăli. Ali kănkli ei, *I will bend the bow* (in order to string it).  
 crow, *n.*, aung o. N. ăng-au.  
 cry, *v.*, kat u.  
 cut, *v.*, soăt u.

## D.

dance, *v.*, loạn u.  
 dare, *v.*, dat, only used an auxiliary.  
 dawn, *n.*, ăwă.  
 deep, *adj.*, ăhtăk.  
 descend, *v.*, kho ăn u.  
 desire, *v.*, woi u.  
 die, *v.*, du u.  
 dig, *v.*, so *or* su u.  
 dive, *v.*, kluam u.  
 divide, *v.*, khon u (sever); hpé u (allot).  
 dog, *n.*, ui; uihan, a dog; ui nü, a bitch. N. ui.

down, *n.*, (soft hair or feathers) hmo.  
 drag, *v.*, nhük u.  
 draw, *v.*, the same.  
 dream, *v.*, maung u.  
 drink, *v.*, ok u. N. ú-é.  
 dry, *adj.*, as flesh or fruit, sa.  
 dung, *n.*, ek.  
 dwell, *v.*, on u.  
 dye, *v.*, shuan u.

## E.

ear, *n.*, manho. N. ka-nhau.  
 earth, *n.*, dek. N. det.  
 ease oneself, *v.*, ek u.  
 eat, *v.*, ē. N. é.  
 egg, *n.*, ā toi. N. to-í.  
 elephant, *n.*, mui. N. mwí.  
 enter, *v.*, wang u.  
 escape, *v.*, soạn u.  
 exchange, *v.*, hto u.  
 eye, *n.*, mik. N. mí-ú-i.  
 eyebrow, *n.*, mik ku.  
 eyelid, *n.*, mik kuam.  
 eyelashes, *n.*, mik kuam hmo.  
 eight, shāp. N. sat.

## F.

fall, *v.*, klü u.  
 fan, *v.*, hō u.  
 far, *adv. and adj.*, hlo. N. tsú-a al-  
   hau a me, *lit.* is it far there?  
 father, *n.*, apo; bo. N. pau.  
 fear, *v.*, kié u; kie ngié nu, *I am not*  
   *afraid.*  
 feather, *n.*, hmo.  
 female, *n.*, nhato (woman); nü, *female*  
   *particle.*  
 fever, *n.*, ko.  
 field, *n.*, aiei.  
 find, *v.*, khoam u.  
 finish, *v.*, bri, pri-mak (*auxiliaries*).  
 fire, *n.*, mèn. N. mí.

first, *adj.*, ayāng.  
 fish, *n.*, hngō. N. ngau.  
 five, *n.*, hngo. N. nghau.  
 fit, *adj.*, hpa (*not used singly*).  
 flame, *n.*, mēndo.  
 flesh, *n.*, sho.  
 fling, *v.*, wo; tong hot u.  
 flower, *n.*, (lit. orchid) popá. N. pa-  
   pá.  
 fly, *v.*, pei u.. A fly, *n.*, apio.  
 follow, *v.*, toan u.  
 food, *n.*, bū.  
 foot, *n.*, makho. N. ka-ko.  
 forest, *n.*, pom.  
 forty, mli gip. N. lhi gíp.  
 forsake, *v.*, tong u.  
 fowl, *n.*, ā.  
 from, *post. pos.*, āgu. N. lá.  
 fruit, *n.*, ahté.  
 funeral, *n.*, yo.  
 four, *num. adj.*, mli. N. lhi.

## G.

get, *v.*, buan u; la (*aux. verb*) must.  
 give, *v.*, pek u. N. pe-ge.  
 go, *v.*, sit; hot (obsolete). N. tsit.  
 go down, *v.*, (descend) khoan u.  
 gold, *n.*, ha.  
 good, *adj.*, ahpoi, ahboi. N. be.  
 gourd, *n.*, tauam; tauam yum.  
 grandfather, *n.*, apok.  
 great, *adj.*, ahlém. N. len.  
 green, *adj.*, ahéng. N. nau.  
 grind, *v.*, kluät u.  
 groan, *v.*, kō u.  
 growl, *v.*, hngō u.

## H.

hair, *n.*, shom. N. lu-sám.  
 hair (down), *n.*, hmo.  
 hand, *n.*, makuht. N. kúth.  
 handsome, *adj.*, ahpoi.

hard, *adj.*, ʔasang.

hawk, clear the throat, *v.*, ʔangkap u.

head, *n.*, məlu. N. lú.

he, *pron.*, ʔayat, ʔat. N. ni (*comp.* this).

hear, *v.*, ʔauk u. N. ka-ʔauk.

heart, *n.*, mlüŋ or məlüŋ.

heavy, *adj.*, ʔyi.

help, *v.*, ʔkü u.

hen, *n.*, ā nü.

hence, *adv.*, ni ʔgu.

here, *adv.*, ni a. N. ni-am.

high, *adj.*, ʔhlüŋ.

hill, *n.*, blüm.

hinder, *v.*, hoat ey u.

hive, *n.*, khoi sha.

hog, *n.*, wök pa. N. weuk.

hold, *v.*, hbi, toam buam u.

honey, *n.*, khoi haung.

horn, *n.*, ʔki. N. a-kyí.

horse, *n.*, hé. N. s'hé.

hot, *adj.*, ʔhlök. N. kho-leik.

house, *n.*, iam. N. im.

how, *adv.*, pikha. N. íbau.

how much or many, pihio. N. hyau-um.

howl, *v.*, mǝŋg u.

hundred, *num. adj.*, pia hot. N. klá-át.

hungry, to be, bü anduey u; hunger, *n.*, N. bu-lan-a-du-i.

husband, *n.*, hpö hä.

hut, *n.*, tai.

## I.

I, *pron.*, kie. N. kyí.

if, *conj.*, a na, ʔana, dina.

in, *postposition*, a dük a. N. dúka.

indigo, *n.*, mei nai.

into, *post. pos.*, dük a.

iron, *n.*, nhti or hti. N. thí.

## J.

jest, *v.*, hleät u.

juice, *n.*, ʔhounŋ.

## K.

kick, *v.*, ngan u. No namanŋan u, the buffalo kicks; nsoi, *v.*, to kick, as a man.

kill, *v.*, tük u. N. tú e.

kindle (a fire), *v.*, mē mpwa u.

knead, *v.*, nei u.

kite, *n.*, ʔmhü.

knife, *n.*, ʔsiam.

know, *v.*, ʔauk sik u; mhat.

knuckle, *n.*, məkuht piām.

## L.

lame, *adj.*, ʔmuām.

large, *adj.*, ʔhlém.

last, *n.*, ʔnhü.

laugh, *v.*, ʔnwi u. N. a-nwi.

lawful, *adj.*, hpa (*not used singly*).

leaf, *n.*, she, lop, hno. N. shé.

leg, *n.*, kho, məkho.

leisure, *n.*, ʔkon. *I have no leisure,* kie ngon u.

let, *v.*, she, hli a.

level, *adj.*, hpuām.

liar, *n.*, khlaung hli.

lid, *n.*, teāp.

lift, *v.*, ta.

lift up, *v.*, ta bo. N. youk ké.

light, *n.*, wā; ʔawā. *Adj.*, ʔshaung.

lime, *n.*, sonai.

lip, *n.*, mong.

liquid, *n.*, ʔhaung.

little, *adj.*, ʔaso, amlek, pleso (*pron.* pliso). *Give me a little,* pliso pék e.

N. a-lák-chá-i.

liver, *n.*, ntiam, məntiam.

lofty, *adj.*, ʔhlüŋ.

loins, *n.*, kiam, məkiam.

long, *adj.*, ʔshau. N. sou.

look, *v.*, soʔt u.

loom (weaving apparatus), tou.

lord, *n.*, boyó.

loosen, *v.*, shuǎp u.

louse, *n.*, hek.

love, *v.*, ʔmlak nauk u.

### M.

mad, *adj.*, ʔyo.

maiden, *n.*, hon nü.

make, *v.*, sei ; zeí, za.

male, *n.*, pʔto (man).

man, *n.*, khlaung. N. kláng.

manner, *n.*, kha.

many, *plur. affix*, hio, lòi, tʔk, nu.

mark, *v.*, nzun u.

mat, *n.*, ʔdön.

meat, *n.*, sho.

medicine, *n.*, tǒlei.

meet, *v.*, khoʔn or khon u.

melon, *n.*, hnio hté.

melt, *v.*, ngaung u.

milk, *n.*, sui, sho sui (cow's milk).

mind, *n.*, mliung.

mix, *v.*, nhot u.

moan, *v.*, kǒ u.

monkey, *n.*, yong. N. young.

moon, *n.*, khlo (also month). N. khlau.

—— light, *n.*, khlowā.

more, *adj.*, san.

morrow, *n.*, hot a.

mother, *n.*, ʔnū, or ʔū. N. nú.

mountain, *n.*, kiau. N. tounng (Burm.).

mosquito, *n.*, ʔhang. N. young-yán.

moustache, *n.*, mong mho.

mouth, *n.*, mʔhau kho. N. hak-kau.

much, *adj.*, *vide* many. N. a-pa-luk (Burm.).

murder, *v.*, tük u.

mushroom, *n.*, ʔbo.

must, *aux. verb.*, la.

my, *adj.*, kie ku.

### N.

name, *n.*, ʔming, ʔmeng. N. námí.

navel, *n.*, mlei, mʔmlei.

—— string, *n.*, mlei yóí.

near, *adj.*, ʔseng u. N. a-shyo-zo-yan.

neck, *n.*, hlǒt-kho.

—— lace, *n.*, o yoʔm.

nest, *n.*, pʔyo bu.

net, *n.*, ʔwā.

night, *n.*, ʔyam. N. a-yán.

nine, *num. adj.*, go. N. ko (Burm.).

no, *adv.*, nshí nu. N. hí-a.

now, *adv.*, tu a ; ní khoǎ. N. tú a.

### O.

oh, *interj.*, o.

obey, *v.*, ní ey u.

obtain, *v.*, buʔn u.

oil, *n.*, shí haung. N. to.

old, *adj.*, ʔpeʔm.

—— man, sǎm bo.

—— woman, san nü.

on, *post. pos.*, a, ʔgu. N. há-nang.

only, *adj.*, dön.

order, *v.*, ʔna pʔk u.

other, *adj.*, bē.

otter, *n.*, aham.

outside, *n.*, plaung a. N. kláng-a-me.

own, *v.*, shuʔn ey u.

one, *num. adj.*, hot. N. nhát.

### P.

pair, *n.*, ahóí.

perspire, *v.*, hlok soʔt u.

pig, *n.*, wok.

pleasant to be, o u.

pork, *n.*, wok sho.



pot, *n.*, am.  
 pull, *v.*, ndang u ; nhük u.  
 pursue, *v.*, toan u.  
 put on, (as a man's garment) sauk u ;  
     (as a woman's garment) hio u ;  
     (as a ring), nauk u.

## Q.

quarrel, *v.*, wo u.  
 quick, *adj.*, ayan kha.  
 quickly, *adv.*, ayan yam.  
 quiver, *n.*, ali wo.

## R.

rainbow, *n.*, nagā han.  
 rain, *n.*, yo ; *v.*, yo oo u.  
 raise, *see* lift up.  
 reap, *v.*, yang u.  
 recollect, *v.*, anzun u.  
 red, *adj.*, asheam. N. sen.  
 region, *n.*, khoa.  
 remain, *v.*, kiuān u.  
 repair, *v.*, piang u.  
 repeat, *v.*, hau bo u.  
 return, *v.*, bo u.  
 rice, *n.*, saung.  
 rough, *adj.*, ahan.  
 run, *v.*, son u. N. cho-né.  
 road, *n.*, alom. N. lám (Burm.).  
 roar, *v.*, mǝng u.  
 round, *adj.*, a-lum. N. pú lú.

## S.

salt, *n.*, zi, shi. N. tsí.  
 sand, *n.*, sonai.  
 sap, *n.*, htěn or htěn haung.  
 see, *v.*, mhu u.  
 sell, *v.*, ye u.  
 serpent, *n.*, hpo.  
 seven, *num. adj.*, she. N. s'hé.  
 sever, *v.*, khon u.  
 shallow, *adj.*, aplö.

shampoo, *v.*, duat u.  
 shine, (as the sun) sauk u.  
 —, (as the moon or stars) wa u.  
 short, *adj.*, so í. N. twé.  
 sick, *adj.*, gǝng nu (*lit.* not well).  
 silent be, hbau ei ti. N. mhé.  
 silver, *n.*, heam.  
 sister, (elder) *n.*, asi.  
 six, *num. adj.*, sop. N. sauk.  
 skin, *n.*, wum, mawum. N. wún.  
 sky, *n.*, ame. N. han mhi.  
 sleep, *v.*, ik u. N. íp.  
 small, *adj.*, amlek, aso. N. ná-ó.  
 snake, *n.*, hpo. N. phol.  
 snatch, *v.*, hot u.  
 sole (of foot), *n.*, makho pom.  
 son, *n.*, aso.  
 song, *n.*, sitchan.  
 sour, *adj.*, ahto. N. to.  
 sow, *n.*, wok nū.  
 speak, *v.*, hau u. N. há-we.  
 spear, *n.*, sauk chi.  
 spider, *n.*, akü.  
 spine, *n.*, mahling yo.  
 spirits, *n.*, alak haung.  
 star, *n.*, ashe. N. áá-shé.  
 steer, *v.*, pei u.  
 stone, *n.*, alum. N. lun (Burm.).  
 storm, *n.*, kli gan.  
 straight, *adj.*, apiaung or apium, B.  
 strike, *v.*, deng u. N. mo-lé.  
 stupid, *adj.*, doam.  
 suitable, *adj.*, hpa (not used singly) ;  
     don ey u ; ashang ey u.  
 sun, *n.*, kahni. N. ko-nhi.  
 superior, *adj.*, tau.  
 superlative affix, very, much, hǝk.  
 sweat, *v.*, akłǝk soat u.  
 sweet, *adj.*, tui. N. tú í.

## T.

tail, *n.*, hǝmé.

talk, *v.*, hau u.  
 tall, *adj.*, ahlüng. N. lhun.  
 tattoo, *v.*, amhaung shuạn u.  
 ten, *num. adj.*, ha. N. há.  
 that, *pron.*, to, tōni. N. oní.  
 then, *adv.*, to-khoă. N. ní-kho-a,  
 (*vide* now).  
 there, *adv.*, to a; sówa; sóbra. N.  
 tsú-a.  
 they, *pron.*, nahoi (dual); ayatti  
 (plur). N. ni-di *or* ni-li.  
 thigh, *n.*, mape.  
 thick, *adj.*, aśho.  
 thin, *adj.*, ambon. N. pá-m.  
 think, *v.*, uat nauk u.  
 thirsty to be, ha *or* hei u. Thirst,  
*n.*, N., tú í lan-a-du-i.  
 thirty, *num. adj.*, htum gip. N. tún  
 gíp.  
 thou, *pron.*, naun. N. náng.  
 thine, *pron.*, naun ku. N. náng-ko  
 three, *num. adj.*, htum. N. htúm.  
 this, *pron.*, ni. N. ni. Northern  
 Khyeng, for 'he', *pron.*  
 — much, ni hio.  
 thorn, *n.*, ahlিং.  
 throat, *n.*, mahlők kho.  
 throw, *v.*, wo u.  
 thumb, *n.*, makuht nü.  
 tie, *v.*, khuạn u.  
 tiger, *n.*, akiye. N. kyí.  
 tight, *adj.*, anteăt.  
 time, *n.*, khoă.  
 to, *post. pos.*, a. N. á.  
 to-day, *n.*, tạnhup. N. tun-ap. N.  
 ko-nup = day.  
 to-morrow, hot a. N. nhát-a.  
 tobacco, *n.*, makhū.  
 toe, makhō nü (great); makhō zo  
 (little).  
 tooth, *n.*, maho. N. ka-hau.  
 tree, *n.*, htěn *or* htin. No. thin.

try, *v.*, sok (not used singly).  
 true to be, *v.*, shi (substantive verb).  
 twenty, *num. adj.*, goi. N. kúr.  
 two, *n. adj.*, hni. N. pan-nhi.

## U.

under, *post. pos.*, ako, ago.  
 understand, *v.*, yauk-sik u. N. ne.  
 untie, *v.*, shuáp u.

## V.

vein, *n.*, ahti klong.  
 village, *n.*, nam. N. nám.  
 virgin, *n.*, hon nü.

## W.

wane, *v.*, (as the moon) luan u.  
 wash, *v.*, pio, pio piăk u.  
 watch, *v.*, nguap u.  
 water, *n.*, tuí. N. túi.  
 wax, *n.*, khoi kap; *v.*, hté u.  
 weave, *v.*, tou tauk u.  
 we, *pron.*, kie hni (dual); kie me  
 (plur.). N. kin ni.  
 weep, *v.*, kat u. N. akáp.  
 well, *n.*, tuí kium.  
 well, to be, kang u.  
 wet, *adj.*, aśo.  
 what, *pron.*, baung; pi. N. í-níhám.  
 when, baung khoă; pi khoă. N.  
 í-kho-á.  
 where, *adv.*, baan. N. í-ní-ám.  
 whet, *v.*, to u; aśian ha to u, to whet  
 a knife.  
 which, *pron.*, baung; pi. N. í-ní-a-  
 ka.  
 white, *adj.*, abok. N. buk.  
 who, *pron.*, ani. N. ú-li-am.  
 whole, *adj.*, kho kho; zei zei.  
 wide, *adj.*, ayau.  
 widow, *n.*, hne nü.

\*widower, *n.*, hne bo.

wife, *n.*, paya.

wind, *n.*, kḷi.

wink, *v.*, aṃiṭ che pek u.

wipe, *v.*, hō u.

wish, *v.*, woī u.

with, *post. pos.*, ung. N. yung.

within, *post. pos.*, dūk a. N. dú-gá-mé.

woman, *n.*, hnato.

wood, *n.*, htěn sho.

word, *n.*, pau.

work, *n.*, asei.

wrist, *n.*, maḥuht-piām.

## Y.

yam, *n.*, aḥá. N. ba-há.

yawn, *v.*, han u.

yellow, *adj.*, aoi.

ye, *pron.*, naun hni (dual) ; naun me (plur.). N. náng-ni.

yes, ö ; ö ö ; shi ba. N. a-hi. [*Compare* hi, *v.*, to ask.]

yesterday, *n.*, yand a. N. yam-tu.

yet, *conj.*, hon.

you, *pron.*, naun hni, nahói (dual) ; naun me, nahio (plural).

young, *adj.*, amlék ; ašo.

youth, *n.*, khlaung zo ; son biän.

*On a Coin of Kunanda from Karnāl.—By BA'BU RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA.*

(With a woodcut.)

The mintage of which the woodcut at the end of this article is a representation is well known to Indian numismatists. It has been noticed by Prinsep, Wilson, Cunningham, and others ; and in a learned essay in the first volume of the New Series of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal (pp. 447 ff.), Mr. Thomas has described it at great length and in full detail. There are, however, a few points in connexion with it which the uncommonly fine specimen presented to the Society by the Rev. M. M. Carleton of Karnāl enables me to explain with some confidence.

In all essential particulars, Mr. Carleton's specimen is identically the same as the British Museum one figured by Mr. Thomas. It has on the obverse the curiously-antlered deer, the lady with a lotus, the square monogram, and the Western Cave character legend, so graphically described by Mr. Thomas, and all the Buddhist symbols, and the Bactrian or Ariano-Páli legend, noticed by him on the reverse of the British Museum specimen. The size is exactly the same, and the configuration of the symbols is identical, except of the rectangular monogram, the cross line in the middle of which is very faint and scarcely visible. The style of some of the old Sanskrit characters in which the Páli legend is given, is, however, different, and it proves the coin before me to have been struck from a different die from what was used for the British Museum specimen. Owing to its better state of preservation, its weight, too, is greater, being 34·1 grains against 29 grains of the other.

The differences in the letters of the obverse legend are not numerous, but they are well-marked and unmistakable. The first letter in the British Museum specimen is shaped somewhat like an English *s*, whereas in the specimen before me it is clearly like the English *j*; it is, however, in either case intended to stand for the Sanskrit  $\text{र} = r$ . The second letter in the former specimen, is a compound of *j* and  $\text{॥}$  followed by a visarga, the Sanskrit  $\text{ः} = \text{jah}$ ,—the *j* taking the full depth of the line with the visarga after it, and the  $\text{॥}$  hanging down below it. In the latter the  $\text{॥}$  occupies the place of the *j* in the body of the line, and the *j*, if it ever existed, must have stood above the line, and is lost by the want of space in the margin. The visarga occurs after the  $\text{॥}$ . In the former case the word has to be read *rājñah*, the genitive singular of *rājan*—‘of a king’, and in the latter, if the assumption of a *j* over the  $\text{॥}$  be not admitted, *rañah* the type of the modern *rāṇā*, ‘a king’. The name which follows being in the genitive, the epithet should also be in the same case, and so I have no doubt that when the margin of the coin was perfect, there was a *j* over the line just above the  $\text{॥}$ , and the word was *rājñah*, the genitive of *rājan*, as in Mr. Thomas’s specimen.

In the second word, the nasal mark (*anusvara*) after the  $\text{॥}$  is absent in the British Museum specimen as figured by Mr. Thomas, but it is distinct in Mr. Carleton’s coin.

The first half of the third word is identical in both, but the second half in the specimen before me is clearly *bhatisa*, and not *bhatasa* as shown in Mr. Thomas’s figure, nor *bhratasa* as it has been read by that gentleman.

In the last word *maharajasa*, the *r* is formed of a perpendicular stroke like an *I*, and not a stroke with a curled tail like *J*, as in the first word and in the British Museum specimen. The  $\text{ज} = j$  is also slightly different, being more like the Greek  $\Sigma$  than the English  $E$ , as in the latter.

Adverting to the reading of the second word, Mr. Thomas says: “The monarch’s name on this series of coins has hitherto, by common consent, been transcribed as Kunanda, and tested by the more strict laws of its own system of Palæography, the initial compound, in Indian Pāli, would preferentially represent the letters *ku*. There can be little doubt, the true normal form of the short *u* ( $\text{॥}$ ), which can be traced downwards in its consistent modifications in most of the Western Inscriptions, though the progressive Gangetic mutations completely reversed the lower stroke of their *u* ( $\text{ॐ}$ ). The question of the correct reading of the designation has, however, been definitively set at rest by the Bactrian counterpart legends on the better preserved specimens of the coinage, where the initial combination figures as *kr*, a transliteration which any more close and critical examination of the rest of the Indian Pāli legend would, of itself, have suggested, in the parallel use of the same subjunct  $\text{॥}$  in *अन bhrata*.”\*

\* Journal, R. As. Soc., N. S., I., p. 476.



This argument, however, is not conclusive, as Mr. Carleton's coin is as well preserved as any I have seen of so old a date as three hundred and twenty-five to three hundred and forty years before Christ, every letter being perfectly distinct and as sharp as when first issued from the mint, and in it the lower limb of the Bactrian k of the reverse is perfectly straight and blunt, showing not the smallest trace of a spur or curl to the right. And even with the curl, the indication is not so decisive as could be wished, for a very slight bend in the foot often occurs in this class of writing without meaning any consonantal or vowel affix. It is the result of hasty writing, in which the pen is not taken off the paper before it has already produced a tail. It was this tail which changed the original Indian † successively into † † † †. In the Ariano-Páli character several instances may be easily cited in ancient inscriptions, where the lower limb, although ordinarily straight, has sometimes been curled or spurred. Thus the *ch*, ordinarily written  $\text{𑀓}$ , is sometimes provided with a spur, thus  $\text{𑀓}^*$ . The spur is again used for u, as in  $\text{𑀓}$ , which Professor Dowson takes for *mu*, and also for y, as in  $\text{𑀓}$ , which the same gentleman takes for *syā*.† Adverting to this curl in the Baháwalpur inscription, he further says: "It proves, however, that the curl of the foot of a consonant indicates that consonant to be doubled, and not to be always, as hitherto supposed, a consonant combined with r. From the frequent combination of r with other consonants in Sanskrit, this twist of the bottom of a letter represents the letter more frequently than any other; but as we here find the s curled round to represent the sy of the Sanskrit genitive, there can be no doubt it represents the doubled consonant—that doubled consonant being here the equivalent of sy. In most other instances, as in Achayya for Áchárya, it is the equivalent of r combined with another consonant. This substitution of doubled for compound consonants brings the language into much closer relation with the Páli‡." It should be remarked, however, that this inference, ingenious as it is, is redundant; for the language of the inscription being the old Páli of the Kapurdigiri monument, the genitive should require no y after s, and the curl may pass for an ornament or a variant form as in the case of *ch* noticed by him, and referred to above.

Epigraphic evidence being thus far unsatisfactory and inconclusive, though from the more frequent occurrence of the spur to the right for r in the Bactrian Mr. Thomas's reading is the most consistent, it is necessary to turn our attention next to the etymology of the word, not with any great hope of a decisive result, for the ductility and plasticity of the Sanskrit language are quite against such an expectation, but only to see on which side

\* Journal, R. As. Soc., XX., plate IV.

† Loc. cit.

‡ Ibid., N. S., IV., p. 501.

the balance of evidence inclines most. The aptote noun *ku* in Sanskrit and its affiliated languages is a particle of depreciation, implying 'low', 'vile', 'bad', 'wrong', &c.,\* and it might at first sight appear improbable that it should be used as a prefix to a royal name; but, seeing that in India such depreciatory particles are deliberately adopted by Hindu parents to avert evils and for other causes, the objection may be set aside as of no weight. *Tinkori*, "three cowri shells," *Páñchkori* "five cowri shells," *Sátkori* "seven cowri shells," *Nakori*, "nine cowri shells," and similar other terms, all meaning 'worthless', are extensively used as proper names, in order that no evil eye may rest on the children to whom they are assigned, and the children may be allowed to thrive without exciting envy, malice, or jealousy. *Bhuto* "blacky," *Khonrá*, "lame," *Nulo* "weak-handed", and the like,† are also of frequent occurrence as proper names. An accident or misfortune happening on the day of a babe's birth is also often memorialized by assigning a bad name to the newcomer, and such nicknames, like any other mud, stick, and cannot be shaken off. Again, the horoscope of a babe might indicate that he would in after life be evilly disposed, and this may likewise influence the choice of a name for him. And any of these facts may easily be assumed to account for the use of an offensive prefix like *ku* in the name in question.

No assumption of the kind, however, is necessary in the present case. As a common noun *ku* means 'the earth', and joined to *nanda*, it would mean the "earth's delight", a very appropriate name for a lad, whether a prince or otherwise. No fond mother could wish for a better name for her young hopeful.

If we take the first syllable of the name to be *kra*, we must look for its root in *kri*, which means, 'to do,' 'to make,' 'to perform any action,' or 'to hurt,' 'to injure' or to 'kill'. Added to *nanda* it would mean the promoter, or destroyer, of delight, and the former would unquestionably make a very appropriate proper name. But if we accept *kri* to be the root, its participial form should follow the word *nanda*, and not precede it. Mr. Thomas says that the late Dr. Goldstücker was of opinion "that the *kra*, in combination with *Nanda*, may possibly stand for कृ *kri*, "a million", or some vague number corresponding with Mahápadma (100,000 millions), under the supposition that the latter designation was applied to one of the Nanda family, in its numerical sense, as a fabulous total, and not in the more usually received meaning of "a large lotus."‡

The learned doctor was doubtless a very conscientious worker and a

\* कुगतिप्रादयः । २.१८ । Páṇini.

† When a person gets too many female children, the last not unfrequently gets the name of *Arná* "no more", to express the satiety of the parents.

‡ Journal, R. As. Soc., N. S., I., p. 476.

thorough scholar, and he may have somewhere found authority for the above; but I have not been able to find in any dictionary the word *kri* with the meaning of 'a million', and my friends among the Professors of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta have also failed to find out any authority for such a meaning. Professor Mahes'achandra Nyáyaratna authorises me to say there is no such meaning.

*Kra* is sometimes used in compounds as an onomatopoetic term for a clicking sound, as in *krakacha* for 'a saw', but it is of no value in the explanation of the word under notice. The root *kr'i* = क्री "to buy" with the affix *उ* would make *kra* "a purchaser", and it added to *nanda* would mean "the delighter of buyers", but such a term for a royal proper name is as unlikely as possible. Thus then, on the one hand, palæographic evidence is not positively in favour of the reading *kra*, etymology, on the other, is all but decidedly against it; and, seeing that in the Greek and Persian transcriptions of the name, as quoted by Mr. Thomas, the *r* has been dispensed with, I am disposed to think that the balance of evidence is in favour of the old reading.

The first half of the third word is identically the same in the Páli legend of Mr. Thomas's figure and Mr. Carleton's coin, and can be read only as *amagha*. The Bactrian version of the latter has also the same reading. In the Bactrian version of the former there is, however, a spur under the *m*, which must be read, and has been very correctly read by Mr. Thomas as the equivalent to *o*, and not of *r*, as he takes the spur to be in the first syllable of the second word. It is well known that in the Páli, as in the modern Kuṭhiwál, the vowel marks were very much neglected (in the very coin before us *rājñah* is written *rajñah*, and *mahárājá*, *maharaja*), and there is no reason when the mark is given in one place why we should not supply it where it has been dropped. The reading therefore may be accepted unquestionably as *amogha*, meaning "unfailing" or "unflinching". The first letter of the second half of the third word is *bha* in both the legends of Mr. Carleton's coin and in the Páli legend of Mr. Thomas's figure. The foot of the letter is perfectly straight, and there is not the slightest indication of any spur below it, nor sufficiently marked at the right end of the middle stroke to be taken into account. But in the Bactrian version of the latter there is a barely perceptible tendency to a curl which as in the case of the first syllable of the second word Mr. Thomas takes to be an *r*. The next two syllables are unquestionably and unmistakeably *ti* and *sa* in both the legends of Mr. Carleton's coin and in the Bactrian version of Mr. Thomas's figure, but *ta* and *sa* in the Páli version of the latter. Now, as superfluous addition of vowelmarks is not a peculiarity of the Páli, though omissions are, it must follow that the correct reading of the word is *bhatisa* or *bhratisa*, and not *bhratasa*.



The question then arises what does *bhatisa* or *bhratisa* mean? and the reply has already been given by Prinsep, Wilson, Cunningham, and Thomas, that it is equivalent to *bhratasa* “of a brother”. But, notwithstanding the most profound veneration for the unanimous opinion of such high authorities, I cannot divest myself of a doubt as to its accuracy. The word *bhrátá* comes from the Sanskrit crude noun *bhrátri*, and is analogous to *pitá* from *pitri*, “father,” *mátá* from *mátri*, “mother,” *svasá* from *svasri*, “sister”, and other words ending with the vowel *ri* in the crude form. Now, in all the European languages of Aryan origin the final *ri* of the Sanskrit is represented by *ar*, not *i* or *ri*. Thus, *pitri* becomes *πατήρ* in Greek, *pater* in Latin, *fator* in Old High German, *fader* in Anglo-Saxon, and *fader*, *fadar*, *vader*, *father*, &c., in others. In Persian it is *pidar*. *Mátri*, in the same way, becomes, Greek *μήτηρ*, Latin *mater*, Old English *moder*, Anglo-Saxon *modor*, Danish and Swedish *moder*, and *muotar*, *muatar*, *muter*, *mutter*, &c., in other languages. In Persian it is *mádar*. *Svasri* also becomes *suster*, *sustre*, *sostre*, *swester*, *swyster*, *swistar*, *soror*, *sister*, &c., always changing the Sanskrit *ri* into *ar*, *er* or *or*, never into *i* or *ri*. In the Indian vernaculars *ri* when final changes into *á*, in the plural *ar*,\* and this was also the case in the Ariano-Páli, the Ceylonese Páli, and the Prákrits. These instances would fully justify the inference that *bhrátri* should change in the same way; and, as a matter of fact, we have for its counterparts in the Greek *φράτωρ*, Latin *frater*, French *frère*, Anglo-Saxon *brodhor*, Old High German *pruadar*, English *brother*, &c., &c., the change everywhere being analogous to what takes place in *pitri*, *mátri*, and *svasri*. In Páli and Prákrit it becomes *bhátá*. In the Taxila inscription line 4, we have *bhratara* in the plural,† in the Pesháwar Vase *bhraterhi*, plural,‡ and on the Wardak Vase *bhrátá* as read by me, and *bhadar* as read by Professor Dowson,§ everywhere the *ri* changing into *ar* or *á*, but nowhere into *i*. And as the coin legend is written in the same language in which the inscriptions are recorded, I venture to think that the assumption of the word in the coin (*bhrati* or *bhati*) being a Páli form of *bhrátri* quite inadmissible. There is not a tittle of evidence to support it.

Extraneous evidence on the subject is also against the assumption. I believe it is not usual with kings to pride themselves upon their being a brother to some one. In India the idea is particularly repugnant. An old Sanskrit adage says, “He is great who is known by his own name; he is so and so who is known by the name of his father; he is vile who is known

\* The Hindi *mdyí* may at first sight appear an exception, but in reality it is not so, the final *i* in it being an honorific affix, and not the remnant of the Sanskrit *ri*. *Bháyi* in Bengali and Hindi are exceptions.

† Journal, R. As. Soc., XX., p. 223.

‡ Ibid., p. 241.

§ Ibid., p. 261.



by the name of his mother ; he is the lowest of the low who is known by the name of his father-in-law",\* and the action of men has everywhere in this country been regulated by this maxim. A brother holds a lower grade than a mother, and he who should wish to be known in his coins by the name of his brother, must have been lower than the vile being who is known by the name of his mother. Doubtless when a brother exercises paramount power, his name cannot be avoided, and Mr. Thomas very correctly argues that the fact of the Nanda brothers having ruled jointly may justify the assumption of Amogha having been the eldest brother, and his name had therefore to be used. This, however, would pre-suppose that the name of the eldest brother was well known, which is not the case. The Purāṇas and the Mahāwanso give only three names, viz., Sumālya, Mahāpadma Nanda, and Dhana Nanda. In a mediæval paraphrase, by Anantākavi, of the *Mudrárákshasa*, the nine brothers are thus named : Udagradhaṇva, Tikshpadhaṇva, Vikatadhaṇva, Utkatadhaṇva, Prakatadhaṇva, Sankatadhaṇva, Vishamadhaṇva, Sikharadhaṇva, and Prakharadhaṇva.† These names are evidently fanciful, and cannot be relied upon. Anyhow no ancient or mediæval work mentions *Amogha*, and the assumption of *Amogha* being a proper name is founded solely upon the strength of the supposed meaning of the word *bhratara* 'a brother', with which it is compounded in the coin legend, and that being untenable, the assumption must fall to the ground. I have already pointed out that *amogha* as a common noun means 'unflinching' or 'unfailing'. Now, the most appropriate words that can be joined with it are valour, protection, and faith. The first, however, has no Sanskrit equivalent which can be represented by *bhratisa* or *bhatisa*, so it may be at once set aside. *Bhri* "to protect" becomes *bhartri* "protector" in the crude form, and *bhartá* in the nominative singular. In the Páli its counterpart would be *bhattá* or *bhatá*, (in the modern Bengali it is *bhátár* for 'a husband'), and had the reading been *bhatasa* or *bhratasa*, the compound term of the coin could have been taken for an "unfailing protector", but the mark of the i over the t will not admit of this interpretation. The last word 'faith' is represented in Sanskrit by *bhakti*, which in Ceylonese Páli becomes *bhatti*;

\* खनामा पुरुषो धन्यः पिढनामा च सध्यतः ।

अधमो माढनामा च श्वश्रुनामाधमाधमः ॥

† अनन्तकविकृतमुद्राराक्षसपूर्वपीठिका ।

— विविधाद्भुतगुणगणवत्सरीमूलकन्दो निखिलजननयनानन्दो जगद्धिदित-  
सुधन्वाभिधो नन्दो राजा बभूव । तस्य च सकलसीमन्तिनी सीमन्तरत्नं रत्नावली नाम  
सहिषी बभूव । तस्य च उद्ग्रधन्व-तीक्ष्णधन्व-विकटधन्व-उत्कटधन्व-प्रकटधन्व-सङ्कटधन्व-  
विषमधन्व-शिखरधन्व-प्रखरधन्वाभिधाना नवद्वीपाधिपतय इव नवोद्यद्दिन्दुसुन्दराशिरायुषो  
नव स्तनवः समजायन् ।

I know not what it was in the Ariano-Páli, but, seeing that one of a doubled consonant is frequently elided in modern vernaculars, I am disposed to think that such was also the case in ancient times in the Ariano-Páli. If this be admissible, the *amogha-bhati* of the coin may be accepted to mean “he of unflinching faith”. Such an epithet for a person who has been careful enough to delineate half-a-dozen different symbols of his religion on his coins, would by no means be inappropriate or questionable, and I have no hesitation in adopting it as the right one. We have here only an ancient version of the “Gházíuddín” of the Pathán coins of India, and the “Defender of the Faith” of the modern English currency.

According to these remarks the legend and its translation would stand thus—

Legend—*Rájnah Kunandasa amogha-bhatisa mahárájasa.*

Translation—Of the great king, king Kunanda, of unflinching faith.



Mr. Thomas identifies the sovereign named in the coin with the Xandrames of the Greek writers and the Nandas of the Purāṇas, and this would carry the age of the coin to some years before 317 B. C., when Chandragupta wrested the sovereignty of Magadha from the Nandas. There are several weak links in the chain of reasoning by which Mr. Thomas establishes this identity, but on the whole it is very plausible, and I am not in a position now to suggest anything better.

P. S. Since writing the above I have learnt that in the *Parás'ara Sañhita*, *Kuninda* is used as the name of a tribe, and *Kauninda* that of its country.





# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1875.

*Páli Studies. No. 1.—By Major G. E. FRYER, Deputy Commissioner,  
British Burma.*

## I.—ON THE CEYLON GRAMMARIAN SANGHARAKKHITA THERA AND HIS TREATISE ON RHETORIC.

It was the practice amongst members of the early Buddhist church when entering the priesthood to discard their patronymic, and to adopt a priestly title, under which it was not always easy to recognize their identity. Thus it was with the subject of the present sketch, of whom nothing was known, except that he was the author of *Vuttodaya*. Another of his works, however, (*Sambandhacintá*) recently procured, has a postscript which explains that Saṅgharakkhita Thera, the 'Protected of the Congregation', was Moggallána, the learned Páli Grammarian and Lexicographer, who flourished in Ceylon towards the close of the twelfth century, and that he was also known as Medhaṅkara of Udumbaragiri, the glomerous fig-tree hill. Moreover, it appears elsewhere, that he was the disciple of the distinguished Sāriputta, who adopted the title Sīla Thera. Moggallána appears to have carried his literary activity with him into the cloister; for under his priestly title of Saṅgharakkhita he wrote the following treatises, of which the two first are in verse—

1. *Subodhālaṅkāra*, 'Easy Rhetoric.'
2. *Vuttodaya*, 'Exposition of Metre.'
3. *Khuddasikkhá Tīkā*, a gloss in prose on Dhammasiri's *Khuddāsikkhá*, 'Minor duties' (incumbent on a priest).



4. *Sambandhacintā*, 'Reflections on Relation' (of cases); a small work containing metrical maxims on construction, interspersed with comments and illustrations in prose.

An analysis of the first of these is here offered to the notice of the reader. The text which follows, has been prepared from two Pāli MSS. in the Burmese character, in the writer's possession. One—a Mandalay copy—was procured at Maulmain; the other—the more perfect of the two—came from Rangoon. The work is written on eleven palmleaves twenty inches long, with nine lines to the leaf.

Notices of *Vuttodaya*, and *Sambandhacintā*, it is hoped, will follow shortly, but as *Khuddasikkhā Tīkā* is not included in the series, the author's Introduction to it, and the postscript are here subjoined.

#### *Introduction.*

1. Tilokatilakaṃ vande saddhammāmatanimittaṃ  
samsurukkathasampatti jinaṃ janamanorammaṃ.
2. Sariputtaṃ mahasāmi 'nekasativisāraḍaṃ  
mahāguṇaṃ mahāpuññaṃ namo me sīrasā guruṃ.
3. Khuddasikkhāya tīkā yā purātanā samīritā  
na tāya sakkā sakkaccaṃ attho sabbattha ñātave,
4. tato 'nekaguṇānayo manjūsāratanān 'iva  
Sumanāgalo 'ssa nāmena tena paññavatā sutā,
5. ajjhesito yatindena sadāraññānivasīna  
suvinicchayaṃ etissa karissām' atthovaṇṇanaṃ.

#### *Postscript.*

yen' antatantaratanākaramanthanena  
manthācalollasitaññāpavarena laddhā  
'sāra matā' ti sukkhitā sukhayanti c'aññe  
te me jayanti guravo guravo guṇehi  
"paratthasam pādanato puññenādhigaten' ahaṃ  
"paratthasam pādanako bhavyeṃ jātijātiyaṃ."  
sisso āha.  
paramappiechatanekasantos opasamesinaṃ  
sucisallekhavuttinaṃ sadāraññānivasīnaṃ;  
sāsanaṃ ujotakārinaṃ averattam upāgataṃ  
Udumbaragiri khyāta yatanāṃ yatipuṇḍavaṃ;  
'Medhaṅkaro' iti khyātaṃ nāmadheyyaṃ tapodhanaṃ  
theraṃ dhīradayāmedhaniṭṭhānaṃ sādhipūjitaṃ:  
nissāya piyaṃ piyaṃ taṃ mittaṃ kalyāṇaṃ attano  
sodhetuṃ sāsanaṃ satthu parakkamaṃ akāsi yo;  
susaddasiddhiyo yoganicchayaṃ sabbavaṇṇitaṃ  
akā Subodhālaṅkāraṃ Vuttodayaṃ anākulāṃ,

Saṅgharakkhittanāmena mahātherena dhīmatā  
 nivāsabhutenānekaguṇānaṃ 'ppicchatādināṃ ;  
 tenāyaṃ racitā sādhu sāsana-dayakārīna  
 Khuddasikkhāya ṭikāyaṃ Sumaṅgalapasādinī.

The couplet in *italics* commencing "*susaddasiddhi*" thus appears in the postscript to *Sambandhacintā* :

yoganicchaṃ Moggallānaṃ yaṃ gandhaṃ Kabbivaṇṇitaṃ  
 Subodhālaṅkāraṃ Vuttodayaṃ sattham anākulam.

In other respects the postscripts are nearly the same.

### Analysis.

SUBODHA'LANKA'RA, or 'Easy Rhetoric', is a metrical treatise of 370 verses, divided into five chapters which treat of the following subjects, namely :—

1. Faults in Composition.
2. Their avoidance.
3. Merits, or Verbal Ornaments.
4. Rhetorical Figures, or Ornaments of the Sense.
5. Flavour.

These subjects will be found discussed at some length in the seventh, eighth, tenth, and third chapters of the Sanskrit work on Rhetorical Composition, the *Sāhitya-Darpana* or 'Mirror of Composition', by Viś'wanātha Kavirāja—*circa* 9th or 10th century.

### CHAPTERS I AND II.

The Pāli treatise in common with the Sanskrit one opens with an Invocation to the goddess of Speech thus :—

May Vāṇī the beautiful, born in the lotus womb of the mouth of the Chief of Sages, the refuge of mortals, irradiate my mind, v. 1.

The object of the work is then declared :—

Although there are excellent ancient treatises on Rhetoric by Rāma-samma and others, yet they are not adapted for the Māgadha people, v. 2.

It is, therefore, hoped the present attempt at a suitable Rhetoric may be acceptable to them, v. 3.

The author then states that he has not consulted the works of writers on the minor poems (*kabba*), nor the drama (*nāṭaka*), as they are not esteemed, v. 6. That a combination of words and meanings faultless with (merits or verbal ornaments) is composition (*bandha*), which is three-fold, being metrical (*pajja*) ; in prose (*gajja*) ; and in a mixture of both, v. 8. It is further divided into continuous composition (*nibandha*), and non-continuous composition (*anibandha*), each of which is pleasing if embellished with ornament, v. 9. Verbal Ornament (*Chap. 3*) and Ornament

of the Sense (*Chap.* 4), constituting the two divisions of Rhetoric, are both held to be composition (*bandha*), v. 13. Faulty composition, even when combined with Verbal Ornament, is not esteemed, v. 14. Faultless composition with Verbal Ornament is admired even without Ornaments of the Sense, v. 16.

After these prefatory remarks, the author proceeds to enumerate and explain the several Rhetorical Faults (*Chap.* 1); and to show how they should be avoided (*Chap.* 2).

The divisions of Faults (*dosa*) are held to be threefold: they occur (*a*) in a word, (*b*) in a sentence, and (*c*) in the sense of a sentence.

(*a*.) Faulty words are such as suggest an idea, which is

1. Repugnant (*viruddhatthantara*), as when a word is employed which suggests a meaning different from what is intended; as for example 'visado', which suggests *yielding poison*, when *shedding water* is the meaning intended, v. 22. The fault is avoided when the context sufficiently sets forth the intended meaning, v. 71, 72.

2. Extravagant (*adhyattha*), as when an exaggerated epithet is applied to an object which has to be particularized; as 'obhasitāsesadiso' to 'khajjoto', v. 23. The fault is avoided in the following—'if men lacking virtue fail to obtain respect, will the lack-lustre firefly illumine every spot?' v. 73.

3. Inconsistent (*kiliṭṭha*), as when from the use of radicals, affixes and the like, comprehension of the meaning is difficult, as 'pi' in 'piya', v. 24. The fault, however, is avoided if the root is introduced into an enigmatical query, as 'from what embrace indeed will a lover not embrace happiness?' v. 74. Any word of far-fetched meaning employed in the varieties of Rhyme (*yamaka*), or Enigma (*paheli*), is included in this fault, v. 25. That euphonic combination of twin words formed of acknowledged words, combined with the merit 'Pleasing Style', is termed Rhyme, v. 26. Rhyme formed by a repetition of syllables is threefold:—(*a*) non-separated (*avyapeta*); (*b*) separated (*vyapeta*); and (*c*) both sorts combined: these divisions may appear either in the beginning, middle, or end of a quarter verse (*pāda*), v. 27. Verses 28 to 31 illustrate 'non-separate' Rhyme at the commencement of quarter verses (*avyapetapādādiyamaka*). From these examples, the 'separate' sort may easily be inferred, v. 32. Of the last named kind there are many varieties, containing combinations, both simple and complex, v. 33. But as 'Rhyme' and 'Enigma' are not altogether pleasing, they are not dwelt upon here, v. 34.

4. Contradictory, (*virodhi*) which is sixfold, in respect to:—

1. Place (*desavirodhidosa*).
2. Time (*kālavirodhi*).
3. Mechanical art (*kalāvirodhi*).
4. Nature (*lokavirodhi*).

5. Propriety (*ñāyavirodhi*).6. The sacred books (*āgamavirodhi*), vv. 35, 76 to 81.

5. Inferred (*neyya*). The use of the word 'dhavala' *white*, in the example, leads to the inference, that the whiteness at night spoken of, arose from the moon, v. 36. This fault is universally condemned by poets, as the omission of an exponent word renders the meaning obscure, v. 37. The fault is avoided by the employment of words, which convey their meaning immediately, as in the examples given in vv. 82, 83, which also exemplify the 'Lucid Style', v. 148.

6. Dependent on an epithet (*vises andāpekkha*), as in the example 'he beholds him attentively with eyes', v. 38, where 'cakkhunā' is unqualified. The fault is removed by adding 'kodhapāṭalabhutena', red with anger. (Comp. v. 364.)

7. Defective in meaning (*hīnāltha*), as when an unequal and disparaging comparison is made ; as 'the dim-firefly sun is rising', v. 39. The fault is avoided by the use of the emphatic particle 'api' *even*, as in the following 'A wise man destroys the effect of *even* the smallest demerit ; The sun possesses the light *even* of the dimly lustrous firefly', v. 85.

8. Unmeaning (*anatltha*), as when an unmeaning expletive, such as 'pi' here, is inserted merely to complete the verse, v. 40 ; verse 86 shows how the fault may be avoided.

(b.) Faulty sentences are such as are

1. Tautological (*ekatltha*). The repetition may be (a) of a word, as 'vārido vārido' possessing the same sound, though different in meaning, v. 41 ; or (b) of the sense, as 'pasādeti and pasanno' having the same sense, but different in sound, v. 42. If it is desired to express fear, anger, or praise, repetition ceases to be a fault, v. 88.

2. Regardless of usage (*bhaggariti*), as when the diction is broken, v. 43. In the example given, 'pakati' has no interrogative pronoun connected with it, as 'paññā and guṇo' have. The fault is corrected in verse 89.

3. Confused (*vyākīṇṇa*—), as when confusion arises from a loose disorderly arrangement of words as 'these people \* \* adore Sugata, the constant friend of evildoers', v. 45. The opposite of this is a firm and compact style, as 'the eyes (of a Jina) are like blue lotuses, his lip beautiful as the *Bandhūka* flower ; his nose like a golden hook, therefore this Jina is as one who looks kindly on every one' (Piyadassana). v. 91.

4. Rustic (*gamma*), as when a word denoting speciality is wanting in a sentence, as—'Oh maiden ! loving me, why not love me now', v. 46 ; or when, from the association of the words, the sense is obscure as 'which your lover ?', v. 47. Brilliancy of language, though coarse, from the pleasure it imparts, is not considered rustic speech ; as 'Oh kind (husband) !



this rough amorous outcast is ill-treating me, why dost thou so complacently regard me involved in such a misfortune?' v. 93.

5. Defective as regards verse-division (*yatihīna*). Verse-division as laid down in Prosody, and indicated in the text (verses 49 to 54), is called 'yati'; and the verse that is defective in regard to such division, is said to exhibit the fault called *yatihīnadosa*, v. 48. Verse-division occurs at the end of every quarter-verse (*pāda*); and particularly at the end of the hemistich (*vuttadḍha*); sometimes it bisects a word as 'camīkara', but if otherwise, as when it occurs between the second and third syllables of 'sīñcati', it is irregular, vv. 49, 50. If the rules for the euphonic junction of final and initial letters (*S'andhi*) require the elision of a case, or tense-termination (*vibhatti*), the vowel resulting from the coalition is the final letter of the first part of the combination, as *sabbo*|*pama*: if elision is not required, or there is a letter such as 'y' substituted, the case, or tense termination, with the vowel resulting from the coalition, forms the initial syllable of the second part of the combination; as for example in 'patta|ssopamā', and 'vandā|myan antamatim', v. 53, 54. Verse-division is irregular when it separates 'ca' and such like particles from the sentences to which they belong, and 'pa', and such like prepositions, from the words to which they are prefixed, v. 54 and 55.

6. Disjoined (*kamaccuta*), as when the proper succession of objects is disregarded, as 'khettaṃ, gāmaṃ, desaṃ', v. 56. For the proper order see v. 95.

7. Inappropriate (*ativutta*), as when the meaning is opposed to ordinary sense, as—'The firmament of her expanding bosom is contracted', v. 57. The fault is avoided in the following—'The entire firmament even affords no scope for the diffusion of the glorious effulgence, emitted by the moon-like Chief of Sages', v. 96, v. 147.

8. Redundant in meaning (*apetattha*), as in the expression 'The bull, the son of the cow', v. 58. Redundancy is not deemed a fault in the words of the insane, v. 97, 98.

9. Harsh in combination (*bandhapharusa*). This is exemplified by the use of the consonant 'kh' in syllables which renders them harsh in sound, v. 59. The fault is avoided by using soft syllables, v. 99, and 136.

(c.) The sense of a sentence is held to be faulty when it is

1. Crude (*apakkama*), as when objects which refer to other objects previously stated, are not in respective co-relation, *e. g.* in v. 61 'wealth, peace, and Nibbāna'—instead of 'Nibbāna, wealth, and peace', in v. 101—are placed respectively in co-relation to the practice of 'meditation, giving of alms, and virtue.'

2. The improper (*ocityahīna*), as when extolling one's own merits, &c., v. v. 62, 63. The fault is avoided if by doing so others are benefited, v. 104—107.

3. Faulty as to usage (*bhaggarīti*), as when cases are mixed together, such as the genitive and locative cases in v. 64. 'Trust cannot be placed in women, evildoers, poison, horned cattle, rivers, disease, nor royalty', v.v. 109, 110.

4. Ambiguous (*samsayā*), as when a word susceptible of two meanings is employed; as 'go', which signifies both 'a cow' and 'a ray of light', v. 65, and 111. Ambiguity in jocular composition is not reckoned a fault, v. 112.

5. Rustic (*gamma*), as when it is difficult to comprehend what is meant by the sense; as—'This vigorous youth is reposing—*having slain his enemy*, or—*exhausted from excesses*', v. 66. 'That man's sister is charming' is not a rustic expression, v. 114.

6. Faulty as to Rhetoric (*duṭṭhālakāra*). This fault is discussed in chapter 4.

### CHAPTER III.

In this chapter are described the Merits, or Excellences (*gunā*), of composition, which are ten in number, namely :

1. The pleasing (*pasāda*).
2. The forcible (*oja*).
3. The elegant (*madhuratā*).
4. The uniform (*samatā*).
5. The soft (*sukhumālatā*).
6. The compact (*silesa*).
7. The eloquent (*udāratā*).
8. The bright (*kantī*).
9. The lucid (*alṭhavyattī*).
10. The imaginative (*samādhi*), v. 118.

A compact pleasing style, composed of words whose meaning is clear, constitutes the *Pleasing Merit*, v. 120.

The merit of *Force* is Energy manifested by an ample use of compounds, v. 122, and by condensation (*samāsa*), and amplification (*vyāsa*) of the meaning, v. 224.

The *Elegant* style is manifested either by an arrangement of words with letters pronounced by the same organ of speech, v. 129; or, of words having similar letters, v. 130. A collection of syllables pronounced with little effort, dependent upon a profusion of alliteration, is inelegant, v. 131.

The merit of *Uniformity* is manifested when the composition is either smooth, or rough, or a mixture of both, v. 132.

An absence of jarring letters constitutes the merit of *Softness*, v. 136.

The merit of *Compactness* is manifested by a clear and firm style, v. 141.

The merit of *Eloquence* is indicated by a lofty style, v. 143.

The *Bright* style is manifested by a brilliancy of language, free from the fault of Inappropriateness, v. 147.

Words which convey their meaning immediately, constitute the *Lucid* style, v. 148.

The *Imaginative* style is held to be the 'cream of composition'. It is manifested when the imagination clothes objects with qualities or functions foreign to them, as when

1. Life is ascribed to inanimate objects.
2. Form to objects unassociated with form.
3. Flavour to objects unassociated with flavour.
4. Liquidity to objects not bearing that character.
5. Agency to an object not an agent.
6. Solidity to an ethereal object, vv. 152-153.

When allegories which suggest the idea of emitting, are the leading ideas in a sentence, they are considered coarse; in a subordinate position, they are appropriate, v. 160; and especially so, if connected with a conscious agent, v. 162, as 'The excellent Jina pouring out the yearnings of his love upon mortals,' &c., 163.

#### CHAPTER IV.

In this chapter the author proceeds to describe the several Ornaments of the sense (*atthālaṅkāra*). He says that when composition containing the qualities of the Pleasing, Forcible, or other styles, is embellished with Ornaments of the Sense, it is as charming as a girl adorned with bracelets, earrings, and the like, v. 165.

He divides Rhetoric into (*a*) style in which the meaning is 'expressed', *sabhāva-vutti*; and (*b*) style in which the meaning is 'suggested', *vaṅga-vutti*. The first of these portrays, at different times, objects (such as a genus, a quality, an action, or a substance), v. 166.

The following is an *expressed* fancy of a substance (*dabbasabhāva-vutti*):—

'The nascent Bodhisatta, charming in his joyous gait, stedfastly regarding the regions of existence, is radiant while uttering taurine words', v. 167.

As the varieties of the *suggestive* or *figurative* style are endless, only elementary figures will be described, v. 168 to 172.

1. Hyperbole (*atisayavutti*). This figure discloses the peculiar attribute of an object (whether a genus, a quality, an action, or a substance). It is twofold:—

(*a*.) Respecting mundane objects (*lokiyātisayavutti*).

(*b*.) Respecting supermundane objects (*lokātikkanta*), v. 174.

2. Simile (*upamā*) is resemblance between the subject of comparison and the comparison adduced; this may be conveyed either (a) by a word, (b) by the sense, or (c) by the sense of a sentence, v. 177; or by the use of a compound word, as '*candimānāno*', v. 178; or a verbal affix, as '*āya*' in '*vadanam paṅkajāyate*', v. 179; or by the use of words implying comparison as *wa*, *tulyā*, and the like, v. 180-185.

(a.) Similes formed by words implying comparison are the

1. Correct (*dhammopamā*), v. 187.
2. Defective (*dhammakīno*),
3. Reversed (*viparito*), } v. 188.
4. Reciprocal (*aññamañño*), v. 189.
5. Marvellous (*abbhuto*), v. 190.
6. Equivocal (*silesa*), v. 191.
7. Spreading (*santāno*), v. 192.
8. Disparaging (*nindo*), v. 198.
9. Prohibitive (*patisedho*), v. 194.
10. Uncommon (*asādhāraṇa*), v. 195.
11. False (*abhuto*), v. 196.

(b.) In the following similes, the idea of similarity is conveyed by a word's meaning, without the employment of a compound, verbal affix, or word implying comparison, v. 199. They are the

1. Obvious (*sarūpopamā*), v. 198.
2. Ideal (*parikappo*), v. 199,
3. Doubtful (*samsayo*), v. 200.
4. Typically comparative (*paṭivattihū*), v. 201.

(c.) The third form of simile is expressed by setting the sense of one sentence in comparison with that of another, v. 203; and this may be done, either with, or without, employing words implying comparison, vv. 204, 205.

Sometimes the following kinds of similes are deemed incongruous—

1. Comparison between objects of different genders (*bhinnalīngo*) and of different numbers (*vijātivacano*), v. 207.
2. The defective simile (*kīno*), v. 207.
3. The exaggerated (*adhiko*),
4. The irrelevant (*apuṭhattha*), } v. 208.
5. The contingent (*apekkhinī*),
6. The imperfect (*khaṇḍito*), } v. 209.

Sometimes the above are not deemed incongruous, vv. 211 and 212.

3. Metaphor (*rūpakam*). This figure indicates the resemblance between the subject of comparison and the comparison adduced, but, unlike the simile, without employing words implying comparison. It has two divisions, namely:—



(a.) general (*asesavatthuvīsa*), v. 214-217.

(b.) partial (*ekadesavivatti*), v. 218-221.

each of which may be exhibited by means of compounded words, or words not compounded, or both combined, v. 214. The author says the varieties of metaphor, both proper and improper, are too numerous to be dwelt upon here, v. 222. Subjoined is a specimen of a *proper* metaphor:—

‘Oh Sage! whose heart indeed is not drawn to thy attractive countenance, bright as white flowers, with tremulous black bee eyes?’ v. 223.

The following are examples respectively of (a) imperfect (*khaṇḍitarūpakam*), and (b) perfect (*sundararūpakam*), metaphors, v. 224—

(a) ‘candim’ ākasapadumam’, the lotus rising in the heavens is the moon.

(b) ‘ambhoruhāraṇam nettani’, eyes which are a cluster of water-lilies.

4. Redundancy (*āvutti*). The repetition may be threefold, v. 226, namely as regards

(a.) the sense (*atthāvutti*), v. 227.

(b.) a word (*padāvutti*), v. 228.

(c.) or both (*ubhayāvutti*), v. 229.

5. The Illuminator (*dīpakam*). The figure is manifested when things, such as actions, kinds, or qualities, although expressed in one part of a sentence, illuminate the whole of it, v. 230; and it has three varieties, arising from the action, kind, or quality, being expressed in the sentence at the

(a.) beginning (*ādidīpakam*), v. 231.

(b.) middle (*majjha*—), v. 232.

(c.) end (*anta*—), v. 233.

If a series (of actions, kinds, or qualities) is exhibited in succession, each one being dependent on the one preceding, the figure is termed ‘a string of Illuminators’ (*māladīpakam*), vv. 234, 235.

6. Hint (*ākkhepo*), when it is intended to say something special, that which apparently suppresses or denies it, is termed Hint, v. 237. It is threefold, pertaining to what

(a.) has been said (*atitākkhepo*), v. 238.

(b.) as being said (*vattamānākkhepo*), v. 239.

(c.) is about to be said (*anāgatākkhepo*), v. 240.

7. Transition, (*atthantaranyāsa*) is the introduction of another sense into the subject (such as a moral reflection), v. 241. It is twofold, namely:—

(a.) general (*saḍbhavyāpi*—), v. 242, 243.

(b.) partial (*visesaṭha*—), v. 244, 245.

each kind being distinguished by the absence and presence of the emphatic particle ‘*ni*’.

8. Contrast, (*vyatireko*) is the distinction in the idea of resemblance between objects either expressed or understood, v. 246. It is twofold, namely:—

(a.) single (*ekavyatireko*), v. 246, 248.

(b.) double (*ubhaya*—), v. 249, 250.

9. Peculiar causation, (*vibhāvanā*) is the production of an effect by some cause other than the usual one, which is suppressed; or, (the production of an effect) naturally, (though dependent upon some other cause); v. 251. Hence the figure is twofold, namely:—

(a.) peculiar (*kāraṇantara*), v. 252.

(b.) natural (*sabhavikaphala*), v. 253.

10. Causation (*hetu*). This figure has two divisions, namely—

(a.) producing causation (*janakahetu*).

(b.) indicating causation (*ñāpakahetu*), v. 254.

A few only of the endless subdivisions of the above are indicated in this treatise. They are: v. 235.

(a.) active causation producing apparent act (*bhāvakicco kārakahetu*), v. 256.

(b.) active causation producing non-apparent act (*abhāvakicco kārakahetu*), v. 257.

(c.) causation indicating apparent act, (*bhāvakicco ñāpakahetu*), v. 258.

(d.) unfitly acting wonderful causation (*ayuttakāri cittahetu*), v. 259.

(e.) fitly acting wonderful causation (*yuttakāricittahetu*), v. 260.

11. Order (*kamo*), is when a reference is made respectively to what has been mentioned, v. 261. This figure is the Relative Order (*yathāsan-khyam*) of Sanskrit Rhetoric.

12. Excessively agreeable (*piyataram*). This figure is exhibited when an excess of agreeability is imparted to the sense, v. 263, 264.

13. Concise style, (*samāsavutti*) is exhibited, when an intended object is concisely described by means of an approved metaphor, v. 265. It is twofold, namely, when the attributes are either

(a.) separate (*bhinnavisesana*), v. 266.

(b.) non-separate (*abhinnavisesana*), v. 267, 268.

14. Idealization, (*parikappana*) is the imagining of an object under the character of another, v. 270. This figure is expressed by an implied metaphor, and may depict actions, qualities, and the like, v. 271. Such expressions as 'methinks, I suspect, of a certainty, surely, as,' are occasionally made use of in this figure, v. 275.

15. Concentration, (*samāhita*) is manifested when a special consequence results from a concentrated effort, v. 277.

16. Periphrasis, (*pariyāya*) is when the fact to be intimated, is ex-

pressed in a roundabout way, so as to avoid a common expression, v. 279.

17. Ironical praise, (*vyājavāṇṇana*) is commendation conveyed in language which is apparently ironical, v. 281.

18. Peculiar allegation, (*visesa*) is when a special cause is acknowledged, there is an absence of effect, whether in regard to a substance, an action, a genus, or a quality, v. 283.

19. Individuality, (*rūlādhāṅkāra*) is when arrogance is prominent in a marked degree, vv. 288, 289.

20. Coalescence or Paronomasia, (*silesa*) is when words are so connected as to be susceptible of a double meaning, v. 290. The figure is held to minister to the heightening of suggestive style, v. 173. It is threefold, namely—

(a.) without division (*abhinnapadavākya silesa*), v. 291.

(b.) with division (*bhinnapadavākya*), v. 292.

(c.) both sorts combined (*bhinnābhinnapadavākya*), v. 293.

There are also the following eight varieties, v. 294, 295—

1. Repugnant action (*viruddhakammasilesa*), v. 296.

2. Non-repugnant action (*aviruddha-kamma*), v. 297.

3. Non-separate action (*abhinna-kamma*), v. 298.

4. The emphatic (*niyamavā*), v. 299.

5. The non-emphatic (*niyamakkhepa*), v. 300.

6. The non-contradictory (*avirodhi*), v. 301.

7. The contradictory (*virodhi*), v. 302.

8. The polite (*ocityasamposaka*), v. 303.

21. Equal pairing, (*tulyayogitā*) is when objects possessing attributes are associated with one and the same attribute, v. 304.

22. Illustration, (*nidassanaṃ*) is when from the introduction of a foreign relation, a mutual connection ensues; and it is twofold, v. 306, namely—

(a.) non-possible (*asantaṃ*), v. 307.

(b.) possible (*santaṃ*), v. 308.

23. Magniloquence, (*mahantattham*) is when grandeur in position or in resolve is indicated in a marked degree, 309-311.

24. Concealment, (*vañcanā*) is when the real nature of a thing is kept back, and another fancied one attributed, which may be either, v. 312,

(a.) dissimilar (*asama—*), v. 313.

(b.) similar (*sama—*), v. 314.

25. Indirect praise, (*appakatathuti*) is when trifling praise is bestowed upon an insignificant object, v. 315.

26. The Necklace, (*ekāvali*) is when what is mentioned first, is qualified by what follows, and this again by what comes next, and so on, v. 317. It is twofold—

(a.) affirmative (*vidhi*—), v. 318.

(b.) negative (*nisedha*—), v. 319.

27. The Reciprocal, (*aññamaññam*) is when two things do the same act to each other, vv. 320, 321.

28. Connected description, (*sahavutti*) is when different ideas are connected with the word 'saha'. It is twofold—

(a.) of actions (*kriyā*), v. 323.

(b.) of qualities (*guṇā*), v. 324.

29. Contradiction, (*virodhitā*) is when there is an apparent incongruity among things, such as a genus, quality, action, and substance, v. 325.

30. The Return, (*parivutti*) is the exchange of a thing for what is peculiarly excellent, v. 329.

31. Error, (*bhamo*) is the thinking, from resemblance, of an object to be what it is not, v. 329.

32. Emotion, (*bhāvo*) is when the style awakens sentiment in the minds of poets, v. 331. This figure is considered the life of poetry, v. 173.

33. Mixture, (*missam*) is when verbal ornaments and ornaments of the sense are blended together, v. 333. The figure is twofold :—

(a.) existence of intimate relation (*angānibhāva*—), v. 334.

(b.) existence of same effect (*sadisaphalabhāva*—), v. 335.

34. Prayer, (*āsi*) is prayer for any desired object, v. 336.

35. The Impassioned, (*rasī*) is when the style is full of feeling and witty, vv. 337, 338.

## CHAPTER V.

The fifth and last Chapter treats of Flavour (*rasa*). Such conditions (*bhava*), excitants (*vibhāva*), and ensuants (*anubhāva*), as are mainsentiments in composition, are held to be the several Flavours of poets, v. 341.

Since the various conditions, or states of the mind, give occasion for the existence of (*bhāvāyanti*) the flavours, they (such as love, mirth, and the like) are termed conditions or mental states (*bhāva*), v. 342.

That condition, or mental state, such as love and the like, which is not overpowered by another condition opposed to it, such as disgust and the like, is held to be 'the permanent condition' (*thāyī-bhāva*), v. 343. They are nine in number, namely :—

- |                                    |                               |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. love, <i>rati</i> .             | 5. magnamity, <i>ussaka</i> . |
| 2. mirth, <i>haso</i> .            | 6. terror, <i>bhayam</i> .    |
| 3. sorrow, <i>soko</i> .           | 7. disgust, <i>jigucchā</i> . |
| 4. resentment, <i>kodho</i> .      | 8. surprise, <i>vimhaya</i> . |
| 9. quietism, <i>samo</i> , v. 344. |                               |



The Accessories (*vyabhicāri*) are those that more especially, cooperatively, habitually go along with the various conditions (*bhāva*) and excitants (*vibhāva*), v. 345. They are thirty-three in number, namely :—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Self-disparagement, <i>nibbēda</i> . | 18. Dissembling, <i>avahiddhā</i> .            |
| 2. Debate, <i>takka</i> .               | 19. Painful reflection, <i>cintā</i> .         |
| 3. Apprehension, <i>sankā</i> .         | 20. Arrogance, <i>gabbha</i> .                 |
| 4. Weariness, <i>sama</i> .             | 21. Dementedness, <i>apamāra</i> .             |
| 5. Equanimity, <i>dhiti</i> .           | 22. Impatience of opposition, <i>amarisa</i> . |
| 6. Stupefaction, <i>jalatā</i> .        | 23. Intoxication, <i>mada</i> .                |
| 7. Depression, <i>dīnatā</i> .          | 24. Resolve, <i>mati</i> .                     |
| 8. Sternness, <i>uggatā</i> .           | 25. Raving, <i>ummada</i> .                    |
| 9. Indolence, <i>ālasatta</i> .         | 26. Distraction, <i>moha</i> .                 |
| 10. Dreaming, <i>suttaṃ</i> .           | 27. Awakening, <i>vibodha</i> .                |
| 11. Joy, <i>hāsa</i> .                  | 28. Drowsiness, <i>niddā</i> .                 |
| 12. Debility, <i>galāni</i> .           | 29. Cessation of motion, <i>āvega</i> .        |
| 13. Longing, <i>ussuka</i> .            | 30. Shame, <i>vilāp</i> .                      |
| 14. Alarm, <i>tarasa</i> .              | 31. Death, <i>maraṇa</i> .                     |
| 15. Recollection, <i>sati</i> .         | 32. Unsteadiness, <i>capalā</i> .              |
| 16. Envy, <i>assā</i> .                 | 33. Sickness, <i>vyādhi</i> , v. 346.          |
| 17. Despondency, <i>visāda</i> .        |  |

The power of fixing the mind on one subject is purity, *sattaṃ*; from this arises the involuntary evidences of feeling which are states of mind different from the ensuants in general, v. 347. They are eight in number v. 348, namely :—

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Paralysis, <i>thambha</i> .     | 5. Tears, <i>assu</i> .                     |
| 2. Fainting, <i>palaya</i> .       | 6. Trembling, <i>vepathu</i> .              |
| 3. Horripilation, <i>romaṇca</i> . | 7. Change of colour, <i>vevaṇṇiyam</i> .    |
| 4. Perspiration, <i>seda</i> .     | 8. Disturbance of speech, <i>visaratā</i> . |

The mental conditions, such as love and the like, if they are not inseparably permanent, may all serve as Accessories, v. 349.

That thing which causes the awakening (*uppatti*), and inflaming (*uddīpana*) of these (the 'permanent, accessory, and involuntary' conditions), is called an Excitant, (*vibhāva*); and that which manifests externally (that those conditions are excited) is called an Ensuant, or Effect (*anubhāva*), v. 350.

Excitants and Ensuaunts are appropriately displayed in poetry, in order to exhibit the conditions and various emotions of the mind, v. 351.

The conditions, permanent, accessory, or involuntary, are appropriately represented by the Excitants and Ensuaunts, v. 351.

The involuntary evidences of strong feeling (*sattika*), arising in the mind from its various states, and manifested by ensuaunts or effects; such as perspiration exuding from the body, and the like, v. 353.

That is 'Flavour' which in poetry excites the joy of the audience, v. 354. The flavour which conduces to a state of relish by means of excitants, ensuants, involuntary evidences, and accessories, is held to be a permanent one, v. 355. The divisions of flavour are, v. 356—

- |                                   |                                       |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. the Erotic, <i>śingāra</i> .   | 5. the Heroic, <i>vīra</i> .          |
| 2. the Comic, <i>hassa</i> .      | 6. the Terrible, <i>bhayanakā</i> .   |
| 3. the Pathetic, <i>karuṇā</i> .  | 7. the Disgustful, <i>bibhaccha</i> . |
| 4. the Furious, <i>ruddha</i> .   | 8. the Marvellous, <i>abbhuta</i> .   |
| 9. the Quietistic, <i>santa</i> . |                                       |

By the 'Erotic' is meant the flavour which has love for its condition, the intoxicating pleasure arising from the mutual affections of youths and maidens, &c., &c., v. 358. It is threefold, (a) incompatible, (b) partial, and (c) mutual, v. 359.

The 'Comic' may arise from the fun of distorted gestures pertaining to oneself or to another; the accessories are drowsiness, weariness, indolence, fainting, and the like. Its condition is mirth, which belongs chiefly to rational beings, v. 360. When under the influence of the 'Comic', the best kind of persons either slightly smile (*sita*), having the eyes a little open; or smile (*hasita*), slightly showing the teeth; the middling sort either laugh softly (*vihasita*), or laugh aloud (*upahasita*); the baser sort either roar with laughter (*apahasita*), with eyes filled with tears, or are convulsed with laughter (*atihasita*), with limbs uncontrolled, v. v. 361, 362.

The 'Pathetic' with the mood of sorrow, springs from the advent of what is unpleasant, and absence of (loved) objects. Its 'ensuants' are weeping, fainting, stupefaction, &c. Its accessories are despondency, indolence, death, painful reflection, &c., v. 363.

The 'Furious' accompanied by anger, envy, and the like, is marked by redness of the eyes, &c., has terror and intoxication, &c., for its accessories, v. 364.

The 'Heroic', associated with energy, arises by glorious victory and the like. It is threefold:—(a) Heroic in war; (b) Heroic in liberty; and (c) Heroic in benevolence, which are its 'ensuants': its accessories are equanimity, resolve, &c., vv. 365, 366.

The 'Terrible' has fear for its permanent mood; its ensuants are perspiration, &c. Its accessories, terror, &c., v. 367.

The 'Disgustful', associated with disgust, arises from aversion to putridity, and the like; its 'ensuants' are contracting of the nose, &c.; its accessories, apprehension, and the like, v. 368.

The 'Marvellous' having surprise as its permanent mood, springs from anything supernatural; its 'ensuants' are perspiration, tears, &c.; its accessories, terror, cessation of motion, stupefaction, v. 369.

The 'Quietistic', or the mood of the very best men, has calmness for its permanent mood, and kindness, mercy, and joy, as its accessories, v. 370.

With the exceptions noted below, the metre employed by the author is the 'Vatta', said to be like the Sanskrit *śloka*.

In closing the first four chapters, and in illustrating (v. 338) the 'Impassioned' figure of Rhetoric, he has adopted the Vasantatilakā Metre.

In the fifth chapter he has employed the Saddharā Metre of 21 syllables, to enumerate the thirty-three 'accessories', v. 346. In describing the kinds of laughter provoked by the 'Comic' flavour, he has used the melodious rhythms of the 'Arya', v. 361, and the mixed 'Mattāsamaka' (padākulakam), v. 362.

I have met with no commentaries on the work. There is, however, a gloss (*tikā*), which is said to be scarce.

### TEXT.

#### NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMA SAMBUDDHASSA.

1. munindavadanambhojagabhasambhavasundarī  
saraṇaṃ paṇiṇaṃ Vāṇī mayhaṃ piṇayataṃ manam.
2. Rāma-Sammādyalaṅkāra santi santo purātaṇā  
tathāpi tu vaḷaṇcenti suddhamāgadhikā na te.
3. tenāpi nāma toseyyam ete 'laṅkāra vajjite  
anurūpen' alaṅkāren' esam eso parissamo.
4. yesan na saṅcītā paññā 'nekasattantarocitā  
samohabbhāhatā 'v' ete nāvabujjhanti kiṇcepi.
5. kin tehi pāda-sussūsā yesan natthi gurūn' iha  
ye ta-ppāda-rajo-kiṇṇā t'eva sādhu vivekino.
6. kabba-nāṭaka-nikkhita netta cittā kavi-jjanā  
yaṃ kiṇci racayaṇ' etaṃ na vimhaya-karaṃ paraṃ.
7. te yeva paṭibhāvanto so 'va bandho savimhayo  
yena tosentī viññū ye tattha pyavihit' ādharā.
8. bandho ca nāma sadd-atthā sahitā dosa-vajjitā  
pajja-gajja-vimissānaṃ bhedenāyaṃ tidhā bhava.
9. nibandho cānibandho ca puna dvidhā niruppate  
tan tu pāpentyalaṅkāra vindaniyatarattaṇaṃ.
10. anavajjaṃ mukhambhojaṃ anavajjā ca bhārati  
alaṅkatā 'va sobhante kin nu te niralāṅkatā.
11. vinā gurūpadesaṇ taṃ bālo 'laṅkatthum icchati  
sampaṇe na viññūhi hasa-bhāvaṃ kathan nu so.

12. gandho pi kavi-vácánam alaṅkāra-ppakāsako  
yāti ta-bbacanīyattham ta-bbohárúpacáratō.
13. dvi-ppakārā alaṅkāro tattha saddatthabhedato  
saddatthā bandhanāmā 'va tam sajjita tad ávali.
14. guṇālaṅkāra-saṃyuttā api dosā 'va līngitā  
pasamsiyā na viññūhi sá kaññā viya tādisi.
15. tena dosa-niráso 'va mahussáhena sádhiyo  
niddosā sabbatthā sáyaṃ saguṇā na bhaveyya kiṃ.
16. sálaṅkāra viyuttāpi guṇa-yuttā manohará  
niddosā dosa-rahitā guṇa-yuttā vadhú viya.
17. pade vákye tad atthe ca dosā ye vividhá matā  
sodáharanam etesaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ kathayāmyahaṃ.
18. viruddhatthantarādhyaṭṭha, kiliṭṭhāni, virodhi ca,  
neyyaṃ, visesaṇāpekkhaṃ, hīnatthakam, anattakam.
19. dosaṃ padānaṃ vákyānaṃ, ekattham, bhaggarítikaṃ,  
tathā vyākīṇa, gamāni, yatihīnaṃ, kamaccutaṃ.
20. ativuttam, apetattham, sabandhapharusam tathā
21. apakkamam, ocityahīnaṃ, bhaggaríti, saṃsayam,  
gammam, duṭṭhālaṅkatīti dosā vákyattha nissitā.
22. viruddhatthantaram tam hi yass' aññattho virujjhati  
adhippete yathā : “megho visado sukhaye janam.”
23. visesyam adhikam yenādhyattham etaṃ bhava yathā :  
“obhāsītāsesadiso khajjoto 'yam virojate.”
24. yass' attāhvagamo dukkho pakatyādivibhāgato  
kiliṭṭham tam yathā : “tāya so 'yam ālīngyate piyā.”
25. yam kiliṭṭham padaṃ mandābhidheyyam yamakādikaṃ  
kiliṭṭhapadadose 'va tam pi antokariyati.
26. paṭītasaddaracitaṃ siliṭṭhapadasandhikam  
pasādaguṇasaṃyuttaṃ yamakam matam edisaṃ
27. avyapetaṃ vyapetañ c' aññ' ávuttāneka-vanṇajam  
yamakam tañ ca pādānaṃ ādi-majjhanta-gocaraṃ
28. sujanāsujanā sabbe guṇenāpi vivekino  
vivekam na samāyanti aviveki janantike
29. kusalākusalā sabbe pabalāpabalā 'tha vá  
no yátá táváhosittham sukha dukkha-ppadā siyūṃ.
30. sádara sá daram hantu vihitā vihitā mayá  
vandanā vandanāmāna-bhājane-ratanatthaye,
31. kamalam kam alaṃkattham, vanado vanado 'mbaram,  
sugato sugato lokam, sahitaṃ sahitaṃ karam.
32. avyapetādi yamakass' eso lesa nidassito  
ñeyyān' imáy' eva disáy' aññāni yamakāni pi.
33. accantabahavo tesam bhedā sambheda-yoniso



- tattha pi keci sukará keci accantadukkará.
34. yamakaṃ tam paheḷi ca n'ekantamadhurán' iti upekkhiyanti sabbáni sissakhedabhayá mayá.
35. desa-kála-kalá-loka-nāy'-ágama-virodhi yaṃ taṃ virodhi padañ c'etam udāharaṇato puṭaṃ.
36. yad appatītaṃ ániya vattabbaṃ neyyaṃ áhu taṃ yaṭhā : "sabbápi dhavalá disá rocanti rattiyaṃ."
37. n'edisam bahu maññanti sabbe sabbattha viññuno dullabhá 'vagati sadda-sámattiya-vilaṅghani.
38. siyá visesaṇapekkhaṃ taṃ yaṃ patvá visesaṇaṃ sattakaṃ taṃ yaṭhā : "taṃ so bhiyyo passati cakkhuná."
39. hīnaṃ kare visesya yaṃ ti hīnattham bhava yaṭhā :— "nippabhá-kata-khajjoto samudeti divákaro."
40. páda-púranam attham yaṃ anattam iti taṃ mataṃ yaṭhā ti—"vande buddhassa páda-paṅkeruham pi ca"
41. saddato atthato vattaṃ yaṭtha bhiyyo' pi v-uccati taṃ ekattham yaṭhā :—"bháti várido várido ayaṃ."
42. yaṭhā ca :—  
"tittḥiy' añkura víjāni jaḥaṃ dittḥigatán' iha  
"pasádeti pasann' eso mahámuni mahájane."
43. áradhakkamávicchedá bhaggaríti bhava yaṭhā :—  
"kápi paññá kopi guṇo pakati pi aho tava!"
44. padánaṃ dubbhinikkhepá vyámoho yaṭtha jáyati taṃ vyákīṇaṃ ti viññeyyaṃ tad udāharaṇaṃ yaṭhā :—
45. "bahugūṇe paṇamati dujjanánaṃ pyayañ jano  
"hitam pamudito niccaṃ sugataṃ samanussaraṃ"
46. viṣiṭṭha-vacanápetam gamman tyábhimatam yaṭhā :  
"kaññe! kámayamánaṃ maṃ na kámayasi kin nu 'daṃ?"
47. padásandhánato kiñci duppatiti karaṃ bhava taṃ pi gamman tyabhimatam yaṭhā :—"yá bhavato piyá"
48. vuttasu sucita-tṭhane padacchedo bhava yaṭi yaṃ táya hīnaṃ taṃ vuttaṃ yaṭi hīnaṃ ti sá pana.
49. yaṭi sabbattha pádante vuttaḍḍhe ca visesato pubbá pará 'nekavaṇṇa padammajjhe pi katthaci.
50. tatthodāharaṇáni paccudāharaṇáni yaṭhā :—  
"tan name sírasá cámi | kara vaṇṇaṃ tathágataṃ  
"sakalá pi disá siñca | t'iva soṇṇarasehi yo."
51. saro sandhimhi pubbanto. viya lope vibhattiyá aññathá tv-aññathá tattha yádesádi parád' iva.
52. cádi pubba pádantá 'va niccaṃ pubba padassitá pádayo nicca sambandhá parád' iva parena tu.
53. sabbatthodaharaṇáni yaṭhā :—

- “name taṃ sīrasā sabbo | pamātitaṃ tathāgataṃ  
 “yassa lokaggataṃ patta | ssopamā na hi yujjati.  
 54. “munindaṃ taṃ sadā vandā | myanantamatim uttamaṃ  
 “yassa mettā ca paññā ca | nissimā ’tīvijambhati.”  
 55. cādi pādisu paccudāharaṇāni yathā :—  
 “mahāmettā mahapaññā | ca yattha paramodayā  
 “paṇāmi taṃ jinaṃ taṃ pa | varaṃ varagupālayaṃ.”  
 56. padattha-kkamato muttaṃ kamaccutaṃ idaṃ yathā :—  
 “khettaṃ vā dehi gāmaṃ va desaṃ vā mama sobhanaṃ”  
 57. lokiyattham atikkantaṃ ativuttaṃ mataṃ yathā :—  
 “atisambādham ākāsaṃ etissā thana-jumbhane”  
 58. samudāyatthato ’pettaṃ taṃ apetatthakaṃ yathā :—  
 “gāvi putto balivaddo tiṇaṃ khādī pivi-jjalaṃ”  
 59. bandhe pharusatā yattha taṃ bandha-pharusaṃ yathā :—  
 “kharākhilā parikhīna khette khittam phalaṭyalaṃ”  
 60. ñeyyaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ anvattha-vasenāpakkaṃādinaṃ  
 udāharaṇaṃ etesaṃ dāni sandhassiyāmyahaṃ.  
 61. tatthāpakkaṃaṃ yathā :—  
 “bhāvanādānasilāni sammāsammāditān’ iha  
 “bhogasaggādi nibbāna sādhanāni na saṃsaya.”  
 62. ocityahinaṃ yathā :—  
 “pūjaniyakaro loke aham eko niramtaṃ.  
 “may’ etasmiṃ gupā sabbe yato samuditā ahuṃ.”  
 63. yathā ca :—  
 “yācito ’haṃ kathan nāma na ajjāmyapi jīvitaṃ  
 “tathāpi puttadānena vedhate hadayaṃ mama.”  
 64. bhaggarīti yathā :—  
 “itthīnaṃ du-jjanānañ ca viśāso nopapajjate  
 “vise siṅgimhi nadīyaṃ roge rāja-kulamhi ca”  
 65. saṃsayāṃ yathā :—  
 “munindacandimālokarasalolavilocano  
 “jano ’vakkantaṃ anto ’va go padassanapīṇito”  
 66. vākyatthato duppatīti karaṃ gammaṃ mataṃ yathā :—  
 “poṣo vīriyavā soyaṃ paraṃ hantāna vissami.”  
 67. dutṭhālaṅkāraṇaṃ t’etaṃ yatthālaṅkāradūsaṇaṃ  
 tass’ alaṅkāra-niddese rūpaṃ āvibhavissati.  
 68. kato ’tra saṅkhepa-nayā mayā ’yaṃ  
 doṣāṇaṃ esaṃ pavaro vibhāgo  
 eso ’v’ alaṃ bodhayitvaṃ kavīnaṃ  
 taṃ atthi ce kheda-karaṃ paraṃ pi.

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 . nāma paṭhama paricchedo.*

69. kadāci kavikosallā, virodho sakalo pyayaṃ,  
dosa-saṅkhyam atikkama, guṇavidhi vigāhate.
70. tena, vutta-virodhanam avirodho yathā siyā  
tathā dosa-parihāravabodho 'dāni niyyate.
71. tattha viruddhatthantarassa parihāro yathā :—  
“vindantam pāka sālīnaṃ sālīnaṃ dassanā sukhaṃ,  
“taṃ kathaṃ nāma meghe 'yaṃ visado sukhaye janaṃ ?”
72. yathā ca :—  
“vināyako pi nāgo 'si ; gotama pi mahāpati ;  
“paṇito pi rasāpeto ; cittaṃ me sāmi te gati.”
73. adhyatthassa yathā—  
“kathaṃ tādiguṇābhāve lokaṃ toseti du-jjano ?  
“obhāsītasesa-diso khajjotonāma kiṃ bhava ?”
74. paheḷikāyamāruḥhā nahi dutṭhā kiliṭṭhatā ;  
“piyā sukhāliṅgitaṃ kam āliṅgati nu no” iti.
75. yamake nopayojeyya kiliṭṭha-padam icchite  
tato yamakam aññan tu sabbam etaṃ mayaṃ viya.
76. desa-virodhino yathā :—  
“bodhisatta-ppabhāvena thale pi jalajānyaham  
“nudantān' iva sucirā vāsalleṣaṃ tahiṃ jale.”
77. kāla virodhino yathā :—  
“mahānubhāva-pisuno munino manda-māruto  
“sabbotukam ayaṃ vāyi dhunanto kusumaṃ samaṃ”
78. kalā-virodhino yathā :—  
“nimuggamānaso buddhagūṇe pañcasikhassapi.  
“tanti-ssaravirodho so na sampiṇeti kañ-janaṃ”
79. loka-virodhino yathā :—  
“gaṇaye cakkavālam so candanārapi sītalaṃ  
“sambodhisattahadayo padittaṅgārapūritaṃ.”
80. ṇāya-virodhino yathā :—  
“pariccattabhāvo pi tvam upanitabhavo asi  
“acintyaguṇasārāya namo te munipuṅgava !”
81. āgama-virodhino yathā :—  
“nevālapati kenāpi vaci viññattito yati  
“sampajānamusāvādā phuseyyāpatti dukkaṭaṃ.”
82. neyyassa yathā :—  
“marīcicandanālepalābhā sitamarīcino  
“imā sabbāpi dhavālā disā rocanti nibbharaṃ.”
83. yathā vā :—  
“manonurañjano mārāṅganāsīṅgāravibbhamo  
“jinenāsamanuññāto mārassa hadayānalo.”
84. visesanāpekkhassa yathā :

“apayátāparādham pi ayaṃ veri janaṃ jano  
“kodhapāṭalabhutena bhiyyo passati cakkhunā.”

85. hīnatthassa yaṭhā :—

“appakāṇaṃ pi pāpānaṃ pabhāvaṃ nāsaye budho  
“api nippabhātānitakhajjoto hoti bhānumā.”

86. anatthassa yaṭhā :—

na pādapūraṇatthāya padaṃ yojeyya katthaci  
yaṭhā :—“vande munindassa pāda-paṇkeruhaṃ varaṃ.”

87. bhaya-kodha-pasaṃsādi viseso tādiso yadi  
vatthum kāmiyate doso na tatth’ ekatthatā kato. yaṭhā :—

88. “sappo sappo ayaṃ handa ! nivattatu bhavaṇ tato,  
“yadi jīvitukāmo ’si kathaṃ taṃ upasampasi ?”

89. bhaggaritino yaṭhā :—

“yo koci rūpātisayo kanti kāpi manoharā  
“vilāsātisayo kopi aho buddhamahodayo !”

90. avyāmohakaraṃ bandhaṃ avyākiṇṇaṃ manoharaṃ  
adūra-pada-vinyāsaṃ paṃsaṃsanti kavissarā. yaṭhā :—

91. “nīluppalābhaṇaṇaṃ, bandhūkaruciro ’dharo,  
“nāsā hemaṇkuso, tena jīno ’yaṃ piyadassano.”

92. samatikkantaḡammattaṃ kantaḡacābhisaṇkhattaṃ  
bandhanaṃ rasahetuttā ḡammattam ativattati. yaṭhā :—

93. “dunnoti kāma-caṇḡālo so maṃ sadaya niddayo  
“īdisaṃ vyasaṇāpannaṃ sukhī pi kīṃ upekkhase ?”

94. yaṭihīna-parihāro na punedāni niyyate  
yato na savaṇubbhedam heṭṭhā-y-etaṃ vicāritaṃ.

95. kamaccutassa yaṭhā :—

“udāracarito ’si tvaṃ, ten’ evārādhanā tvayi  
“desaṃ vā dehi, ḡāmaṃ vā, khettaṃ vā, mama sobhaṇaṃ.”

96. ativuttassa yaṭhā :—

“munindacandasambhūtayasoraśimarīcināṃ  
“sakalo pyaṃ ākāso nāvakāso vijumbhane.”

97. vākyaṃ vyāpannacittānaṃ apetatthaṃ aninditaṃ,  
ten’ ummatādikānaṃ taṃ vacaṇ’ aññatra dussati. yaṭhā :—

98. “samuddo piyate so ’yaṃ, ahaṃ ajja jarāturo,  
“ime ḡajjanti jīmūtā, Sakkass’ Erāvaṇo piyo.”

99. sukhumālavirodhittadittabhāva-ppabhāvitaṃ  
bandhanaṃ bandhapharusa-dosaṃ sandúsayeyya taṃ. yaṭhā :—

100. “passantā rūpavibhavaṃ suṇantā madhuraṇ ḡiraṃ  
“caranti sādḡū sambuddhakāle keliparammukhā.”

101. apakkamassa yaṭhā :—

“bhāvaṇā-dāna-sīlāni sammāsammāditāṇ’ iha  
“nibbāna-bhoga-sagḡādi sādhanāni na saṃsaḡo.”



102. uddiṭṭhavisayo koci viseso tādiso yadi  
anuddiṭṭhesu n'ev' atthi doso kamavilaṅghane. yathá :—
103. “ kusalākusalamavyākataṃ' ice esu pacchimam  
“ avyākataṃ pākadan na, pākadam paṭhamadviam.”
104. saguṇán' ávikaraṇe káraṇe sati tādise  
ocityahínatápatti natthi bhútatthasamsino.
105. ocityam náma viññeyyam loke vikhyátam ádará  
tatthopadesappabhavá sujaná kavipuṅgavá.
106. viññátocityavibhav' ocityahinam parihare  
tatocityassa sampose rasaposo siyá kate. yathá :—
107. “ yo márasenam ásannam ásannavijayussavo  
“ tiṇáya pi na maññattha so vo detu jayañ jino.”
108. áradhakattukammádi-kamátikkamalaṅghane  
bhaggaritivirodho 'yam gatin na kvápi vindati. yathá :—
109. “ sujanaññánam, itthínam, vissáso nopapajjate  
“ visassa, siṅgano, roga-nadí-rájakulassa ca.” yathá ca :—
110. “ bhesajje vihite suddhabuddhádíratanattaye  
“ pasádam ácare niccam sajjane saguṇe pi ca.”
111. samsayassa yathá :—  
“ munindacandimálokarasalolavilocano  
“ jano 'vakkantam anto 'va raṃsidassanapínito.”
112. samsayáy' eva yam kiñci yadi kiládhētuná  
payujjate na doso 'va sa-samsayasamappito. yathá :—
113. “ yáte dutiyan nilayam gurumhi sakagehato  
“ pápuṇeyyáma niyataṃ sukham ajjháyanádiná.”
114. “ subhagá bhaginí sáya-m-etass' ” ice evamádikam  
“ na gammam' iti niddiṭṭham kavihi sakalehi pi.”
115. duṭṭhālaṅkáravígame sobhanālaṅkatikkamo  
alaṅkárāparicchede ávibhávam gamissati.
116. dose pariharitum esa varo 'padeso  
sattantarānussaraṇena kato may' evam  
viññáy' imañ guruvarán' adhikappasádá  
dose param parihareyya yaso 'bhilásí.

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bodho náma dutiyo paricchedo.*

- 
117. sambhavanti guṇá yasmá doṣán' evam atikkame  
dassessan te tato 'dáni sadde sambhúsayanti ye.
118. pasád', ojo, madhuratá, samatá, sukhumálatá,  
síleso, 'dáratá, kanti, atthavyatti, samádhayo.
119. guṇeh'etehi sampanno bandho kavi-manoharo  
sampádayati kattunam kittim accantanimmalam.

120. adúráhitasambandhasubhagá yá padávali  
suppasiddhá 'bhidheyyá 'yaṃ pasádaṃ janaye yathá :
121. "alañkáronto vadaṇaṃ munino 'dhara-raṃsiyo  
"sobhante 'ruparaṃsiva sampatantábujoḍare."
122. ojo samása-báhulyaṃ eso gajjassa jívitaṃ.  
pajje pyanákulo so 'yaṃ kanto kámiyate yathá :—
123. "munindamandasañjātahásacandanalimpitá  
"pallavá dhavalá tass' ev' eko nādharaṃpallavo."
124. padābhidheyyavisayaṃ samása-vyása-sambhavaṃ  
yaṃ páriṇatyam hot' iha sopi ojo 'va taṃ yathá :—
125. "jotayitvána saddhammaṃ sandháretvá sadevake  
"jalitvá aggikhandho 'va nibbuto so sasāvako."
126. "matthakaṭṭhi matassápi rajobhávaṃ vajantu me  
"yato puñña te senti jinapádambuja-dvaye."
127. ice atra niccappaṇatigedho sādhu padissati  
jáyate 'yaṃ guṇo tikkha-paññānaṃ abhiyogato.
128. madhurattaṃ padásatti-r-anuppása vasá dvidhá  
siyá samasuti pubbá vaṇṇāvutti paro yathá :—
129. "yadá eso 'bhisambodhi sampatto munipuṇḡavo  
"tadá-ppabhūti dhammassa loke jāto mahussavo."
130. "muninda, mandahásá te kundasandohavibbhamá  
"disantaṃ anudhāvanti hasantá candakantiyo!"
131. sabba-komala-vaṇṇehi nānuppáso pasaṃsiyo  
yathá : " 'yaṃ málátí málá línalólálimálini."
132. muduhi vá kevalehi, kevalehi puṭehi vá,  
missehi vá, tidhá hoti vaṇṇehi samatá yathá :—
133. "kokilálápasaṃvádi munindálápavibbhamo  
"hayaṅgamataṃ yáti satam deti ca nibbuti."
134. "sambhāvānīyasambhávaṃ bhagavantaṃ bhavantaḡu  
"bhavantasáadhanákāṇkhí ko na sambhavaye vibhūṃ."
135. "laddhacandanasaṃsaggasugandhimalayānilo  
"mandam áyáti bhito 'va munindamukhamárutá."
136. añiṭṭhur' akkharappáyá sabbakomalanassatá  
kiechamuccáraṇāpetavyañjaná sukhumálatá.
137. "passantá rūpavibhavaṃ supantá madhuraṇ giram  
"caranti sádhú sambuddhakále keliparammukhá."
138. alaṇkāravihinápi satam samukhat' edisi  
árohati visesena ramaṇíyá tad ujjalá
139. romaṇcapiñcharacaná sádhuvádáhitaddhani  
lalan't ime munimeghummadá sádhusikbhávala.
140. sukhumálattam atth' eva padatthavisayaṃ pi ca.  
yathá : "matádi saddesu kittisēsádi kittanaṃ."

141. siliṭṭhapadasamsaggaramaṇiyagupālayo  
sabandhagāravo soyaṃ silesa nāma taṃ yathā :
142. “ bāliṇḍuvibbhamacchedanakharāvalikantihi  
“ sā munindapadambhojakanti vo valitāvataṃ.”
143. ukkaṃsavanto yo koci guṇo yaḍi paṭiyate  
udāro 'yaṃ bhava tena sanāthā bandha bandhati.
144. “ pādambhojarajolittagattā ye tava Gotama  
“ aho te jantavo yanti sabbadā nirajattanaṃ !”
145. evaṃ jīnānubhāvassa samukkaṃso 'tra dissati :  
paññavā vidhinā 'nena cintaye parama idisaṃ.
146. udāro soṇi viññeyyo yaṃ passaṭhavisesaṇaṃ  
yathā : “ kīlāsaro, līlāhāso, hemaṇḍadādayo.”
147. lokiyaṭṭā n'atikkantā kantā sabbajanānaṃ pi  
kanti nāmātivuttassa vuttā sā parihārato.  
yathā : “ muninda” ice ādi :
148. atthavyaṭṭābhidheyyassāneyyatā saddato 'tthato  
sāyaṃ tad ubhayā neyyaparihāre padassitā.  
yathā : “ marici” 'ce ādi : “ manonurañjano māra” 'ce ādi.
149. puna atthena yatha :—  
“ sabhāvāmalatā dhīra mudhā pādānakhesu te  
“ yato te 'vanatānantaṃ molicchāyā jahanti no.”
150. 'bandhasāro' ti maññanti yaṃ samaggā pi viññuno  
dassanāvasaraṃ patto samādhi nāma' ayaṃ guṇo.
151. aññadhammo tato 'ññatha lokasīnānurodhato  
sammā ādiyate 'ce eso samādhīti nirujjati.
152. apāṇe pāṇinaṃ dhammo, sammā, ādiyate kvaci  
nirūpe rūpayuttassa, nirase sarasassa ca.
153. adrave dravayuttassa, akattari pi kattutā,  
kathinassāsāre pi : rūpaṇa tesaṃ kamā siyā.
154. “ uṇṇāpuṇṇindunā nātha divā pi saha saṅgamā  
“ viniddā sampamodanti maññe kumudini tava !”
155. “ dayārasesu muijantā janā 'matarasesu iva  
“ sukhitā hatadosā te nātha pādambujānatā.”
156. “ madhure pi guṇe dhīra nappasiddhanti ye tava  
“ kīdisi manasovutti tesaṃ khāraguṇānaṃ bho.”
157. “ sabbatthasiddha cūlakapuṭapeyyā mahāguṇā  
“ disā samantā dhāvanti kundaśobhāsalaṅkhaṇā.”
158. “ mārāribalavissathā kuṇṭhā nānāvidhā yudhā  
“ lajjamānā 'ññavesena jina pādānatā tava.”
159. “ munindabhāṇuma kālodito bodhodayācale  
“ saddhammaraṃsinā bhāti bhindam andha tamaṃ paraṃ.”
160. vamanuggilaṇādy etaṃ guṇavutyapariccutaṃ

- atisundaram aññan tu kámaṃ vindati gammatāṃ  
 161. “kantínaṃ vamanavyájá mūnipádanakhávali  
 “candakanti pivanti ’va nippabhan taṃ karontiyo.”  
 162. acittakattukaṃ rúcyam ice evaṃ guṇakammakaṃ  
 sacittakattukaṃ p’ etaṃ guṇakammaṃ yad’ uttamaṃ.  
 163. “uggiranto ’va senaharasaṃ jinavaro jane  
 “bhāsanto madhuraṃ dhammaṃ kaṃ nasampiṇaye janaṃ.”  
 164. yo saddāsatthakusalo kusalo nighaṇḍu  
 chando alaṅkatisu niccakatābhiiyogo  
 so ’yaṃ kavittavikalopi kavísu saṅkhyāṃ  
 oggayha vindatí hi kittim amandarúpaṃ.

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 náma tatiyo paricchedo.*

165. atthālaṅkāra sahitá saguṇá bandha bandhati  
 yato accantakantá ’va v-uccante te tato ’dhuná.  
 166. sabháva-vaṅga-vuttínaṃ bhedá dvidhá alaṃkriyá :  
 paṭhamá tattha vatthúnaṃ nánavatthá vibhávini. yathá :—  
 167. “lílāvikantisubhago disádhíravilokano  
 “bodhisattaṅkuro bhāsaṃ viroci vácaṃ ásabhi.”  
 168. vutti-vatthu-sabhávassa yá ’ññatha sá pará bhave  
 tassá ’nantavikappattá hoti víjo padassanaṃ.  
 169. “tatthātisaya, upamá, rúpak’, ávutti, dípakāṃ,  
 “ákkhepo, ’tthantaranyáso, vyatireko, vibhávānā.  
 170. “hetu, kkamo, piyataraṃ, samásaṃ, parikappaná,  
 “samáhitāṃ, pariyáyavutti, vyájopavaññanaṃ.  
 171. “visesa, rúlháhaṅkárá, síleso, tulyayogitá,  
 “nidassanaṃ, mahāntatthaṃ, vañcana, ’ppakatatthuti.  
 172. “ekávali, aññamaññaṃ, sahaṇvutti, virodhitá,  
 “parivutti, bbbhamo, bhávo, missaṃ, ási, rasí,” iti.  
 173. ete bhedá samuddiṭṭhá. bhávo jívitaṃ uccate.  
 vaṅga-vuttisu poseti síleso tu síri pparaṃ.  
 174. pakásaká visesassa siyátisayavutti yá  
 lokátikkantavisayá lokiyá ti ca sá dvidhá  
 175. lokiyátisayass’ ete bhedá ye jāti-ádayo  
 paṭipádiyate tvajja lokátikkantagocará  
 176. “pivanti dehakanti yē nettañ calipuṭena te  
 “nálaṃ hantūṃ jin’ esan tvaṃ taṇhaṃ taṇháharo pi kim’?”  
 177. upamánopameyyánaṃ sadhammattaṃ siyopamá :  
 saddatthagammá vákyatthavisayá ti ca sá tidhá.  
 178. samásápaccaye vádi saddá tesāṃ vasá tidhá  
 saddagammá samásena “munindo candimánano”  
 o



179. áyádi paccayá tehi “vadanam pañkajáyate:”  
“munino nayanadvandam niluppaladalíyate.”
180. ivádi, “iva, vá, tulya, samána, nibha, sannibhá,  
“yathá, sañkása, tulita, ppakása, ppatirúpaká,
181. “sari, sarikkha, samvádi, virodhi, sadisá, viya,  
“paṭipakkha, paccaniká, sapakkhopamitopamá,
182. “paṭibimba, paṭicchanda, sarúpa, sama, sammitá,  
“savaṇṇá, bhá, paṭinidhi, sadhammádi, salakkhapá,
183. “jayaty, akkosati, hasam, paṭigacchati, dussati,  
“ussuyyaty, avajānāti, nindat’, issati, rundhati,
184. “tassa coreti sobhaggaṃ, tassa kanti viluppati,  
“tena siddhi vivadati, tulyam tenādhirohati,
185. “kacchaṃ vigáhate tassa, tam anvety, anubandhati,  
“taṃ sīlam, taṃ nisedheti, tassa cānukarot’ ime.”
186. upamánopameyyánaṃ sadhammattaṃ vibhávihī  
imehi upamá bheda keci niyanti sampati.
187. “vikási padumaṃ vātisundaraṃ sugatánanaṃ”  
iti dhammopamá náma tulyadhammanissaná.
188. dhammahíná, “mukhambhojasadisam munino” iti  
viparitopamá, “tulyam ánanenambhojaṃ tava.”
189. “tavánanam iv’ambhojaṃ, ambhojaṃ iva te mukhaṃ”  
aññamaññopamá sáyaṃ aññamaññopamánato.
190. “yadi kinci bhava ’mbhojaṃ locanambhamuvibbhamam  
dháretuṃ mukhasobhantaṃ tave”-t’ esá ’bbhutopamá
191. “sugandhi sobhasampandhi sasiraṃsuvirodhi ca  
mukhaṃ tav’ambujaṃ ’ve”-ti sá sílesopamá matá.
192. sarúpa saddaváccatta sá santánopamá yathá :  
“báláv’ uyyána málá ’yaṃ sálakánanasobhini”
193. “khayicando, bahurajaṃ padumaṃ, tehi te mukhaṃ  
samánam pi samukkamsi” tyayaṃ nindopamá matá.
194. “asamattho mukhen’ indu jina te paṭi gajjituṃ  
jalokalánk” iti ayaṃ paṭisedhopamá siyá.
195. “kacchaṃ candáravindánaṃ atikkama mukhaṃ tava  
attanáva samañ játam” ity asádháraṇopamá.
196. “sabbambhoja-ppabhásáro rásibhútova katthaci  
tavánanaṃ vibhāti ”ti hotabhútopamá ayaṃ.
197. patiyate ’tthagammá tu saddasámmattiyá kvaci  
samása-paccayeovádi saddayogaṃ viná api.
198. “bhiṅgá nemáni cakkhuni, nambujaṃ mukhaṃ ev’ idaṃ”  
suvyattasadisattena sá sarúpopamá matá.
199. “may’ eva mukhasobhássety” alam indu vikatthaná  
‘yato ’mbuje pi sáttthi ’ti parikappopamá ayaṃ.

200. "kiṃ vāmbujanto bhantāli, kiṃ lolanāyaṇaṃ mukhaṃ  
mama dolāyate cittaṃ" ice ayaṃ samsayoṇamā.
201. kiñci vatthūṃ 'padassetvā sadhammassābhidhānato  
sāmyappaṭṭisambhavā pativatthupamā yathā :
202. "jānesu jāyamaṇesu n' eko pi jina-sādiso  
"dutiyo nanu natth' eva pārijātassa pādapo."
203. vākyatthen' eva vākyattho yaḍi kocy upamīyate  
ivayuttāviyuttattā sā vākyatthopamā dvidhā.
204. "jīno sallesasattānaṃ āvibhuto janān' ayaṃ  
"ghammasantā patattānaṃ ghammakāle' mbudo viya."
205. "munindānaṃ ābhāti vilāsekamanoharaṃ  
"uddhaṃ samuggatassāpi kin te canda vijumbhaṇā ?"
206. samuppejeti dhimantaṃ bhinnaliṅgādikaṃ tu yaṃ  
upamāḍusanāvālam etaṃ katthaci taṃ yathā :
207. "haṃsivāyaṃ sasi" bhinnaliṅg—"ākāsaṃ sarān' iva"  
vijātivacanaḥ ; hīnā, "sāva bhatto bhaṭo 'dhipe."
208. "khajjoto bhāṇumāliva vibhati" ty adhikopamā ;  
aphuṭṭhatthā, "balambodhi sāgaro viya saṅkhubhi."
209. "cande kalaṅko bhīṅgo 'va" ty upamāpekkhinī ayaṃ :  
khaḍḍitā, "keravākāro sakalaṅko nibhākaro."
210. ice evaṃ ādi rūpesu bhavanti vigatādarā  
karonti c' ādaraṃ dhīrā payoge kvacid eva tu.
211. "itth' ivāyaṃ jano yāti" : "vadaty eṣā pumā viya" :  
"piyo pāṇā ivāya' me" : "vijjā dhanam iv' añcitā."
212. "bhavaṃ viya mahīpāla Devarājā virājate. !"  
"alam aṃsumato kacchaṃ tejasārohituṃ ayaṃ."
213. upamānopameyyānaṃ abhedassa nirūpaṭṭā  
upameva tirobhūtabhedā rūpakam uccate.
214. asesavatthuvisayaṃ, ekadesavivatti ca,  
taṃ dvidhā : puna, paccekam samāsādivasā tidhā.
215. "aṅgulidalaśaṃsobhi, nakhadīdhitikesaraṃ,  
"sīrasā napīlandhanti ke, munindapadambujam."
216. "ratanāni guṇā bhūri, karuṇā sitalaṃ jalaṃ  
"gambhīrattam agādhattam paccakkho 'yaṃ jīno 'mbudhi."
217. "candikā mandahāsā te muninda vadaninduno  
"pabodhayaty ayaṃ sadhumanokumudakānaṃ !"
218. asesavatthuvisaye pabhedo rūpake ayaṃ :  
ekadesavivattimhi bhedo 'dāni pavuccati.
219. "vilāśahāsakusumaṃ rucirādharaṇapallavaṃ  
"sukhaṃ ke vā na vindanti passantā munino mukhaṃ."
220. "pādadvandaṃ munindassa dadātu vijayaṃ tava  
"nakharaṃsi paraṃ kantā yassa pāpajaya-ddhajā"

221. "sunimmalakapolassa munindavadaninduno  
"sādhupabbuddhahadayaṃ jātaṃ keravakānaṃ."
222. rūpakāni bahuny eva yuttāyuttādibhedato  
visuṃ na tāni vuttāni 'etthev' antogatāni 'ti.
223. "sitapupphujjalaṃ lolanettabhiṅgaṃ tavānaṃ  
"kassa nāma mano dhīra nākaḍḍhati manoharaṃ."
224. "candim 'ākasapadumaṃ" icc etam khaṇḍarūpakaṃ  
duṭṭhaṃ : "ambhoruhavanaṃ nettāni" cādi sundaraṃ.
225. pariyaṇto vikappānaṃ rūpakassopamaṃ ca  
natthi yaṃ tena vinneyyaṃ avuttam anumānato.
226. punappunam uccāraṇaṃ yaṃ atthassa padassa ca  
ubhayaṣaṇṇaṃ ca viññeyyā sāyaṃ āvuttināmato :
227. "maṇo harati sabbesaṃ, ādadāti disā dasa,  
"gaṇhāti nimmalattaṇṇaṃ ca, yaso-rāsi jinass' ayaṃ."
228. "vibhāsenti disā sabbā munino dehakantiyo  
"vibhāsenti ca sabbāpi candādināṃ hatāvīya"
229. "jītvā viharati klesa-ripuṃ loke jīno ayaṃ  
"viharaty ārivaggo' yaṃ rāsibhuto 'va dujjane."
230. ekattha vattamānaṃpi sabbavākyopakāraṇaṃ  
dīpakaṃ nāma : taṇṇaṃ c' ādi-majjh-anta-visayaṃ tidhā.
231. "ākāsi buddho veṇeyya bandhunaṃ amitodayaṃ  
"tad aññesaṇṇaṃ tu jantunaṃ visaṃ niccopatāpanaṃ."
232. "sabha pāpehi ca samaṃ nekatithiya, maddanaṃ"  
"dassanaṃ munino sādhujaṇānaṃ jayate mataṃ
233. "accantakantalāvaṇṇayacandātapamaṇoharo.  
"jinānaṇḍu-r-indaṇḍu ca kassa nānaṇḍako bhavaṃ."
234. "hotāvippaṭṭisārāya sīla pāmojjahetu so  
"taṃ pītihetu sādāyaṃ passaddhyādi pasiddhiyā."
235. icc ādīdīpakatte pi pubbaṃ pubbaṃ apekkinī  
vākyamālā pavattā' ti taṃ mālādīpakaṃ mataṃ.
236. anen' eva ppakārena sesānaṃ api dīpake  
vikappānaṃ vidhātābbānugati' suddhabuddhihi.
237. visesavacanīcchāyaṃ nisedhavacanaṃ : tu yaṃ  
akkhepo nāma so yaṇṇaṃ ca tidhā kālappabhedato :
238. "ekāki nekaseṇaṇṇaṃ taṃ mārāṇaṃ sa vijayī jīno  
"kathaṃ taṃ athavā tassa pāramī balaṃ idisaṃ."  
atītakkepo.
239. "kiṇṇaṃ cittaṃ ejaṣamugdhyātaṃ appatto 'smīti khijjase  
"paṇāmo nanaṃ so yeva sakimpī sugate kato?"  
vattamānakkepo.
240. "saccaṃ na te' gamissanti sivaṃ sujanagocaraṃ  
"micchādīṭṭhiparikkantaṃ nāsaṃ yesu dujjaṇā."

anāgatakkhepo.

241. ñeyyo satthantaranyāso yo 'ññavākyatthasādhano.  
sabbavyāpi visesaṭho, hi-visiṭṭhāssa bhedato.
242. "tepi lokahitāsattā sūriyo candimā api  
"atthaṃ passa gamissanti niyamo kena laṅghate?"
243. "satthā devamanussānaṃ vasi sopi munissaro  
"gato 'va nibbuti, sabbe saṅkhārā na hi sassatā."
244. "jino saṃsāra kantārā janāṃ pāpeti nibbuti.  
"nanu yuttā gati sāyaṃ vesārajjasamaṅginaṃ?"
245. "surattan te 'dharapuṭaṃ jina rañjeti mānaṣaṃ  
"sayāṃ rāgaparittā hi pare rañjeti saṅgete."
246. vāce gamme 'tha vatthūnaṃ sadisatthe pabhedanaṃ  
vyatireko 'yaṃ apy ekobhayabhedā catubbidho.
247. "gambhīrattamahattādiguṇā jaladhinā jina  
"tulyo tvam asi, bhedo tu sarīrenedisena te!"
248. "mahāsattātigambhīrā sāgaro sugato pi ca,  
"sāgaro 'ñjanasaṅkāso jino cāmikarajjuti."
249. "na santāpapahan, n' evicchitadāṃ, migalocaṇaṃ ;  
"muninda, nayanadvandaṃ tava tagguṇabhūṣitaṃ."
250. "munindānaṃ ambhojaṃ esaṃ nānattā idisaṃ,  
"suvuttāmatasandāyī vadaṇaṃ, n'edis' ambujaṃ.
251. pasiddhaṃ kāraṇaṃ yattha nivattetvāñña kāraṇaṃ  
sābhāvikattāṃ athavā vibhāvyāṃ sā vibhāvanā.
252. "anañcitāsitaṃ nettaṃ adharo 'rañjitāruṇo  
"samānatā bhamu cāyaṃ jinānāvāñcitā tava."
253. "na roti khalu dujjanyaṃ api dujjanasaṅgame.  
"sabhāvanimmalatare sādhujaṇṭuna' cetasi."
254. janako ñāpako ceti duvidhā hetavo siyūṃ  
paṭisaṅkhāraṇaṃ tesāṃ alaṅkāratayoditaṃ.
255. bhāvābhāvakiccavasā, citta hetuvasā pi ca  
bhedaṇantā idāṃ tesāṃ mukhamattanidassanaṃ.
256. "paramatthappakāsekarasā sabbamaṇoharā  
"munino desanāyaṃ me kāmāṃ toseti mānaṣaṃ."  
bhāvakiccokāra kahaṇetu.
257. "dhīrehi sahasamvāsa, saddhammassābhīyogato,  
"nīggahen 'indriyānañ ca, dukkhass' upasamo siyā."  
abhāvakicco kāra kapetu.
258. "muninda, candaṣaṃvādikantabhāvopasobhinā  
"mukhen' eva subodhan te maṇaṃ pāpābhiniṣṣaṭaṃ."  
bhāvakicco ñāpakahaṇetu.
259. "sādhuhatthāravindāni saṅkocayati te kathaṃ  
"muninda, caraṇadvandaraḡabālātāpo phusaṃ."



ayuttakāri cittaheṭṭu.

260. "saṅkocayanti jantunaṃ paṇipañkeruhāṇ' iha,  
"munindassa pādadvandanaṃ nakhacandānaṃ aṃsavo."  
yuttakāri cittaheṭṭu.
261. uddiṭṭhānaṃ padatthānaṃ anuddeso yathākkamaṃ  
saṅkhyānaṃ iti niddiṭṭhaṃ yathasaṅkhyakamo pi ca.
262. "ālāpabhāsalīlāhi, muninda, vijayā tava,  
"kokilā, kumudāni, copasevante vanaṃ, jalaṃ."
263. siyā piyataṃ nāma attharūpassa kassaci  
piyassātissayen' etaṃ yaṃ hoti paṭipādanaṃ.
264. "pīti yā me samuppannā santa sandassanā tava,  
"kālenāyaṃ bhava pīti tad eva puna dassanā."
265. vaṇṇitenopamānena vutiyā 'dhippetavatthuno  
samāsavutti nāmāyaṃ atthasaṅkheparūpato.
266. sāyaṃ viśesyaṃmattena bhinnābhinnavisesanā  
atth' evaṃ aparā pyatthi bhinnābhinnavisesanā.
267. "visuddhāmatasandāyī passattharatanālayo  
"gambhīro cāyaṃ ambodhi puññenāpādito mayā."
268. "icchatatthappado, sāro, phalapupphopasobhito,  
"sacchāyo, 'yaṃ apubbo 'va kapparukkho samuṭṭhito."
269. sāgaratthena saddhammo : rukkhatenodito jino :  
sabbe sādāraṇā dhammā pubbatr', aññatra tu ttaṃ.
270. vatthuno' ñāppakārena ṭhitā vutti tad aññatā  
parikkappiyate yattha sā hoti parikkappanā.
271. upamābbhantaratthena, kiriyādivasena ca,  
kamenodāharissāmi vividhā parikkappanā.
272. "icchābhaṅgātur' āsīnā tā 'tiniccalam accharā,  
"vasaṃ nent' iva dhīraṃ taṃ tadā yogābbhiyogato."
273. "gajāma māro samāruḥho yuddhāy' accantaṃ unnaṃ  
"maggam anvesati nana jinabhīto palāyitaṃ."
274. "muninda, pādadvande te cārurājīvasundare  
"maññe, pāpābhisammaddajātasaṃpāna soṇimā."
275. maññe, saṅke, dhuraṃ, nūna-m, iva, icc evaṃ ādihi  
sāyaṃ vyaññiyate kvāpi kvāpi vākyena gāmyate.
276. "dayāsaṃcārasarasā dehā nikkhantakantiyo  
"piṇṇatā jina te sādhujaṇaṃ sarasataṃ nayuṃ."
277. ārambhantaṃ yaṃ kiñci kattupunñavāsā puna  
sādhanaṃ antavālaṃ yo taṃ vadanti samāhitā.
278. "mārāribhangabhīmukhamānaso tassa satthuno  
"mahāmahi mahāravaṃ ravi 'yaṃ upakārikā."
279. avatvābhimaṃ tassa siddhiya dassināññatā  
vadanti taṃ 'pariyāyavutti' ti sucibuddhiyo.

280. "vivatāṅgaṇanikkhittam, dhanam ārakkhavajjitam,  
"dhanakāmayathākāmaṃ tuvaṃ gaccha yad' icchasi."
281. thuti karoti nindanto viya taṃ vyājavaṇṇaṇaṃ  
dosābhāsā gupā eva yanti sannidhim atra hi.
282. "sañcāletum alaṃ tvasi bhusam kuvalayākhilam  
"visesan tāvatā nātha guṇānam te vadāma kiṃ."
283. visesicchāya dabbassa kriyājātiguṇassa ca  
vekalladassanaṃ yatra viseso nāmāyaṃ bhava.
284. "na rathā, na ca mātāṅgā, na hayā, na padātayo,  
"jito mārāri muninā sambharāvajjanena hi."  
dabbavisesavutti.
285. "na baddhākuṭi, neva puriso dassanacchado  
"mārāribhangaṇī cākasi munidhīro varo sayam."  
kriyāvisesavutti.
286. "na disāsu vyātaraṃsi, nāloko lokapatthato  
"tathāpandhatamaharaṃ paraṃ sādhusubhāsitaṃ."  
jātivisesavutti.
287. "kharam na hi vātaddham munindavacanaṃ tava  
"tathāpi gālham khaṇati nimulam janatāpadaṃ."  
guṇavisesavutti.
288. dassiyate 'tirittantu sūravīratthanaṃ yati.  
vadanti viññu vacanaṃ rūlāhaṅkāram īdisaṃ.
289. "dame nandopanandassa kiṃ me vyāpāradassanā  
"puttā me pādasambhattā sajjā sant' eva tādise."
290. silesa vacanānekābhidheyyekapadāyutaṃ  
abhinnapadavākyaḍivasā tedhāyaṃ īrito.
291. "andhantamaharo hāri samārūlo mahodayaṃ  
"rājate raṃsimālī 'yaṃ bhagavā bodhayaṃ jane."  
abhinnapadavākyaḍilesa.
292. "sāradāmalakābhāso samānitaparikkhaya  
"kumudākaraṣambodho piṇeti janatāṃ sudhi."  
bhinnapadavākyaḍilesa.
293. "samāhitattavinayo ahinamadamaddano  
"sugato visadaṃ pātu paṇiṇaṃ so vināyako."  
bhinnābhinnapadavākyaḍilesa.
294. 'viruddhāviruddhābhinnakammā, niyamavā, paro  
'niyamakkhepavacano, 'virodhivirodhy, api
295. 'ocityasamposakādi, silesa padajātī 'ti :  
esaṃ nidassanesv eva rupam āvībhavissati.
296. "savase vattayaṃ lokam akhilaṃ kalaviggaho  
"parābhavati mārāri ; dhammarājā vijumbhate."
297. "sabhāvamadhuraṃ puñṇavisesodayasambhavaṃ

- “*supanti vācam munino janā passanti cāmatam.*”
298. “*andhakārappahārāya, sabhāvamadhurāya ca,  
‘mano pineti jantunam, jino vācāya bhāya ca.’*”
299. “*kesakkhīnam ’va kaṇhattham, bhamunam yeva vaṅgatā,  
‘paṇipādādharānam ’va munindassa ’bhirattatā.’*”
300. “*paṇipādādharesv eva sārāgo tava dissati  
dissati so ’yam athavā nātha sādhuṇesv api !’*”
301. “*salakkhaṇo ’tisubhago tejasi niyatodayo  
‘lokeso jītasamkleso vibhāti samañissaro.*”
302. “*asamopi samo loke, lokesopi naruttamo,  
‘sadayopyadayo pāpe, cittāyam munino gati.’*”
303. “*saṃsāradukkhopahatāvanatā janatā tvayi  
‘sukham icchitam accantam amatan dada vindati.’*”
304. *guṇayuttehi vatthuhi samam katvāna kassaci  
saṃkittanam bhavati yam sā matā tulyayogitā.*
305. “*sampattasampado loko sampattālokasampado  
‘ubhoḥi raṃsimāli ca, bhagavā ca, tamonudo.*”
306. *atthantaram sādhayatā kiñci tam sadisam phalam  
dassiyate asantam vā santam vā tam nidassanam*
307. “*udayā samañindassa yanti pāpā parābhavam  
‘dhammarājaviruddhānam sucaranatā durantatam*”
308. “*‘sironikkhittacaraṇo ’cehariyān’ ambujān’ ayaṃ  
‘paramabbhutataṃ loke viññāpet’ attano jino.’*”
309. *vibhutiya mahantattham adhippāyassa vā siyā  
paramukkam satam yātam tam mahantattham īritam.*
310. “*‘kiriṭaratanacchāyānuviddhātapavāraṇo  
‘purā param siri vandi bodhisatto ’bhinikkhama.’*”
311. “*satto sambodhiyam bodhisatto sattahitāya so  
‘hitvā senaharabandham api rāhulamātaram.’*”
312. *gopetvā vaṇṇaniyam yam kiñci dassiyate param  
asamam vā samam tassa yadi sā vañcanā matā.*
313. “*‘purato na saḥassesu na pañcesu ca tādino  
‘māro paresu tass’ esam saḥassam dasavaḍḍhitam.*”
314. “*‘vivādam anuyūñjanto munindavadanindunā  
‘sampuṇṇo candimā nāyam chattam etaṃ manobhuno.’*”
315. *parānuvattanādihi nibbiṇṇemā yā thuti  
thuti appakate sāyam siyā appakatatthuti*
316. “*sukham jivanti hariṇo vanesv aparasevino  
‘anāyāsopalābhehi jaladappaṅkurādihi.’*”
317. *uttaram uttaram yattha pubbapubbavisesanam  
siyā ekāvali sāyam dvidhā vidhi nisedhato.*
318. “*‘pādā nakkhalirucirā, nakkhāli raṃsibhāsura,*

- “raṃsi tamopahānekarasā, sobhanti satthuno.”
319. “asantuttṭho yati n’ eva santoso nālayāhato,  
“nālayo yo sa jantunaṃ anantavyasanāvaho.”
320. yahi bhūsiya bhusattaṃ aññamaññaṃ tu vatthunaṃ  
vināva sadisattan taṃ aññamaññavibhūsaṃ
321. “vyāṃsumandalaṃ tena munina lokabandhuna  
“mahanti vindate kantiṃ so pi ten’ eva tadisi.”
322. kathanāṃ sahabhavassa kriyāya ca guṇassa ca  
sahavuttitī viññeyyaṃ taḍ udāharaṇaṃ yathā :
323. “jalanti candarasīhi samaṃ satthu nakhamsavo  
“vijumbhati ca candena samaṃ taṃ mukhacandimā”
324. “jinodayena malinaṃ saha dujjanacetasā  
“pāpaṃ disā suvimalā saha sujjanacetasā”
325. virodhinaṃ padatthānaṃ yattha saṃsaggadassanaṃ  
samukkamsābhidhānatthaṃ mata sāyaṃ virodhitā
326. “guṇā sabhāvamadhurā api lokekabandhuno  
“sevitā pāpasevinaṃ sammadūsemi mānasam”
327. yassakassaci dānena yassakassaci vatthuno,  
visiṭṭhassa yaṃ ādānaṃ, parivuttitī sā matā.
328. “purā paresaṃ datvāna manūññaṃ nayanādikaṃ,  
“muninda, samanupatto dāni sabbaññūtāsiri,”
329. kiñci disvā na viññatā paṭipajjati taṃ samaṃ  
saṃsayāpagataṃ vatthun yathā soyaṃ bhama maṭo.
330. “samaṃ disāsujjalāsu jinapādanakhamsumā  
“passantā abhinandanti candātapamaṇā janā.”
331. pavuccate yaṃnāmādi, kavinaṃ bhāvabodhanaṃ  
yenakenacivaṇṇena, bhāvo-nāmāyaṃ iritaṃ
332. “nanu te yevasantā no sāgarā, na kulācalā,  
“manam pi mariyādaṃ ye saṃvaṭṭe pi jahanti no?”
333. aṅgaṅgibhāva sadisaphalabhāva ca bandhane  
saṃsaggo ‘laṅkatitaṃ yo taṃ ‘missan’ ti pavuccati
334. “passathā munino pādanakharaṃsīmahanādi  
“aho gaḷhaṃ nimuggepi sukhayaty eva te jane!”
335. “veso sabhāvamadhuro, rūpaṃ nettarasāyaṇaṃ,  
“madhu ‘va munino vācā, na sampiṇeti kaṃ janam.”
336. “āsīnāma siy’ atthassa itthassasinaṃ yathā :—  
“tilokekagati nātho pātu lokam apāyate!”
337. rasappatītijanakaṃ jāyate yaṃ vibhūsaṃ  
rasavantanti tañ ñeyyo rasavantavidhānato.
338. “rāgānatāmbhutasarojamukhaṃ dharāya  
“pādā tilokagaruno ‘dhikabandharāgā  
“ādāya nīccasarasena kareṇa gāḷhaṃ



“sañcuppayanti satathāhita sambhamena”

339. ice ānugamma purimācariyānubhāvaṃ  
sañhhepato nigatito yam alaṅkatīnaṃ  
bhedo 'parupari kavihi vikappiyānaṃ  
ko nāma passitum alaṃ khalu tāsam antaṃ.

*Iti Saṅgharakkhita mahāsāmi vicarite Subodhālaṅkāre atthilaṇ kārā-  
vabodho nāma catuttho paricchedo.*

340. paṭibhānavatā lokavohāramanusārinā  
tatocityasamullāsavedinā kavinā paraṃ.
341. ṭhāyisambandhino bhāvavibhāvā sānubhāvakā  
samajjanti nibandhā te rasassādāya sādhunāṃ.
342. cittavuttivisesā tu bhāvayanti rase yato  
ratyādayo tato bhāvasaddena parikattitā.
343. virodhināññabhāvena yo bhavo na tirohito  
sīlena tiṭṭhati 'ce eso 'ṭhāyibhāvo' 'ti saddito
344. rati, hāso ca, soko ca, kodh' ussāha, bhayaṃ pi ca  
jigūcchā, vimhayā, c', eva samo ca, navatṭhāyino.
345. tiro bhāvā vibhāvādi visesenābhimukhato  
yete caranti sīlena te honti vyabhicāriṇo
346. nibbedo, takka, saṅkā, sama, dhiti, jalatā, dīnat' uggālasattaṃ,  
suttaṃ, hāso, galān', ussuka, tarasa, sat' assā, visadāvahiddhā,  
cintā, gabbāpamāramarisa, mada, mat', ummāda, mohā, vibodho,  
niddāvegā, savilaṃ, maraṇa, sacapalā, vyādhi tettiṃsam ete.
347. samāhitattappabhavaṃ satta' tenopapāditā  
sattikā, py anubhāvatte viṣuṃ bhāvā bhavanti te.
348. thambha, paḷaya, romaṇca, tathā sed', assu, vepathu,  
vevaṇṇiyaṃ, visaratā, bhāvātṭh' ete 'hu sattikā.
349. yadā ratyādayo bhāvā, dhitisīlā na honti ce  
tadā sabbe pi te bhāvā bhavanti vyabhicāriṇo.
350. vibhāvo kāraṇaṃ tes' uppattiy' uddīpane tathā  
yo siyā bodhako tesam anubhāvo 'yam īrito.
351. nekaheṭṭu manovuttivisesaṇ ca vibhāvitaṃ  
bhāvaṃ vibhāvānubhāvā vaṇṇiyā bandhena puṭaṃ.
352. savibhāvānubhāvehi bhāvā tete yathārahaṃ  
vaṇṇiyā yatocityaṃ loṇkarūpānugāminā.
353. cittavuttivisesattā mānasā sattikāṅgato  
bahinissatasedādi anubhāvehi vaṇṇiyā.
354. sāmājikānaṃ ānando yo bandhatthānusaṛiṇaṃ  
'rasiyatī' ti taññuhi raso nāmāyaṃ īrito.
355. savibhāvānubhāvehi sattikāvyaabhicārihi

assādiyattam ānīyamano thāyeva so raso.

356. siṅgāra, hassa, karuṇā, ruddha, vīra, bhayānakā,  
bībhacchābhūta, santā ca, rasā thāyin' anukkamā.
357. dukkharūpe 'yam ānando kathan na karuṇādike  
siyā sotunam ānando soko Vessantarassa hi.
358. rammadesakalākālavesādiṭṭisevino,  
yuvānaññoññarattāna pamādo rati-r-uccate.
359. yutyābhāvānubhāvā te nibandhā posayanti naṃ  
sopyāyogavippayogasambhogānaṃ vasī tidhā.
360. vikārāgati ādihi attano 'tha parassa vā  
hāso niddāsamālassamuechādi vyabhićāribhi.  
paripose siyā hāso bhiyyo 'tthippabbutināṃ so.
361. sitam iha vikāsinayanaṃ, kiñćālakkhiya dvigantu hasitaṃ,  
madhurassaraṃ vihasitaṃ, aṃsasirokammam upahasitaṃ,
362. apahasitaṃ sajalakkhi, vikkhittaṅgaṃ bhavaty atihāsitaṃ,  
dve dve hāsā kathitā c' esaṃ jetthe majjhe jamme pi ca kamato
363. sokarūpo tu karuṇo 'niṭṭhappattitṭhanāsato,  
tatthānubhāvā ruditapaḷayatthambhakādayo.  
visādālasayamarapacintādi vyabhićārino.
364. kodho macchariyādihi pose tāsamađādihi  
nayanāruṇakādihi ruddho nāma raso bhave.
365. patāpavikkamādihi' ussaho vīro ti saññiho,  
raṇadānadayāyogā vīro 'yaṃ tividho bhave.
366. tevānubhāva, dhīmatyādayo vyabhićārino.
367. vikārāsanaśattādiḥayukkāṃso bhayānako  
sedādayo 'nubhāv' ettha tāsādi vyabhićārino.
368. jigūćchā rudhirādihi putyādihi virāgato  
bibhaccho khobanubbegī kameṇa karuṇāyuto  
nāsāvīkūṇanādihi saṅkādihi.'ssa posanaṃ.
369. atilokapadattthehi vimhāyo 'yaṃ raso 'mbhuto  
tassānubhāvā sedassusādhuvādādayo siyup  
tāsāvegadhītippañña hont' ettha vyabhićārino.
370. thāyibhāvo samo mettadayāmodādisambhavo  
bhāvādihi tad ukkaṃso santo santanisevito.

*Iti Saṅgharakkhita mahāsāmi vicarite Subodhālaṅkāre rasabhāvāvabodho nāma pañcama paricchedo.*

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SUBODHA'LANKA'RA NIṬṬHITAM.

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*Lists of Rare Muhammadan Coins.—No. I.—Coins of the Kings of Dihli and Jaunpúr.—By J. G. DELMERICK, Dihli.*

(With a plate.)

**Ghiya's-uddi'n Balban.**

Pl. IX, 1. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. A. H. 670.

السلطان الاعظم	الامام
غيث الدين والدين	المستعصم امير
ابو المظفر بلدين	المومنين
السلطان	

*Margin* — ضرب هذه السكة بحضرت دهلي في سنة سبعين وسبعمائة

The Balban inscription discovered by me at Sonípaṭ and published in the Society's Proceedings for May 1873, bears the same date as this coin.

**Kutb-uddi'n Mubarak Sha'h.**

Pl. IX, 2. New Variety. Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Circular piece.  
Dár-ul Mulk, A. H. 717.

الامام الاعظم	مبارك شاه السلطان
قطب الدنيا والدين	ابن السلطان الواثق
ابو المظفر خليفة الله	بالله امير المومنين

*Margin* — ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دار الملك في سنة سبع عشر وسبعمائة

This coin shews either a new place of mintage, or *Dár-ul Mulk* is only another designation for *Dihli*, *Dár-ul-khiláfat*, or *Kuṭbábád*, which are observable on other published coins of this king.

Pl. IX, 3. New Variety. Silver. Weight, 83 grs. A. H. 720.

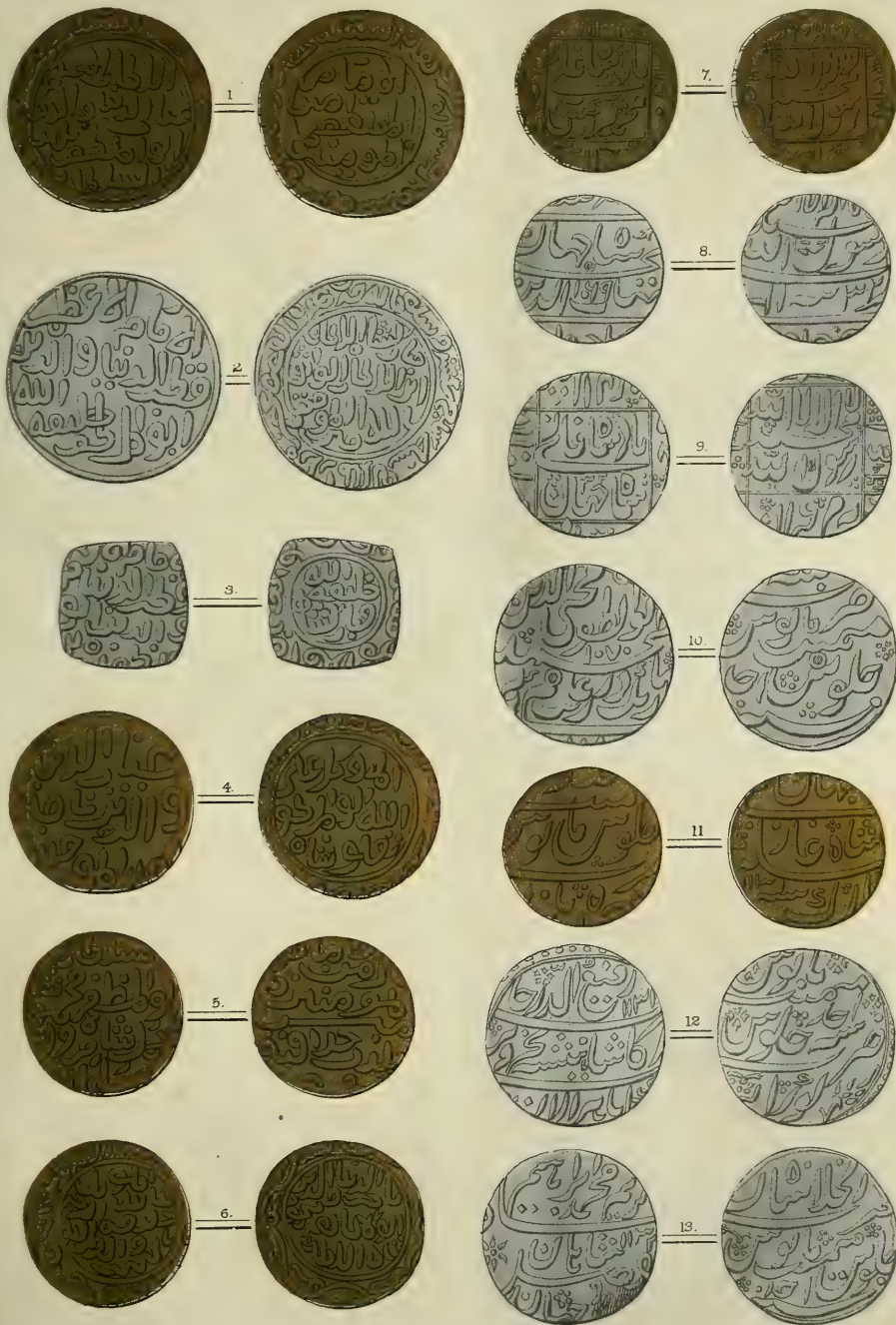
الامام الاعظم	خليفة الله مبارك شاه
قطب الدنيا	السلطان الواثق بالله امير المومنين
والدين	
ابو المظفر ٧٢٠	

**Ghiya's-uddi'n Tughluq Sha'h.**

Pl. IX, 4. New variety. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. A. H. 725.

المتوكل علي	غيث الدين
الله ابو المظفر	والدين ناصر
تغلق شاه	امير المومنين

*Margin* — ضرب هذه السكة \*\*\*\*\* خمس وعشرين وسبعمائة







Mahmu'd Sha'h, bin Muhammad Sháh, bin Fírúz Sháh.

Pl. IX, 5. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. A. H. 802.

السلطان الاعظم  
ابو المظفر محمود شاه  
محمد شاه فيروز شاه  
سلطان

في زمن الاعمام  
امير المومنين  
خلدت خلافته ٨٠٢

Mahmu'd Sha'h, bin Ibráhím Sháh, of Jaunpúr.

Pl. IX, 6. Gold. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 847.

المؤيد  
بقايد الرحمن  
خليفه الله  
بالحج و البرهان

ناصر الدين و الدين  
ابو المصطفى محمود  
شاه السلطان

Margin— \*\*\*\*\* ٨٤٧ \*\*\*\*\*

Mura'd Bakhsh.

Pl. IX, 7. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. A. H. 1068. Ahmadábád.

محمد مراد بخش  
بادشاه غازي  
Margin— \*\*\*\* تاج الدين  
ابو المظفر ضرب احمد اباد

The Kalimah.  
Margin—The names and titles of  
the companions of the Prophet.

١٠٦٨

Sha'h Jaha'n.

Pl. IX, 8. Silver. Weight, 176 grs. A. H. 1069.

شهاب الدين  
محمد شاه جهان  
بادشاه غازي ١٠٦٩

The Kalimah.  
ضرب سنة ٣٢ الهـي \*\*\*\*\*

Pl. IX, 9. Silver. Weight, 176 grs. A. H. 1069.

شاه جهان بادشاه غازي ٣٢  
Margin— محمد شهاب الدين صاحب  
قران ثاني ضرب احمد اباد

The Kalimah.  
Margin—The names and titles  
of the four companions of the  
Prophet. ١٠٦٩

**Aurangzib.**

Pl. IX, 10. Silver. Weight, 175 grs. A. H. 1070. Patna.

مسكه مبارك ابو المظفر	ضرب
محيى الدين محمد	سنه احدى جلوس
اورنگ زيپ. عالم گير بهادر	ميمنت مانوس
۱۰۷۰	پتنه

I possess a good many coins of Aurangzib. They show that after the deposition of Sháh Jahán in A. H. 1068, some confusion prevailed in the mints of the Empire. For instance at Multán, Ilahábád, Itáwah, and Dihlí, the coins were after his victory at Samogar at once issued in the name of Aurangzib. At Ahmadábád they were struck indiscriminately in the names of Sháh Jahán and Murád Baksh during A. H. 1068, and in the name of Sháh Jahán only during A. H. 1069. While, as will be seen from the coin now published, at Patna, owing no doubt to the influence and presence of Shujá' in the vicinity, no coins were struck in the name of Aurangzib until A. H. 1070.

The statement of Bernier that Aurangzib refrained from any overt assumption of sovereign rights for a year, or until his return from Láhor, is not borne out by his coins. He seems to have immediately assumed those rights, which were certainly recognized as far as his authority extended.

I may also add here that a silver coin of Aurangzib in my possession, struck at Multán, presents the novel fact that the exclusive use of the word *مهر* on the gold, and of the word *بدر* on the silver coins of the earlier period of his reign, was not so strictly observed as on the later coins. The word *مهر* appears to have been used at the commencement on his gold and silver coins alike. Afterwards this word was used on his gold coins, and *بدر* on his silver coins only.

**Rafi'-uddaraja't.**

Pl. IX, 12. Silver. Weight, 174 grs. A. H. 1131.

زد مسكه بهند با هزاران	ضرب سنه احدى
بركات شاهنشاه نكروبر	جلوس ميمنت مانوس
رفيع الدرجات ۱۱۳۱	كوزا

**Rafi'-uddaulah.**

Pl. IX, 11. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. A. H. 1131.

مسكه مبارك	ضرب فرخنده بنيان حيدرآباد
شاه جهان	جلوس ميمنت مانوس
بادشاه غازي	
۱۱۳۱	

## Muhammad Ibra'hî'm.

Pl. IX, 13. Silver. Weight, 174 grs. A. H. 1132.

سکه زد در جهان بفضل کریم  
شاه شاهان محمد ابوالهدیم

۱۱۳۲

ضرب سنه احد  
جلوس میمنت مانوس  
دارالخلافت شاه جهان آباد

Sayyid Husain 'Alî Khân Bárha, according to the *Táríkh-i-Muzaffarî*, was assassinated on the 6th of Zil Hajjah, A. H. 1131. Sayyid 'Abdullah, his brother, got intelligence of the event on his way from Ágrah to Dihlí on the 8th of the same month. He at once made up his mind to supplant Muhammad Sháh by placing a pliant puppet upon the throne. With this view he sent his agent into Salímgárh for a candidate. The crown was first offered to the sons, successively, of Mu'izz-uddín Jahándár Sháh, but they all refused it, and shut their doors against the faces of the Sayyid's agents, who then went to Nekúsiyar, the son of Prince Akbar; but this young man stole away and hid himself. At last they went to the apartments of Sultán Ibráhím, the son of Rafi'-ulqadr (Rafi'-ushshán) and the brother of Rafi'-uddaraját and Rafi'-uddaulah, and prevailed on him to accept the throne.

The coronation took place at Dihlí on the 11th Zil Hajjah; and on the 17th, Sayyid 'Abdullah marched with this new pageant of royalty and a large army against the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, who was then in the neighbourhood of Palwal. They met the Emperor near Hasanpúr. The battle of Sháhpúr was fought immediately after, which ended in the defeat and capture of Sayyid 'Abdullah. Ibráhím fled, but was seized and brought back. The Emperor pardoned him.

Thus it will be observed that Ibráhím occupied the throne nominally for one month only, and my coin, which is dated A. H. 1132, must have been struck during the first eighteen days of his very brief reign.



*Translation of the Ayodhyá Māhātmya, or 'Pilgrimage to Ayodhyá'.—By*  
 RĀ'M NA'RA'YAN, *Barelí College.*

The Ayodhyá Māhātmya, according to Mahārāja Mán Siūh, professes to be the work of Iksvāku, of the solar race. Ayodhyá and Sarayú are said to own their existence to Vas'ishṭha Muni, their spiritual guide, from whom are descended the Vas'ishṭha Brāhmans of Ayodhyá. It is said to have been created in the Tretá Yuga, and stands on the Sudarsana Chakra, or war-wheel of Rámachandra. But according to Umádat Paṇḍit, the Ayodhyá Māhātmya is a mere transcript from the Skanda and Padma Purānas, and is not the composition of a Rājā of Audh.

Ayodhyá, the most ancient sacred city of the Hindus, and for many centuries the seat of the kings of the solar race, is situated upon the river Sarjayú, which unites with the Ghághrá at Sehorghát, 30 miles west of Faizábád, where a fair is held at the full moon of Paus.

The word 'Ayodhyá' is derived from the Sanskrit prefix *a*, not, and *yodh*, battle. It means 'not to be fought against'.

The origin of the city, according to the Hindus, was this. The eldest son of Brahmá, the Deity's creative energy, named Sáyambhuva Manu, once went to his father's dwelling and said to him, "Please give me a fine place to live in." Brahmá took him to Vishṇu, who bestowed on him the wonderful and splendid Ayodhyá. The site was selected and the city was built upon it.

#### TRANSLATION.

#### Chapter I.

Once Párvatí said to Mahádeva—"You are omniscient and have related several religious stories; I now wish to hear some account of Ayodhyá, and especially its Māhātmya. It is an ancient city and dear to Rámachandra. They say that it stands first among all other holy places, and is the bestower of *mukti* (salvation); describe therefore its extent; the great kings that have ruled in it; the number of sacred spots; their advantages; the good attending residence in it; the river that flows there; and the benefits arising from bathing in it at the different gháts on peculiar days; with the things that should be given on those occasions." Mahádeva, having saluted Ayodhyá and Rámachandra, answered,—“It has the great river Ghághrá on the west and the old Sarayú flowing near; it is the goddess of learning; and the abode of Vishṇu and Hari is here. Hear the Māhātmya of Ayodhyá, which is the source of great happiness, and gives absolution of sins. This city was built by God in the beginning of the creation, and is well-known in all the three parts of the world. Its origin was this. The

eldest son of Brahmá, named Sáyambhuva Manu, the protector of his subjects, once went to his father's dwelling, and stepped up to him with joined hands. Brahmá, being pleased, benignly asked him :—"O son, tell me quickly why you have come here." Manu replied, "You have ordered me to create the world, please give me an agreeable place to live in."

Brahmá took his son with him and went to Vaikunṭha, the chief mansion of Vishṇu's paradise, which is a square, having four gates, one on each side, and beautiful fortifications, and all the gods bow to it. Here fairies sing harmoniously ; the Sáma Veda, the best of the Vedas, is sung by the Gandharvas ; and all the inhabitants are four-armed, wearing the finest and most valuable ornaments. The door-keeper of the eastern gate is Chaṇḍa-Para-chaṇḍa ; of the western, Jayá-Bijayá : of the southern, Bhadra-Subhadra ; and of the northern, Dhátá-Vidhátá. In the middle of this place was a temple of jewels, having a throne of the same material, on which was seated Bhagaván Vāsudeva Vishṇu.

Brahmá, having joined his hands, said with a sweet voice, "O god of gods, thou hast mercy upon thy devotees, and Manu is one of them ; give him, therefore, some land to live on." Vishṇu, with much pleasure, bestowed on him, in the centre of the earth, this wonderful and splendid Ayodhyá. Brahmá then came to our mortal world with Manu, and Vishṇu sent Vasiṣṭha and Viśvakarma with an order that the latter was to build a city as the former might desire. The site was accordingly selected, but the ground being found unfit for such a purpose, the Sudarsanachakra was formed, and upon it the foundation was laid. Various kinds of shrines, palaces, roads, markets, gardens decorated with jewels, trees bearing beautiful fruits and flowers, birds of melodious voices, innumerable elephants, horses, chariots, bullocks, cows, all sorts of virtuous men and women provided with every thing, were created. The Sarayú flows near it, and the gháts are made of precious stones. Here the lotus and fragrant flowers are blossoming ; different kinds of birds are singing in harmony ; gods, goddesses, and celestial beings, are bathing ; and the most powerful, good, handsome, and well-versed-in-knowledge, Súra-baṁsí rájás were born. To the west is the confluence of the sacred Gharghará and Sarayú, the latter flowing from the west northwards and then to the east. The Ganges and the Sarayú are both called 'Brahma-Svarúpa' waters, where devotees and sages live, and all the capital sins are washed away by bathing. Ayodhyá is, therefore, suited to the meditation of Vishṇu, S'iva, and Brahmá ; they all three keep it in their minds. It is the first abode of Vishṇu : whoever remains there finds felicity. No one can fully describe its greatness. From the Lakshmaṇa-kunḍa, which has a thousand streams, one yoyana (four miles) to the east and as far to the west,

and from the Sarayú to the Tons, it is called Antarágára [middle house]. Commencing from the Guptar, it extends towards the east."

End of Chapter I, the reading or hearing of which causes all sins to disappear, and good actions to make their appearance.

### Chapter II.

Párvatí asked—"What are the benefits of a pilgrimage and visit to Ayodhyá ; how many sacred places and gods are there ; and in what month and on what bathing days should the pilgrimage be performed ?" S'iva answered, "Listen carefully to what I say. I have to mention things which are secret and without a beginning. When a man thinks of going to Ayodhyá, his deceased ancestors are released from hell and sin, and repair to heaven, and for every step on his way, he reaps the reward of an As'vamedha (a horse sacrifice). He who advises another to perform the pilgrimage, or in some way becomes the cause of it, is absolved from all sin, and obtains his wishes. He who pays the pilgrim his travelling expenses, goes to heaven with his sons and grandsons. He who provides a tired pilgrim with a conveyance, goes in the conveyances of the gods to their regions. He who gives food and water to a hungry and thirsty pilgrim, gains the fruit of S'ráddhas performed at Gayá and of bathing in the Makar season [Capricornis] at Ilahábád, and his forefathers are blessed with everlasting happiness. He who supplies a bare-footed pilgrim with shoes, obtains the conveyance of an elephant. But he who in any way stops such a pilgrimage, goes to hell, and suffers innumerable agonies for an unlimited period. He who furnishes a pilgrim with a vessel for water, derives the advantage of keeping a thousand páonsálals. He who anoints a pilgrim's feet with oil, or washes them well, will obtain his desires in both worlds. The pilgrim, who listens to anecdotes of Vishṇu, or sings hymns on his way, is looked upon as virtuous. The pilgrim, who, dismounting from his conveyance, stretches himself on the ground and weeps tears of love, is free from capital crimes, from the guilt attending the use of corn and water not belonging to himself, and from the Panch-súná. At the mere sight of Ayodhyá, the sins committed by treading upon corn, wearing shoes, &c., to which every one is liable, and which are called 'Panch-súná,' and those of seven births, are removed. Do not doubt this. Listening to religious stories on the pilgrimage, reading treatises on the attributes of God and repeating his name, gives access to Him. He who, on seeing Ayodhyá, prostrates himself on the ground, and bows down before it, becomes free from all sins and reaches the Deity. The benefits which a pilgrim becomes entitled to by visiting Ayodhyá and by meditation on Ráma, are indescribable, and on seeing Ráma's image all his sins are destroyed. Hear me, Párvatí, the mere sight of the Sarayú nullifies all sins ; bowing down before it removes all worldly troubles, and bestows upon man every kind of joy. The Sarayú water washes away all crimes,"



On hearing this, Párvati asked what the manner was of performing the pilgrimage, to secure all its advantages, and go to the place of Vishṇu. Mahádeva replied—"He who performs the pilgrimage with all his organs of action and perception restrained, and with the profession of living the life of a Brahma-chári, will reap all its rewards; others will not be deprived of the usual ones. The rich should give charity, and the poor undergo privations, that is, perform the pilgrimage, and fast three nights successively. The wealthy will become poor if they do not give alms in proportion to their riches. Remaining in this holy place and observing all the prescribed ceremonies, entitles a man to the full benefits of performing sacrifices and giving alms. Even sages and gods attained superiority and affluence from remaining, bathing, and worshipping at this sacred city. Such a pilgrimage should therefore be performed. He who, having bathed in the Sarayú, adores the gods, gains the reward of an As'vamedha-Yajña. Feeding a single Bráhmaṇ at the Sarayú, leads to blessings in both worlds. One who eats fruits and the roots of vegetables, and freely gives the same to a Bráhmaṇ, gains the advantage of an As'vamedha-Yajña. Men living here are not transformed into mean creatures, and are freed from transmigration of the soul. He who thinks of Ayodhyá, morning and evening, reaps the fruit of visiting all the holy spots in it. The seven Púris (sacred places) constitute the body of Vishṇu; Avantiká, called Ujjain, the foot; Kánci, the waist; Dvarká, the navel; Haridvár, the heart; Mathurá, the neck; Kás'í, the fore part of the nose; and Ayodhyá, the head, which is the principal member of the body. Visits to this place and bathing at it wash away the sins of men and women. Even as Vishṇu is superior to all the gods, so is Ayodhyá to all the holy places; he who stops here for twelve nights, derives the advantage which he would derive by performing all sorts of sacrifices. Remaining only one night bestows upon him the blessings of a hundred sacrifices on the fire. Residence, devotion, and charity at Ayodhyá, are only obtainable through great virtues. Fasting here twelve nights, a man obtains the benefit of going once round the whole of India, as also whatever he wishes. One night's abode at Ayodhyá with purity, gives freedom from degradation and accomplishment of one's desires. Ayodhyá is the form of Parabrahma; the Sarayú, of Sagúnabrahma; and the inhabitants of Ayodhyá, of Jagannátha. I attest the truth of the above with an oath. O Párvatí, the Vedas, the gods, Brahmá, Vishṇu, and myself, are unable to describe fully the greatness of Ayodhyá."

### Chapter III.

Párvatí now asked Mahádeva regarding the origin of the Sarayú. All the Munis are anxious to hear an account of that river. Mahádeva answered—"The Sarayú has herself described her origin. It is as follows: Once



S'ri Raghunátha amused himself at the door of the heavens with his brothers and companions; they were dressed in their best, and wore beautiful ornaments, so that they were loved by all the people of the three worlds. Each was mounted on the shoulders of a companion and fanned with a fly-flapper. Protected by charms and spells, they caused the residents of the place great delight; men, women, boys, youths and old men, were present: it was the day of the full-moon of Jyaishtá. Maháráj Das'aratha had also come there to bathe. S'ri Raghunátha asked his companions, where his father was, and wished to be carried to him. A chobdár replied, 'The Mahárájá has gone to bathe in the Sarayú', and added, 'You, too, may go there, it is very near.' On hearing this, Raghunandana smiled and said, 'Let us go,' and kicked the companion on whose shoulders he was mounted. The companion, with all the children, proceeded towards the Sarayú, which greatly pleased every passenger. By this time the Mahárájá had bathed, performed the religious ceremonies, and was ready to go away with the sages, when a messenger reported the approach of Raghunátha with his brothers and companions. The Mahárájá waited till they arrived. The brothers, having dismounted from the shoulders, went to the Mahárájá, and paid their respects to him. Raghunandana sat in his lap; the Mahárájá gave the children fine seats and thus addressed them—'Dear boys, salute the Sarayú', and they all did so. Then the Mahárájá, placing the boys in front, and joining his hands, in the presence of the company devoutly prayed, saying—'O goddess Sarayú, I bow down before thee whom all the gods and virtuous persons (Brahmá and Nárada included) worship; who flowest from the lake of Mánasasarovara, and washest away all sins. Those who visit thee or think of thee, are freed from sins. Those who drink thy water, never suck the milk of their mothers. Manu and other Mahárájás worshipped thee. Men who depart from this world on thy banks with thy name on their lips are endowed with blessings; they reap the highest rewards of mundane existence. There is no doubt of this. Thou hast sprung from the eyes of Náráyana, what am I when the gods sing thy praise? The advantages of all the sacred places flow from thy waters; I therefore repeatedly bow down before thee. Thou art the daughter of my spiritual guide, and I prostrate myself before thee; release me from all worldly ties. All these children are thine and have come to thy protection; please guard and nourish them.'

Having thus praised her, the Mahárájá gave a lac of gold-muhurs to the Bráhmans through the hands of the children, to gain her favour. On hearing the prayer of the Mahárájá, the Sarayú assumed a beautiful form, appeared before the children and sat amongst them, dressed in excellent clothes and decorated with precious ornaments. The Mahárájá, placing his head on her feet, saluted her, and so did all the children, and Sarayú bestowing

her blessings on them, took Rámachandra in her lap, conferred on him a necklace of pearls, and addressed the Mahárájá thus—‘This child is dear to the whole world, and always lives in my bosom. The learned know this from their penetrating sight.’ She then added—‘Whoever shall read your prayers or mine at the time of bathing, shall be endowed with the benefits that flow from bathing in all sacred places.’ Having said this, she took all the children, Rámachandra included, to her bosom. Thereupon the Mahárájá was greatly astonished, and making a bow, asked her origin. “Because Vās’ishthá,” said he, “brought thee, thou hast received the name of Vās’ishthí; but how didst thou come to take my children, tell me with thy own lips.” Sarayú said,—“Hear, Mahárájá. In the beginning of the creation, a lotus sprung from the navel of Náráyaṇa, which gave birth to Brahmá, who began to worship Vishṇu by his order. When he had done so for a thousand years, Vishṇu, more handsome than ten millions of cupids and mounted on his vehicle Garuḍá, came, and seeing Brahmá deeply engaged in worship, was pleased with him, and shed tears of joy from his eyes. Brahmá, who was devoted to adoration, opened his eyes, saw Náráyaṇa, made a prostration, gathered in the palm of his hand the tears that flowed from the eyes of Bhagaván, kept them in a wooden vessel, and, knowing the flow to be righteous, deposited them in the reservoir of his heart, by bathing in which Loka Pitámaha was born. After a long time, the first of the Solar race became king of Ayodhyá; his son Ikshaku, thy ancestor, offered up prayers to the great sage Vās’ishthá, who praised Brahmá. On this Brahmá became pleased with him, and told him to ask for a boon. He solicited Brahmá to give him a holy river, and his request was complied with; for he gave him the same water that had flowed from Náráyaṇa’s eyes. Sarayú said, ‘I will flow in the form of a river, and accordingly the sage walked ahead and I followed him. I always keep Rámachandra near my bosom, and those who think of me, with him, obtain salvation and piety. This is undoubtedly true. Rámachandra is all truth and joy, born through your devotion to protect the virtuous and kill the wicked.’

After having related the above story, Sarayú disappeared. The inhabitants of Ayodhyá were greatly surprised, and said—“O Das’aratha and Sarayú, you are both very fortunate.” Then the Mahárájá, having taken leave of his spiritual guide, went home, rejoicing in his luck. Because the great sage Vās’ishthá brought her, she is called Vās’ishthí, and as she came for the sake of Rámachandra, she is styled Rámachandragangá. Whatever good results from remaining at Kás’i for a thousand ages; at Prayág for twelve years in the Makara season; at Mathurá, for a kalpa; at Avantiká for a krora of kalpas, and bathing in the fullmoon night in the month of Kártika at the junction of Kirtiká, and for 60,000 years in the Ganges, is obtained by the mere sight of the Sarayú. Ayodhyá confers more blessings on men than a Sráddha at Gayá and a pilgrimage to Jagan-

nátha. The same salvation which Yogís gain by residing at Kás'í and dying there, is available to all, provided they bathe in the Sarayú. He who prays to God for a moment, and even for half a moment, wherever he may be, but bathes with joy in Ayodhyá, is freed from the transmigration of his soul. The water of the Sarayú, which is the representation of Brahmá, is the bestower of salvation. Here, no one is judged by his actions, they are all counterparts or manifestations of Ráma. Men, animals, birds, insects, and worms, receive salvation at this place."

#### Chapter IV.

Mahádeva continued, "O goddess, I am about to describe the first sacred place (in Ayodhyá). Its name is Svargadvár [gate to heaven], and it is the bestower of both heaven and salvation. After enjoying the fruits of heaven, a man obtains salvation and freedom from transmigration. No one can sufficiently describe its advantages, but I will do so briefly. Its dimension is 318 yards, and it is situated east of the thousand-streamed Lakshmana Kunda. Those who are versed in the Puráṇas say that there has neither been, nor will ever be, so holy a spot as this on earth. I also affirm on oath that there is no such place in the world, because all the heavenly and earthly holy spots unite here in the morning, and consequently people should particularly bathe here at that time. The man who dies here goes to the regions of Vishṇu. Svargadvár, after bestowing heaven, gives salvation, and hence it is called 'Muktidvár'. Whatever a man desires, he obtains here. The benefits of devotion, sacrifices, giving alms, building reservoirs, wells, &c., are here everlasting. The sins of a thousand births are destroyed on entering Svargadvár. All men, Hindús and Musalmáns, animals, birds, and insects, that die here, go to the place of Vishṇu, become four-armed, lotus-eyed, bear the Sankha, Chakra, Gadá, Padma, and ride on Garuḍas. Whoever dies at Svargadvár, whether he had any desire or not, goes to heaven. Gods, angels, and sages, all bathe here publicly or privately at noon. Those who restrain their passions, keep fasts even for a month, give away grain, jewels, lands, cows, clothes, &c., and die here, gain salvation. S'rí Rámachandra, who is the very identity of the godhead, always remains here in the forms of Bharata, Satrugna, Lakshmana, and his own. There is no distinction of north or south at the time of death,\* because salvation is certain in every position. One who gets himself shaved, fasts, and visits Chandra Hari, obtains heaven, and all his great crimes are washed away. The reason is that the Moon considered this place the most excellent one of Vishṇu, and came here, and performed all the pilgrimages and prayers, thus pleasing Hari. He said—'Whoever shall bathe at this spot and look at my image, shall go to heaven.' There are seven Haris here who all encourage good

\* The custom among the Hindus is that when a man is about to die, he is laid down on the ground, with his feet towards the south.



actions—Gupta Hari, Chakra Hari, Vishṇu Hari, Dharma Hari, Bilva Hari, Punya Hari, and Chandra Hari. The mere sight of these increases virtues; the worship of the last is more important. The worshipping of Bráhmans, Chandramá, and Hari, pleases Vāsudeva. This place is sacred, O Párvatí. The pilgrimage of it takes place at the full-moon of Jyaishtṥa, the second lunar month, when the advantages of all the gods are obtained. It is called one of the most sacred spots in the Puráṇas. Giving alms at Svargadvár produces everlasting happiness. This is beyond question.”

### Chapter V.

Párvatí now asked Mahádeva regarding the advantages of visiting Náges'var, and said, “O Mahádeva, how long have you been at Svargadvár, and who has consecrated the monument in which you live?” Mahádeva answered, “Listen to my origin. When Rámachandra, having given his kingdom Kushávatí to his son Kusha, went to enjoy himself in heaven, situated on Sakait, Ayodhyá became sorry and repaired alone to Kusha in Kushávatí at midnight. The Rájá was sleeping. When he awoke, he saw Ayodhyá and asked, ‘Whence have you come? Are you a goddess, or a celestial, or a human being? What has made you come to my house? The descendants of the solar race do not speak with any one's wife when alone.’ Ayodhyá then replied, ‘O Maháráj, your father has taken away all my inhabitants to Sakait, and it is a pity that when you are the ornament of your family, I should be so treated; no Muni nor any other devotee comes to my place; all my beauty is gone, and my buildings are destroyed. As light vanishes when the sun sets, or as clouds disappear when the wind blows strongly, so is my condition. None of your ancestors ever did what your father has done.’ Kusha said, ‘O goddess, you say so, but it is not the fault of my father, it is the result of the residence in your place that all the inhabitants have gone to heaven.’ Then Ayodhyá replied, ‘If this is the benefit of my abode, you should also live there, so as to obtain the company of your father.’ Having said this, she disappeared. When the day broke, Kusha related to his ministers what had transpired the night before. They advised him to comply with Ayodhyá's request. Accordingly, he went to the city with a large army, headed by Bráhmans, and peopled it as it was before.

“Once the Rájá got into a boat with his companions, and went to amuse himself on the river. He was enjoying himself there, when Kamudatí, the sister of Sokun, a serpent who had from a long time lived in the Sarayú, became enamoured of Kusha and carried off his *kangan*. Kusha took no notice of it, because he was engaged in diversion, but when he came out of the water, he missed the ornament. It had been given by Agastya to Raghunátha, from whom Kusha had received it on going to Sakait. This caused Kusha great anxiety. He got enraged, and put an



arrow of fire on his bow, to dry up the waters of the Sarayú. The Sarayú, being terrified, fell to his feet, called out for mercy and said—‘It is not my fault; Kamudatí, the sister of Sokun has carried off the ornament.’ Hearing this, he postponed the use of the arrow, and reading over it the charm called Garuḍa Mantra, flung it against the serpent. When this was done, the serpent came with his sister, who fell to his feet, gave back the ornament, and begged to be pardoned for her fault.” Mahádeva further said, “O goddess, the serpent was my devotee, and seeing his misfortune, I appeared. Kusha touched my feet, and, folding his hands, asked the cause of my appearance. I then replied, ‘The serpent is my devotee, and for the sake of his protection I have come forward; so forgive his fault, marry his sister, let the serpent go, and ask for a boon, O Maháráj.’ Kusha answered, ‘Please remain at Svargadvár, which is known by the name of Náges’var.’ O Párvatí, having said this, the Mahárájá worshipped me, and, taking excellent things, read my six-letter-mantra, and said, ‘Whoever shall bathe at Svargadvár, and visit and worship Náges’var in the prescribed manner, shall be blessed, and his pilgrimage shall be fruitful: otherwise he shall reap only half the benefit of it.’” Mahádeva said, “Having thus declared and worshipped me, Kusha went home, and the serpent also repaired to his abode. O Goddess, since then I have remained at Svargadvár.”

“I am now about to relate the story of Dharma Hari. Its locality is south-east of Chandra Hari, as described above. A visit to it destroys all the sins of the Kaliyuga. Its origin is as follows: Once Dharma came here on a pilgrimage, performed it with great strictness, and, fully knowing the great and incomparable benefits of Ayodhyá, said with much pleasure, ‘Hari resides here, who can sufficiently, praise its advantages? There is no other sacred place equal to Ayodhyá; for it does not touch the earth, but remains separate from it, supported on the Sudarsana Chakra.’ How excellent are the holy spots of this place! All of them bestow the regions of Vishṇu. All things here are worthy of praise.’ Having said this, and being filled with joy, he began to dance. Seeing Dharma dancing in this manner at the wonderful benefits of Ayodhyá, Vishṇu appeared dressed in yellow silk vestment. Dharma, observing Hari, paid his respects, and praised him thus—‘O inhabitant of the ocean of milk, and sleeper on the head of S’eshanága, whose feet Mahádeva touches, and which remove the sorrows of his devotees, who lovest devout austerity, whose body is full of joy, and whose eyes are most beautiful, who art omniscient, and the husband of S’rí Lakshmí, whose feet are like the lotus, who hast the lotus in the navel from which Brahmá sprung, whose feet are touched by the waves of the milky ocean, and whose Sáranga [horny bow] is the destroyer of enemies, whose sleep is replete with devotion, whose vehicle is Garuḍa, on whom Yogis meditate, who art ever happy and invisible, who art the

nourisher of cows, whose hair is beautiful, and charming to all ; whose nose is handsome ; whose forehead is fair and glorious ; who keepst the Chakra for the destruction of the wicked ; whose yellow dress is so auspicious, that the mere sight of it destroys sins and fulfils one's wishes ; who hast Lakshmi, Sarasvatí, and other handsome goddesses by thy side ; whose four arms are beautiful and are the bestowers of the four fruits\* and the upholders of the four yugas (ages) ; whose thighs are fair and charming ; who art all-knowing and everywhere present ; who holdest a club for the punishment of the wicked, and assumest different shapes, such as those of the Lion, the Tortoise, &c., for the preservation of virtue and the protection of the world !”

Mahádeva then told Párvatí that when Dharma thus praised Hari, the husband of Lakshmi was pleased, and said, “ O Dharma, I am satisfied with your praises ; ask for a boon.” Having said this, he granted a boon of his own accord to the effect that whoever should read the above mentioned hymn, would be blessed, and venerable and wealthy in the world. Dharma then said : “ As thou hast been pleased with me, I station you here and give you the name of Hari.” Then Bhagaván said, “ It will be better to call me by the name of Dharma Hari, so that your name may be pronounced first and then mine. All sins are destroyed when a man takes the name of Dharma Hari.” Such a boon was bestowed.

Mahádeva then addressed Párvatí as follows—“ With due ceremonies Dharma Hari was thus stationed. Therefore, he who, after bathing in the Sarayú, will joyfully visit Dharma Hari, shall be freed from all sins. The fruits of giving alms, performing sacrifices and devotion, feeding the poor, &c., at this place, are everlasting, and admittance into heaven is certain. It is wise if a man who commits sins knowingly or unknowingly, performs a little *práyaschitta* [penance] in due form here. No one can fully describe the greatness of this sacred place ; what I have said is but little. When performing the pilgrimage on the 11th of the lunar half of the month of Asárh in the following manner, a man is sure to obtain heaven. He should bathe at Svargadvár, visit Dharma Hari, and worship him, which will destroy all his sins, and he will go to the regions of Vishṇu.

To the north-east of Dharma Hari, there is a ghát of the name of Jánakí-Tírtha ; here the pilgrimage is performed on the 3rd day of S'ravana, especially in the light half of that month. The reward of bathing, giving alms, performing worship and sacrifice, and feeding Bráhmans here, is everlasting.

South of it is the Rámaghát, the advantages of which are indescribable, but I shall relate them briefly.”

### Chapter VI.

Mahádeva said, “ O Párvatí, the space to the south of Rámaghát and Svargadvár, in all directions, is called Ayodhyá Píṭha [sacred spot], in

\* Artha (wealth) ; dharma (religion) ; káma (wish) ; moksha (salvation).

the middle of which is Ráma Sabhá, adorned with all sorts of jewels. Similar places of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and other celestial beings, are nothing compared to this. In fact, Brahmá and others have no such thing. A heap of sins equal to the mountain Merú, is destroyed by its mere sight. One visit to it removes the sins of thousands of former births. All the gods render homage to it, and Rámachandra, together with his brothers, performs the functions of sovereignty in the middle of it. The fruits of the virtuous actions of a man are increased by once going round this place and visiting and worshipping Raghunátha.

South of it lies the Madant Dhavan Kuṇḍ, bathing in which frees from all pride. Raghunátha, with his brothers, uses his tooth-brush here. On one occasion, Konduna Muni, having bathed in this pond, performed the usual ceremonies of prayer, when the wind blew so terribly, that his deer-skin was carried into it, from the effects of which the skin assumed the shape of a glorious deity, who ascended a most brilliant throne, adorning himself with precious necklaces and other ornaments, and fanned by celestial beings, Gandharvas singing and Apsarás dancing about. Seeing this, all were astonished. At this time Rámachandra appeared, and although he knew all, he asked the deity who he was, how he had become a deer, how he had now obtained this fair body, and what he was about to do. He replied, "Rámachandra, you know every one internally and externally, but as you have asked me, I have to say, O Raghunandana, I was a Vyása in my former birth, always acted contrary to the Vedas, and, from pride of riches, never minded what I was told. I never said prayers, did not fast, and gave no alms. I was wholly given to sensual pleasures. But I did one good action, *viz.*, I unintentionally sprinkled water on a Tulsí plant. From that virtue, I became a deer, and my skin was used by a devotee and conveyed to Ayodhyá with godly and religious persons. It touched the water of this place and assumed this beautiful form. I have now seen you, and beg to be admitted to heaven, free from pain, age, and death." This was granted, and getting into a glorious vehicle he ascended to the regions of Rámachandra, whence there is no returning. The pilgrimage of the said pond is performed on the 9th of the dark half of Chait. West of the Sabhá is Rámakoṭ.

Then Párvatí asked, "Where are the places occupied by the monkeys, who came with Rámachandra after the southern conquest?" Mahádeva replied, "At the gate of the Palace lives Hanumána, to the south of him Sugriva, and near him Angada. At the southern gate of the Fort reside Nala and Nila, and near them Sokhain. To the east, there is a place called Navaratna [nine jewels—a temple with nine spires], north of which lives Gaváksha. At the western door of the Fort resides Dudhavakra. Here



(Mahádeva says) I, too, am known by the name of Durgesvara. Near this lives Sut Bul ; a little farther, Gandha-mádana, Kikshuba, Surubha, and Punus. At the northern gate of the Fort lives Bibliishana, and east of him Surma, whose wife is respected by all ; she protects the virtuous and punishes the vicious. To the east of her is the residence of Vighnesvar, whose sight removes all obstacles that are in the ways of men. East of it lives Pindaruk-víra, who defends Ayodhyá and chastises the wicked. East of him is the abode of Víra Matta-gajendra, the bestower of happiness ; and, at a short distance from it, is a pond, bathing in which leads a man to perfection. The protector of Ayodhyá, Víra Sunkay, is the fulfiller of our desires. His pilgrimage is performed on the 5th of the Nine-nights,\* and on every Tuesday. He who worships him with perfumes, flowers, and betel-leaves, and offers him food, obtains his wishes. In the eastern part of it lives Dovid ; in the north-east, the wise and intelligent Mayind ; in the southern portion, Jámbugána ; and in the south, Kesari. These protect the Fort in all directions. At the gate resides Mahávíra [Hanumán], who is the object of worship of the whole world. He is a sage who keeps his passions in subjection, and is adored by all men and women.

East of it lies H a n u m a t - k u ṇ ḍ, the sight and touch of, and bathing in, which confers all sorts of blessings. O Goddess, the pilgrimage to Hanumána, the son of Anjaná [the air] and the bestower of our desires, takes place every Tuesday. All kinds of joys are at the disposal of him who, having bathed in his pond, visits and worships Hanumána in due form. The worshipper should say, ‘O son of Anjaná, destroyer of Jánakí’s† grief, king of the monkeys, murderer of the son of Uehh, I bow to you and offer perfumes and flowers.’” Having done this, he should enter the Fort and pay his respects to the R a t n a - M a ṇ ḍ a p a.”‡

### Chapter VII.

Then Mahádeva said, “In the most beautiful city of Ayodhyá, stands the R a t n a - M a ṇ ḍ a p a, impregnated with camphor, rosewater, and other perfumes. In the middle of it is Kalpa vriksha,§ and in the centre of that is the Ratna Siñhásan, very excellent, adorned, and embroidered with sapphires, the lustre of which removes darkness. In the middle of the above is an eight-leaved lotus of gold, decked with many jewels and shining like the morning sun. In its centre is a heart-ravishing image, having eyes like the leaves of the lotus, wearing clothes, embellished with various gems. It is the image of Raghunátha, whose body is very soft and smooth, glorious like the sun, and of the color of clouds. There is also the daughter of Janaka,

\* These occur in the last halves of Chait and Kúár, and are sacred to Devi.

† Rámchandra’s wife.

‡ A jewelled shed.

§ The tree which gives whatever a man asks.



shining as lightning : Rámachandra is fifteen, and she twelve years old, their ages remaining always the same. Her beautiful eyes are like the lotus, and extend to the ear ; her neck shews a line like the conch ; her cheeks are fair ; her eyes, a little red ; her face is beautiful as the full-moon ; her hair, black ; her forehead, high and long ; her eyebrows like the two sides of a divided mango ; her tílak is of saffron ; her nose, like a piece of diamond ; her teeth, like the seeds of a pomegranate ; her voice is sweet ; her looks, full of pity ; and her arms like the trunk of an elephant. The hands of the husband of the daughter of Janaka are like the flowers of the lotus ; his fingers are fine ; his thigh is as heavy as the stem of a plantain ; his foot like that of the lotus ; the toes like the hollow portions of the leaves of that plant ; his nails as fair as the moon ; his earring shining like the sun ; his face is very handsome ; he wears wreaths of pearls and rings on his hands, feet, and toes, S'rí-vatsa\* and Bhrigu-latát† on the chest, which is adorned with Kaushtubha Mani ;‡ he wears a Baijanti ;§ and the tílak is of musk and saffron. Jánakí is also adorned in the said manner. Both Rámachandra and Jánakí are sitting on the throne, and behind them is Lakshmana, of white color, with an umbrella in his hand. Bharata and Satrugan, the former black and the latter white, and adorned like Rámachandra and Lakshmana, are here with a flapper and a fan. Hanumán stands before them with joined hands. A man should worship Hanumán, Sugríva, Jámuvána, Sokhain, Bibhishan, Nala, Níla, Angada, Rishava, Vasishṭa the spiritual guide, Bámadeva, Javála, Kásshyap, Markundeya, Madgul, Parbat, Narúd, Jeit Bijay, Surashtra, Keshtra Bardhan, Ashoke, Dharmapála, Sumantra, the eight companions, Indra and other rulers of the directions of the world, and last of all, the gods that reside in the heavens. Then he should worship Raghunátha, read the Táraka mantra, which is the best of all mantras, offer perfumes, flowers, betel-leaves, and give alms according to his means. Having done this, he should repeat the following prayer—‘ O Rághavendra Mahárájá, destroyer of Rávana and Achehoit [immortal], I am full of sins ; protect me, I flee to you ; I bow to you ; you are Rámachandra, Vridha Bráhma, Raghunáth, and Jánakí-pati. The origin of the above names is this. When you were young and began to give, you were called Rámabhadrá (prosperous). As you grew older and looked beautiful, the people named you Rámachandra ; when you commenced to speak, they called you Vedha-Brahma ; Raghunáth, on your ascension to the throne ; and Jánakí-pati, when you were married to Jánakí. I bow to you, O king of the gods, Mahátman [great], and life of Jánakí. You protected the refugees Sugríva and

\* A line of hair.

† Bhrigu is the name of a Bráhma who struck Rámachandra on the chest with his feet.

‡ The name of a jewel.

§ The name of a flower-garland.

Bibhishana ; I, too, am a refugee, protect me likewise !' He who performs the above, obtains all his wishes. After the prayer to Rámachandra, he should address one to Jánakí, daughter of Videha, who, on account of his perfect knowledge, is engaged in the meditation of Brahma, and is entirely careless of his body (*videha*). 'I bow before your feet, which have entangled the minds of Yogis, and which those of others do not reach. When the mind once thinks of them, it remains fixed upon them for ever. The Munis meditate on them, to remove their three kinds of táps [passions], bodily, mental, and that which proceeds from organs of action and perception. The last perform their actions by the guidance of their respective deities, and become useless when they withdraw their influence over them ; such as when the sun, the deity of the eye, withdraws his essence from it, the eye does not suffer, it remains just the same, but can no longer see. This is also the case with the nose, the tongue, &c., which cease to perform their functions when their deities withdraw their powers. This union of the organs and their deities is called Daivak. The bodily passion is named Adibhautika, &c. ; the mental one, Adhyátmika. Afterwards, he should go to J a n m a b h ú m i [birthplace of Rámachandra]. East of Vighnesvar, or north of the residence of Vas'ishta, or west of that of Lomasa Rishi, is the J a n m a s t h á n, the giver of salvation, the mere sight of which releases a man from returning to a woman's womb. The fasting on the day of Ráma Navamí, visiting the place with devotion, giving alms and performing pilgrimages and sacrifices, frees a man from the transmigration of his soul. A visit to it yields the reward of giving one thousand cows, obeying father, mother, and the spiritual guide, and performing the Rájásúyia, and Agni-hotra [sacrifices] one thousand times.'

Then Párvatí asked in what way people should keep the fast of Ráma Navamí. S'ri Sankara replied—"To confer greatness on Navamí, Rámachandra was born of the womb of Kaushalyá. On that day, a Tuesday, which falls on the bright half of Chait, the Nakshitra was Punarvasu, and the time was midday. The gods and celestial beings being highly pleased with it, of their own accord began to play upon musical instruments. The fast of Navamí is considered superior to all other fasts, just as the Chintámani is the best of all jewels and the Kalpa-vriksha of all trees. Those who keep this fast, and listen to religious stories, perform religious dances, and give alms on that day, obtain salvation. It fulfils the wishes of the gods, protects the virtuous, and destroys the wicked. It bestows more advantages than millions of sacrifices, because the adorable Ráma was born on that day. All the actions which a man performs on that day, in the name of Raghunátha, give everlasting benefits. He who wishes to go to Raghunátha, should keep this fast. The fool who eats on that day, shall go to hell, where all the vicious are thrown into boiling oil. There is no doubt about it. The deceased ancestors of him who on that day makes offerings in their names,

are admitted to the regions of Vishnu, and he who gives alms according to his means, reaps the benefits of the highest degree of charity. How good and important is this fast! and how virtuous are those who keep it! They are sure of obtaining heaven. He who keeps this fast, reaps the fruits of giving alms during an eclipse of the sun and of bathing at Kúrukshetra [north of Dihlí], and performing sacrifices there; and when keeping it according to the prescribed ceremonies, a man does no more return to woman's womb, but becomes Ráma himself. A Vaishnava, who does not fast, when there is a union of the Ashtamí and Navamí, but on a pure Navamí day, and reads religious books, such as the Purápas, on the following Dasamí, gains all kinds of benefits. This is certain."

### Chapter VIII.

Then Mahádeva said, "Having kept the fast, he should repair to the Birthplace, worship and pray, as already prescribed. He should place Raghunandana in a six-sided vessel of gold or silver, and when he cannot afford either, on the back of a leaf of the Bela-tree, marked with three cross-lines, worship him, and throw flowers upon him after reading the twelve-letter-mantra of Vásudeva. In the same manner, he should worship the vessel or leaf, upon which he has stationed Raghunandana, and invoke the fifty-seven gods that obtain a place there. After this, he should offer perfumes, flowers, articles of food, &c., praise them with folded hands, touch the six corners after reading the mantra, beginning with Hridai, the breast, head, the tuft of hair on the top of the head, clothes, eyes, weapons, and worship them with sixteen prescribed things, repeating the Múla-mantra during the whole time. He should then worship Indra, Lokapála, Vasishṭa Muni, &c., with their peculiar mantras, take arghya,\* and throw it upon Raghunandana, saying "Thou art the destroyer of Rávana, protector of Dharma and the devotees, and art Bhagaván, please accept my offering with your brothers.'

All this should be performed on the Navamí. O Goddess, hear what the benefits are of worshipping on the Navamí. It is related that in ancient times there were five wicked persons in the country of Marakántár; one Lampaka, an oil-maker; Sanku, a weaver; Luntak, a Naṭ; Dushta Dhívar, a sailor; and Dharma Kahár. They lived in five different cities. The oil-maker accidentally killed a cow when he was making oil, for which sin he was turned out of the city by the Rájá. The weaver cohabited with the wife of his younger brother, for which he was also banished. The Naṭ was expelled for attacking passengers with bows and arrows in jungles. Dhívar and Kahár being thieves,

\* Water containing sandal, rice flour, and betel-nut.



were once seized and brought before the Rájá. Some told him to kill them ; others, to cut off their limbs ; but the Rájá sent them to a sage named Vimalatma [pure soul], who ordered the king to confiscate their property, shave their whiskers, beards, and tufts of hair on the head, and turn them out of the kingdom, which was done. They met in a forest, whence they used to attack and plunder towns. In this way they collected large sums of money, which they spent in keeping women, drinking wine, and eating meat. They abused cows, bráhmans, spiritual guides, and even the gods. The Rájá at last expelled them from the forest. Wherever they went, they suffered much distress. They visited many countries and committed innumerable crimes. Once the inhabitants of Dihlí proceeded to Ayodhyá, to bathe there on the day of the Navamí. The thieves, with the intention of plundering them on the road, accompanied them. The pilgrims asked them who they were, on which the thieves replied that they were pilgrims and residents of the country of Marakántár. Thus they all arrived at Ayodhyá, but the thieves had no opportunity to plunder the pilgrims. The celestial protectors of Ayodhyá assuming the shape of men, fell suddenly upon the thieves and began to beat them with clubs of *krodh* [anger]. At this time Asitamuni appeared and said, "O protectors, let the thieves go, for they will be freed from sin, and you will obtain great benefits. The protectors let the thieves go. The thieves said, 'O Bhagaván, we bow to the protectors.' Then Asitamuni replied, "You are very fortunate : those who beat you were the Vighnas [troublers] of Ayodhyá, who prevent wicked persons from entering it ; they have let you go on my account, you should, therefore, now perform the pilgrimage of Ayodhyá in due manner, which will remove your sins. Then the thieves asked in what way they should perform the pilgrimage, so as to secure places in heaven. Asitamuni answered, "Those who restrain their passions and do not commit sins, gain the full advantages of the pilgrimage. He who controls the passions and gives alms in proportion to his means, obtains these benefits. He who keeps the Muni fast, shaves at Svargadvár, bathes there, and visits the birthplace, is released from the sins of killing a cow and a bráhmaṇ, of cohabiting with the wife of a spiritual guide, and from many others of the same kind, and thus obtains salvation. On that day, men, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, and the gods, bathe in the Sarayú and visit the birthplace. You should also do the same ; proceed and you will see great wonders." Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, having spoken thus, Asitamuni disappeared, and the thieves were glad and entered the city."

### Chapter IX.

Then Mahádeva said, "When the thieves entered Ayodhyá agreeably to the words of Asita, Ayodhyá, assuming a charming and beautiful form



appeared before them, in white clothes, accompanied by several maids, adorned with necklaces and armed with the S'ankha, Chakra, Gadá, and Padma. She is the beloved abode of Rámjī and the most ancient of all the sacred places. She is worshipped by all the Gods and the Munis who reside there. Thus the thieves saw what no one had ever seen before, and they were very glad. As sins have no power there, they lost their influence over the thieves, as will be explained. Ayodhyá advanced towards them with the Gadá, and the thieves trembled from fear. All of a sudden, the sins made their appearance, wearing blue clothes with horrible and dreadful faces, depressed noses, wearing iron ornaments, having red hair of different shapes, some blind, some one-eyed, and so on. Then Ayodhyá beat them with clubs, and compelled them to fly. They waited under a pípal tree outside the city, and made a horrible noise, which greatly astonished the people. Ayodhyá then called the thieves, who went to Svargadvár. It was the Navamí day, they bathed in the Sarayú, repaired to the Birthplace, kept the fast, and visited the place. Thus they were freed from all sins. At this time, Yama called Chitra-Gupta and said, 'The thieves have become pure, blot out their sins from thy book and forgive them; their sins have been destroyed by Ayodhyá, the first city of Vishṇu. Here live those who require salvation. The thieves have become Vaishṇavas. Then Chitra-Gupta became sorry, and said, "We have suffered much trouble in entering their sins, but it may be, as thou sayest, that we shall no more register the crimes of the wicked; for it is all in vain: the wicked go to Ayodhyá and obtain salvation and the vicious, in the Kali Yuga, become pure on visiting the Birthplace.' Having said this, they scratched out the sins of the thieves."

Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, the messengers of Yama, who wander about on earth, came to the pípal tree where the sins of the thieves stood crying and asked them, 'Who are you, whence have you come? what has brought you here, and what are you talking about?' The sins replied, 'There were five thieves in the country of Marakántár, very wicked, who nourished us and did not mind the orders of their parents, spiritual guides, the Vedas and Puráṇas.' They then related the whole of the rest of the above story."

Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, on hearing the words of the sins, the messengers felt compassion for them, and got angry with Ayodhyá, but unable to oppose her, they told them to stop there, as they would try their utmost to bring them again together with their friends (the thieves). After this, the messengers went to the place of Yama and said, 'You have made a great mistake.' Yama replied, 'You are not aware of the advantages of bathing at Svargadvár, keeping fast on the Navamí and visiting the Birthplace. I am quite unable to fight with Ayodhyá, let us go there.' Having

said this, Yama riding on a buffalo, and accompanied by Bhút, Párvatí Pisácha [evil spirits] and Ganas, went quickly to Ayodhyá. Meeting Vis'vakarma near the city, he asked him, 'Where do you come from at this time on the day of Navamí?' Vis'vakarma replied, 'I come from Ayodhyá after bathing at Sargadvár and visiting the Birthplace, and have been ordered by Brahmá to repair to Sakait with the gods, and build houses there for the pilgrims of Navamí.' Hearing this, Yama advanced, relating the advantages of Ayodhyá to his servants. He first arrived at the Tons, and prayed to it with folded hands. Thence he went to the Guptár-Ghát, and sat down on the bank of the Sarayú, praising Ayodhyá."

### Chapter X.

"Yama, having praised Ayodhyá as described above, solicited pardon for his sins. Ayodhyá then appeared, to please him. Yama bowed to her, upon which Ayodhyá said, "You are very wise, I am much pleased with you, ask for a boon, and let me know the object of your coming here." Then Yama replied: "If you are pleased with me, tell me the way by which the sins that stand under the Pípal tree outside the city, may be destroyed, and secondly, forgive the faults of our messengers." Ayodhyá said, "Remain on the bank of the Sarayú, which shall be known by the name of Yamasthala. It is called Jama-thurá by the people. Those who bathe here on the second day of the lunar half of Kártika, shall be free from your fear. Let the sins that stand under the Pípal tree be destroyed by my order." Having thus spoken, Ayodhyá disappeared. Yama then remained at the bank of the Sarayú, and Chitra-Gupta, and the messengers of Yama were greatly ashamed, and the sins were destroyed in a moment. Yama, having built his house there, went to his place, relating the benefits of Ayodhyá to his messengers."

Then Mahádeva said to the goddess, "I have told you the advantages of Ayodhyá, the Sarayú, the Birthplace, and the day of the Navamí. He who hears them, or relates them to others, obtains salvation in the end after having enjoyed all pleasures. What Agastya Muni said to Sutikshna Muni I have related to you. This religious story removes the sins of one who is ignorant, the enemy of the Bráhmans, the spiritual guide of the Vedas, and of the Gods, provided he tell, read, and hear it in faith."

Then Párvatí said, "I shall now be glad to hear the advantages of the Kitchen of Jánakí." Mahádeva answered, "O Goddess, listen to its sin-destroying story. Her kitchen is always filled with articles of food; its mere sight accomplishes our wants. Its pilgrimage is performed at all times: no one can fully describe its benefits, but I will do so in a brief manner. The house of one who daily visits it, remains filled with victuals. On seeing it, Parasuráma was released from the crime of destroying the Kshatriyas. A

mere visit to it removes sins committed knowingly or unknowingly. It freed Balaráma from the sin of killing Sút. What more shall I say about it?—it is the bestower of all sorts of joy. It is situated north-west of the Birthplace. Forty yards north of the Birthplace lies the house of Kaikeyi, where Bharata was born. Sixty yards south of it is the dwelling of Sumitrá, where Lakshman and Satrugna were born. Their sight releases man from worldly ties, and gives salvation. South-east of the Birthplace is Sítákúp, which is also called 'Jñána-kúp.' Drinking its water renders a man intelligent. Brihaspati, Vas'ishtha, and Vámadeva drank its water, and attributed to it their dignity and prosperity.

South of Hanumat-Kunḍ is Suvarna-khánah, called Soná-khar by the people, where Kuvera showered gold from the sky. South of it is Sugriva Kunḍ, and south of that Bibhishana Kunḍ. Pilgrimages to these places on the day of Navamí destroy all sins and bestow every kind of blessing."

### Chapter XI.

Then Párvati asked Bhagaván to tell her how gold was showered in the Suvarna-khánah, and what caused Kuvera to fear Rájá Raghu. Maháadev replied, "O goddess, this story strikes all with astonishment. There was a very powerful king of Ayodhyá in the family of Iksváku. He protected the world, and subdued a crowd of enemies. His name was well known in the three worlds, and he loved his people. The canopy of his glory surrounded the ten quarters of the globe; he reduced his foes to submission, amassed great wealth by his conquests, assembled a large army, conquered many Rájás, took tribute from them, and thus filled his coffers with innumerable treasures. Being at ease and leisure, he intended to perform a sacrifice at Ayodhyá. With this view he called Vas'ishtha, Vámadeva, Kásyapa, Jábál, Bharadváj, Gautama, and other Munis, gave them suitable houses, and prayed: "O venerable sirs, I intend to perform a sacrifice, please tell me what sacrifice shall I perform." All the Munis replied, "O Maháráj, the Vis'va-jít sacrifice would be a suitable one, because you have conquered the three worlds. Do not delay." Mahárájá Raghu then performed the Vis'va-jít, and distributed his money among beggars. With the exception of his territory he kept nothing in the shape of money, and thus pleased the Gods, the Munis, and men. Thus he became as famous as Indra. At that time Kauto Muní, a disciple of Vis'vámitra Muni, learned fourteen sciences, and promised to pay in lieu fourteen kros of gold-muhurs. He compelled the spiritual guide to demand the above sum from him. A gold muhur is sixteen máshás in weight. He thought that no one but Mahárájá Raghu could afford so much money, and he went therefore to Ayodhyá. The Mahárájá received him with great respect; he had no gold left and used earthen vessels. Seeing the state of the Mahá-



ráj, the Muni was sorry, thought it improper to ask him for anything, and very unreasonable to put a man of such liberality to shame. He gently addressed the Mahárájá and said, "O Rájá, you have given all, it is useless for me to tell you what I have promised to pay my spiritual guide. What do you say to this?" Hearing this, Mahárájá Raghu became thoughtful, and requested the Muni with folded hands, to stop a day at his house, so that he might make some arrangement. The Muni did as requested. Raghu thought that as all the Rájás had paid their tribute, it was not right to exact more from them; he might therefore take something from Kuvera who had inexhaustible treasures. Accordingly he went to him. Kuvera, hearing of this through his messengers, was happy, and showered down gold in such quantities, that a mine of gold was formed. The messengers then went to the Mahárájá and reported to him what had been done, upon which he was pleased, showed the Muni the mine, and told him to take all the gold that was in it. The Muni took as much as he required, and left the remainder. Kauto then said, "O Rájá, you shall get a son who will increase the influence and dignity of your family; this Suvarna-khánah will be the bestower of every one's wishes. Bathing and giving alms here will bestow riches upon men. The pilgrimage is to be performed on the 12th day of the lunar half of Baisákh, and those who perform it will gain numerous advantages. A pilgrimage to it on the tenth day of the lunar half of Kártika will also bestow great blessings upon them. Having given this promise, the Muni went away. After this, the Rájá went to the house of the spiritual guide, and, to obtain his wishes, distributed among the Bráhmans the gold that was left, and continued to protect his subjects. O Goddess, thus did the mine derive its dignity from the Muni's boon."

Párvatí asked to tell her the cause why the spiritual guide had become so angry with Kauto Muni as to demand so large a fee from him. Mahádeva said, "O goddess, listen to what I am about to relate. Vis'vámitra Muni is a sage, and knows the past, the future, and the present. Once he performed a great devotion at his house, when Durbásá Muni came to him. He was very hungry and called out, "O Muni, I am hungry, give me something to eat, I want rice-milk." Vis'vámitra immediately brought a hot vessel full of rice-milk. Seeing him come with it, Durbásá asked him in gentle terms to hold it till he had bathed. Having said this, Durbásá went home, and Vis'vámitra, without feeling angry, stood firm like a peg, with the vessel in his hand for a thousand years, during which Kauto Muni remained in his service. At the expiration of the said period, Durbásá returned, found both happy, ate the rice-milk, and went home satisfied and praising them. Then Vis'vámitra, pleased with the services of Kauto Muni, taught him all the sciences and told him to go home. Kauto Muni requested Vis'vámitra to ask a fee; but he answered that his services,



were quite sufficient. Kauto Muni repeated the question and received the same reply. But he persisted in his request, upon which Vis'vámitra got angry and said, "Pay fourteen krons of gold muhurs for learning the fourteen sciences." Kauto Muni replied that it would be paid. He thought that only Mahárájá Raghu could afford to pay such a sum; for he had conquered the world and performed the Vis'vajit sacrifice, and his wishes had been obtained. O Goddess, he who listens to the story which I have related, shall be freed from sin and get salvation. There is no doubt about it."

### Chapter XII.

"To the south of the Suvarna-khánah is the Yajña Vēdi [the place of sacrifice], where S'ri Rámachandra performed sacrifices. West of it is the Agni Kund [the fire altar], adorned with various jewels. Its light removes darkness, and devotees reside here. A man should put here three kinds of fire, Dakshinagni, Gárhapatya, and Ahavaneya and perform the pilgrimage to it in faith. Bathing, giving alms, and reading religious books here bestow great blessings. He who bathes at this place becomes immortal. This is beyond question. Giving gold, grain, clothes, cows with their young ones, and bathing here, confers riches. The pilgrimage to it is performed on the 1st of the dark half of Agraháyana. The offering of *Pinds* (balls of flour or rice) here is equal to a Gayá Sráddha, and it blesses the deceased ancestors. Giving alms here is equal to performing an As'vamedha.

"South of Yajña Vēdi is the confluence of the Tilái and Sarayú. To bathe, give alms, particularly grain, to fast and feed the Bráhmans here, is equal to performing the Achai Sautrámani sacrifice. Merely bathing here makes a man healthy, and yields the benefits of ten As'vamedhas. By giving gold here, a man becomes virtuous and glorious. S'ri Raghunátha made this river famous. It is also called Tilodakí, because its water remains black as the seed of the sesamum. Bathing in the Tilodakí at the confluence destroys the sins of seven births. O Goddess, it is therefore proper for men to bathe in it and give alms here, because these benefits are everlasting.

"West of the Tilodakí and the Sarayú is As'oka Batká, the garden of S'ri Raghunátha, in which various trees are planted, such as the sandal, agaru, kálágura, fir, champá, naugkesar, mahuá, kaṭhal, ásan, surtur, lodh, kadamb, arjun, ramnama, sutawar, vasanti, mundar, plantain, and other trees. Many flowers and fragrant trees are also found here, the colour of some being like gold, of some like silver, of some like fire, and of others black. There are several pools, ponds, wells, and cisterns, adorned with jewels and filled with clean water, on which the lotus and other flowers float. In the middle of it is a bungalow decked with beautiful artificial flowers, brilliant like the stars. It is better than the Nandana garden of Indra and the Chitra-

kúṭha of Kubera, because S'ri Raghunáthji enjoys himself here. There are many buildings and many seats, and upon one of the latter Rámachandra seated Jánakí with his own hand. The maids and male servants brought pleasant food and beverages to them. A great many Apsarás and Húrís came to dance, and having partaken of the food began to sing. Rámachandra pleased all, and sat with Jánakí, as Chandramá does with Rohiní, or the seven Munis with their wives. After this, he daily enjoyed himself with her, as Mahádeva does with Párvatí. In that orchard there is the Sítá-kunḍa, constructed by Sítá with her own hands. Rámachandra said that it should be the bestower of innumerable blessings. Listen, O Jánakí, I shall describe its advantages. The benefits of bathing and giving alms, and of devotion and sacrifice here, are everlasting. The pilgrimage is to be performed on the 4th of the dark half of Agraháyana, and destroys all sins. This Kunḍa is superior to all other sacred places. Bathing and giving alms here and worshipping Rámachandra with Jánakí, bestows salvation."

Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, hear the advantages of the other sacred places. West of Sítá-kunḍa is Vidyá-kunḍa, the mere sight of which confers all sorts of blessings. West of it is Vidyá-Piṭha, and south of it is Vidyá-Deví. He who bathes in the Kunḍ and visits the Deví, obtains salvation. Vidyá-Piṭha is also called Siddha-Piṭha, and is the bestower of knowledge. A man should worship the Piṭh-Deví, offer the sixteen prescribed articles, read mantras, and the following prayer: 'O goddess, he who worships thee and meditates on thee, obtains elephants for his vehicle; and becomes a Lokés'var (master of the world). He who thinks of thee without asking for anything, gains salvation.' Vishṇu, Siva, the sun, Gaṇeś'a, and Deví are pleased with one who reads their mantras here, and make him prosper. Therefore it is necessary that one should worship here. The pilgrimage is to be performed every month on the 8th of both the wane and the waxing of the moon. Here a man ought to give grain and fruits and wash the Deví with milk. The Uchchátana, Mohana, Stambhan or Pryoga, are accomplished here. A pilgrimage, performed during the first nine days of the light half of Kártika, removes sins and bestows salvation."

### Chapter XIII.

Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, south of Vidyá-kunḍa is Kharjura-kunḍa, which is also called Kharjohá. Bathing in it cures diseases such as the itch. Its pilgrimage is performed on every Sunday. West of Vidyá-kunḍa is the Maníparvat (hill of jewels) surrounded on all sides by creepers, and plants. The Tilodakí flows near it. The cause of the hill's being here, is as follows: Once Jánakí said to Rámachandra, 'I wish to enjoy myself on a hill, get me one, if you are pleased with me. Raghunátha replied, 'Very good'; then called Garuḍa and said to him, 'O king of birds, go towards the

North and bring the Maníparbat. Garuḍa went and brought the hill. He then asked where it was to be placed. Rámachandra replied : ‘Place it west of Vidyá-kunḍ.’ This was done, and Jánakí was pleased. Garuḍa asked permission, and went to heaven. Raghunátha then said to Jánakí, ‘See, the hill is ready, take your companions with you, go there, and enjoy yourself.’ Jánakí did so, and continued to visit it daily. The mere sight of the hill, destroys a mountain of sins and those of one thousand births.

“South of Maníparbat is Gaṇeś’a-kunḍ. A man should praise Gaṇeś’a with his mantra and give the sixteen prescribed things, and say the following prayer : ‘Thy trunk is red ; thy face is beautiful ; thou fulfillest the wishes of thy devotees ; thou art a support of those who plunge into a sea of trouble ; thy belly is broad ; remain in my heart for ever ; thou seizest thy enemies with thy trunk, and throwest them up into the air, and thou blest thy devotees.’

“West of the last is the Daśarath-kunḍ, very beautiful and adorned with jewels. It destroys all sins, and accomplishes all desires. West of it is Kaśalyá-kunḍ, by bathing in which and giving alms there one obtains all sorts of joys. These pilgrimages are performed on the last day of Bhádra. West of the latter is Sumitrá-kunḍ, and south of it, Kaikéyíkunḍ. The pilgrimage to both are performed on the 15th of Bhádra. Southwest of it are the Dúrbhara and Mahábhara ponds. Pilgrimages thereto are performed on the fourth of the wane in Bhádra. A man who worships Viṣṇu-Siva, and the Bráhmans here, obtains his wishes. Viṣṇu and Siva have been here from time immemorial. Meditating on them destroys sins. O Goddess, their origin was this. Viṣṇu and Siva were consulting with each other, when they smelled the perfumes of flowers which had been placed there by Dúrbhar and Mahábhara, who were brothers and used to sell lotus flowers. Both the gods were pleased, and said to the brothers that the two ponds would be called after their names, and men and women would bathe in them and obtain their desires.

“North-west of Mahábhara-kunḍ is Yoginí-kunḍ, where sixty-four Yóginís dwell. They all bestow great blessings upon men, but particularly upon women. Therefore it is necessary that they should bathe in it. The performance of a Puruscharana here gives riches.

“East of Yoginí-kunḍ is Urvashí-kunḍ, after bathing in which Urvashí went to heaven. Her story is as follows : A great Muni, named Raibha, was performing devotion on the Himálaya, when Indra sent Urvashí to disturb him. She was most beautiful, and had no equal in the regions of Indra. She came with spring and the god of love to the place of the Muni. The Muni looked up and was wounded by the arrows of love. He became restless and angry, and said, ‘O wicked retainer of Kámadeva, you have come here, proud of your beauty to disturb me in my devotion ?—be ugly.’ Hearing this, she became very sorry and falling to the Muni’s feet said to him in be-

seeching accents, ‘O Bhagaván, I am under the control of another, and have come by the order of Indra, please therefore forgive my fault, and tell me how to escape your curse. The Muni said, ‘There is a sacred place, at Ayodhyá, situated east of Yoginí-kund, go and bathe in it, and you will recover your beauty, and the place will be named after you.’ She bathed in the pond, and was restored to her former beauty; and the pond has since then been called Urvashí-kund. He who bathes here in faith and with due ceremony, obtains beauty. There is no doubt about this. The pilgrimage to this place should be performed on the third of the light half of Bhádra. One who bathes here, gives alms, and worships Vishṇu, is sure to go to his regions.”

#### Chapter XIV.

Then Mahádeva said, “O Goddess, east of Urvashí-kund is the charming Vrihaspati-kund, filled with innumerable flowers. It is the destroyer of sins and has pure water; and here he lived and performed sacrifices. Bathing and giving alms here frees a man from sin. Its pilgrimage is performed on the fifth of the light half of Bhádra. Here Munis worship, and the gods (such as Indra, &c.) obtain their wishes when bathing at this place. Bathing, going on a pilgrimage, and worshipping Vrihaspati and Vishṇu here, cleanses a man of his sins. The bad effect of an impending unlucky day in a Kundli [horoscope], is destroyed by worshipping Vrihaspati here. One who forms an image of gold, dresses it in yellow silk cloth, and gives it to a Bráhmaṇ, is freed from falling into troubles.

“To the East of the last is the Rukmíní-kund. Once S’rí Krishṇa-chandra came on a pilgrimage to Ayodhyá with Rukmini and Satyabhámá, and lived here a month. He daily bathed in the Sarayú and read the Mantra-ráj. Rukminí seeing a great many ponds here, built one of her own, where Vishṇu resided. A man must bathe here, give alms, and worship the Bráhmaṇs with the Vaishṇava Mantra. A pilgrimage to it on the 9th of the dark half of Kártika, bestows a son upon a barren woman and riches upon the poor. This is beyond question. Men and women bathe here and enjoy themselves in this world and go to the regions of Vishṇu after death. After bathing in the Rukminí-kund and giving alms there, one should meditate on the form of Krishṇa in the following way—‘Thou art dressed in yellow silk-cloth, and armed with the Sankha, Chakra, Gadá, and Sárang. Thou art the husband of Lakshmí. Nárada and other Munis constantly think of thee. Thou wearest a crown and bracelets and rings. Thou art adorned with the Kaushtubha Maní.\* Thou art black as the flower of the linseed. Thy eyes are like the lotus.’ By this meditation, a man undoubtedly obtains all his wishes.

\* The name of a jewel.



“North of Rukmini-kund is the sacred place called Chírodaka; its water is like milk. Bathing here releases one from all sins. At some time, Das'aratha performed a sacrifice here, in order to be blessed with a son. At the expiration of the sacrifice, the being in whose name it was performed, appeared in a handsome shape, and holding a golden vessel filled with rice-milk. He gave it to the Maháráj, who, by the advice of the Munis, divided it into three equal parts, and gave one of them to Kaushalyá, the second to Kaikeyi, and the third to Sumitrá after dividing it into two parts. Ráma was born of Kaushalyá; Bhárata, of Kaikeyi; and Lakshman and Satrugna of Sumitra. The Bráhmans cooked rice-milk and washed it with the water of the pond, on which account it became white like milk, and the pond got the name of Chírodaka. By bathing at this place, one is certainly blessed with a son, and obtains all other wishes besides. Its pilgrimage is performed on the 11th of the light half of Kártika. Bathing, giving alms, and worshipping Vishnu here, gives the above-mentioned benefits. The pond is called Chír-ságá by the people. West of it is Chíreś'vara Mahádeva, stationed there by Mahárájá Das'aratha. A man is to worship him with the sixteen prescribed articles and read the following prayer—‘Thou livest at Kailas'a. Thy companion is Kuvera. Thou hast got the moon on thy forehead, and the Ganges in the tuft of thy hair. Thou enjoyest thyself in the woods of Kalpa-tree. I have worshipped thee with the leaves of a Bel-tree and water; forgive my sins.’

“South-west of it is Dhanyáksha,\* called Dhanaicha† by the people. Maháráj Harischandra here deposited a great treasure for the protection of which he stationed a Yaksha at this place. The Rájá caused Vis'vámitra Muni to perform the Rájasuya sacrifice, on which he became undisputed king. He here deposited innumerable treasures. The Yaksha named Pírmánthar protected the Treasury, called Pírmódé Anand, bestower of happiness, and was very obedient to the Muni, who being much pleased with him, told him to ask for a boon. He replied, ‘O Muni, I lived in the house of Kuvera and once stole perfumes, on which account he cursed me and said, ‘May thy body stink!’ The Muni took some water from the sacred place, threw it upon the Yaksha, and thus rendered his body perfumed. He stood up before the Muni with folded hands and said, ‘O Lord, by thy favor my body has become perfumed, therefore name this holy spot.’ The Muni replied, ‘Its name shall be Dhanaicha in the world, and it will be the bestower of beauty and wisdom. Bathing here will remove all stink, and by giving alms in proportion to his riches and worshipping Lakshmi, a man will obtain great wealth. Here a man should worship Mahá-Padma,‡

\* A tribe of celestial beings.

† Place of great treasure.

‡ Names of the nine Nidhi or treasures.

Sankha, Makara, Kachchapa, Mukunda, Kunda, Níla, and Varchcha, because all these reside at this place. He should also give gold and grain publicly and privately, particularly on the fourth day of the dark half of every month. Pilgrimage, bathing, and libation of water here, satisfy all, from Brahmá to the smallest insect. Having said this, O Yaksha, people should throw water three times and gain salvation. By worshipping thee, the nine Nidhis, and Lakshmi, either out of or in the water, a man shall obtain great blessings, such as a son, riches, faith, knowledge, and salvation. Whoever from pride does not worship thee, shall forfeit the religious fruits of one year's devotion.' After saying this the Muni disappeared.

"West of it is Vishṇuhari, a celebrated shrine." Párvatí said, "O Bhagaván, tell me what the cause is of its renown."

### Chapter XV.

Mahádeva answered, "O Goddess, there was a Bráhmaṇ named Vis'va-s'arma, acquainted with the Vedas and religious principles, virtuous and much devoted to the worship of Vishṇu. He once came on a pilgrimage to Ayodhyá in hope of seeing Vishṇu and pleasing him with his devotion. He practised great austerity, kept fasts, and ate herbs, fruits, and roots. In Jyaisṭha and Ásádha, he sat before a fire; in the rainy season, in the rain; and in winter, in the water; and thus he bathed and worshipped Vishṇu with all his heart. He meditated on the sun, moon, and fire, which he made the Píṭha upon which he seated Vishṇu, dressed in yellow-silk cloth, with his weapons, and worshipped him with perfumes and flowers. He read the twelve-letter Mantra for thirty years, lived on air, and repeated the following prayer, 'O Bhagaván, animate and inanimate, spiritual guide, the best of mankind, the god of the gods, lotus-eyed, beyond thought, imperishable, master of sacrifices and the world, the destroyer of sins, endless, spoiler of births, having the lotus in the navel, bearing the garland of the seeds of the lotus, lord of all, destroyer of Kaitabha,\* master of the three words, four-bodied Bāsudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, armed with the Chakra, parent of the whole world, protector of the people, lovely one, the father of fathers, thou art the articles of sacrifice; thou art the mantra; thou art the master of the sacrifice; thou art fire; thou art Varuṇa, armed with the Sankha, Chakra, Gadá, and Padma; supporter of the weak; holder of the Mandár hill; destroyer of Madhu; and husband of Lakshmi. Thou art Náráyana, Krishṇa, and Mádhava, be pleased with me.' Upon this, Bhagaván appeared, riding on Garuḍa, dressed in yellow-silk cloth, armed with the Sankha and Chakra, and said, 'O son, I am satisfied with thy devotion; ask for a boon.' Vis'va-s'arma replied, 'O Bhagaván, all my wishes are accomplished by thy visit, give me everlast-

\* Name of a devil.

ing piety.' Then Bhagaván answered, 'May you have unchangeable devotion and obtain salvation. This place shall be named after you. You are very fortunate.' Having said so, Bhagaván struck the ground, and water gushed forth. He then washed the Bráhmaṇ with the water, and made him passionless, free from sin, and healthy. Hence, O Goddess, this holy place is called *Chakra-tírtha*. It is the destroyer of sins and the bestower of blessings. He who bathes here, goes to the regions of Vishṇu. Bhagaván again said to Vis'va-s'arma, 'O Bráhmaṇ, station the image of Vishṇu-hari here,' and it was done. Its pilgrimage is performed from the tenth of the light half of Kártika to the end of that month. Bathing at this place absolves men of all their sins and leads them to paradise. The Pitris (deceased ancestors) of a man who here performs the Pitri Sráddha go to heaven. This is beyond question. By bathing, giving alms in proportion to his means, and visiting Vishṇu, a man obtains salvation."

"O Goddess, I have described the advantages of *Chakra-tírtha*; north-east of it is *Vás'ishṭha-kunḍ*, the destroyer of sins. Here the great devotee and saint *Vas'ishṭha* and his 'chaste wife *Arundhatí* remain. The benefits of bathing at this place are great. A man should here worship *Vámadeva*, *Vas'ishṭha*, and *Arundhatí* in particular, and bathe and give alms. Its pilgrimage is performed on the 5th of the light half of Bhádra."

### Chapter XVI.

S'ankara continued, "O Goddess, north-east of *Vás'ishṭha-kunḍ* is *Ságara-kunḍ*, the fulfiller of all our wishes. Bathing and giving alms here confers great blessings. Whatever benefit is gained by bathing in the sea on the last day of a month, is obtained by bathing at this place on any eastday. Its pilgrimage takes place on the last day of Kártika. By bathing and giving alms here, one obtains all desires and is freed from all sins.

"North-east of *Ságara* is the charming *Brahmá-kunḍ*, built by Vishṇu, who lives there and once performed a sacrifice in due form. He bathed with the gods in the kunḍ, which was filled with clear water, lotuses, water-lilies, and covered with geese, karandavas,\* and *chakraváka*, and surrounded with beautiful trees. On seeing this, the gods asked *Brahmá* with folded hands, 'O *Pitámaha*, (father of all) tell us of the advantages of the kunḍ. *Brahmá* replied, 'Listen attentively. The kunḍ contains various fruit-trees. By bathing here, a man is released from all sins, obtains a handsome shape, and riding on a vehicle, yoked with geese, goes to the regions of *Brahmá*, where he remains, like me, till the general destruction. Bathing and giving alms here, gives the same benefits as the performance of an *As'va-medha*; consequently a man should bathe, give alms, worship, and sacrifice at this place; for this destroys capital crimes and confers ever-

\* A kind of duck.



lasting blessings. Its pilgrimage is performed on the fourth of the light half of Kártika. The distribution of gold and grain, in proportion to a man's power, gives me satisfaction.' Having thus made known this holy spot, the bestower of salvation, Brahmá, disappeared.

"North-east of Brahmá-kund, at a distance of two hundred yards, is Ríṇa-mochan ('wiper-off of debt'), which is difficult of access to the wicked and unlucky. Its water joins that of the Sarayú, and its origin is this:—Once, on a pilgrimage, the Muni Lomas came here, and by bathing was freed from all debts, and cured of mental diseases. Feeling this, he was much surprised, and lifting up his hands, and shedding tears of joy, spoke in the following manner:—'Ríṇa-mochan is superior to all other sacred places, for bathing in it removes all debts. The three debts, Rishi Rin, Deva Rin, and Pitri Rin,\* from which a man can only be freed by a Brahm charj sacrifice and by having a son, are destroyed by bathing in it. O people, I found out its glory in a moment! It is therefore incumbent on you, to bathe, give grain, gold, &c., through which you shall obtain all kinds of blessing.'

"Further east of this holy place, at the distance of forty yards is Pápa-mochan (sin-wiper). Its origin is this: There was a Bráhma named Narhar in the country of Páñchála, who, falling into the company of liars and wicked people, committed many crimes, such as killing Bráhmans and speaking against the Vedas. He once, with some virtuous men, came on a pilgrimage to Ayodhyá, and became absolved of his sins by bathing at this holy spot. Flowers fell on his head from the sky, and a beautiful vehicle descended, riding on which he went to the regions of the gods. From that time it became famous, and received the name of Pápa-mochan. Every one praises it. Its pilgrimage is performed in the dark half of Mágha. The fruits of bathing and giving alms here are everlasting and destroy all sins.'

### Chapter XVII.

Mahádeva continued, "O Goddess, east of Pápa-mochan, and two hundred yards distant from it, is situated Sahashra-dhárá, in the water of the Sarayú, and is called Lakshmaṇa-kund. It destroys all sins. Here Lakshmaṇa disappeared by the order of Rámachandra. Its origin is this: When Raghunátha had performed the business of the gods, Kál(déath) being sent by Brahmá, assumed some shape, came and solicited him to disappear. While he was talking privately with Raghunátha, he took a promise from him to give up whoever entered the room during their conversation. Raghunátha ordered him to put Lakshmana at the door, to prevent any one from coming in. By the will of God, Durbásá Muni came and said to Lakshmana, I am hungry, go to Raghunátha and inform him of my arrival.' Lakshmaṇa made several

\* Debts of Munis; debts of the gods; debts of forefathers.



apologies, which the Muni did not accept; he was therefore compelled to enter, and to communicate to Raghunátha the Muni's request. Raghunátha took leave of Kála, came to the door, paid his respects to the Muni, and having given him food, dismissed him. Raghunátha became anxious and said, 'I have never told a lie, it is improper to break a promise. O Lakshmaṇa, it is now necessary for us to separate for some time and you must disappear. Lakshmaṇa obeying his order, went to the Sarayú, and intended to throw himself into it, when S'esha burst the earth in a thousand places, and made his appearance, by virtue of which the spot was called Sahashra-dhárá. Indra also came with the gods and said to Lakshmaṇa, 'You have performed the affairs of the deities, please come to my regions, S'esha is waiting for you. Lakshmaṇa then entered the river. This sacred place is fifty yards in extent. By bathing and giving alms here, the people will go to the regions of Vishṇu. He who will bathe and worship S'esha at this spot, will be free from sins, and obtain all his wishes. There is no doubt about it. Its pilgrimage is performed on the fifth of the light half of S'rávana. The fear of serpents is removed by the worship of S'esha on that day. By bathing here during the whole month of Vaisákha, a man remains krons of kalpas in the regions of the gods. To go to, and reside in, the place of Vishṇu, one should give a milch cow, clothes, and ornaments to a fit person. To please Lakshmí Náráyaṇa, and to obtain riches, men should worship Bráhmaṇs and their wives in Vaisákha, because all other sacred spots come and remain here during that month.'

Mahádeva continued, "O Goddess, Indra having sent S'esha to Pátála (the lower regions) and accompanied by the gods, took Lakshmaṇa to his realms. From that time, this kuṇḍ has been called Lakshmaṇa kuṇḍ. It has a thousand streams."

### Chapter XVIII.

Having heard the advantages of Lakshmaṇa-kuṇḍ, Párvatí was delighted and requested Mahádeva to describe other sacred places. Mahádeva replied, "O Goddess, south of Vidyá-kuṇḍ is Vaitaraṇi (the destroyer of sins) by bathing in which one does not go to Yáma-loka. Its pilgrimage takes place on the full moon day of Bhádra.

South of Vaitaraṇi is Ghoshárka, the destroyer of sins. By bathing and giving alms here one is sure to go to the regions of the sun. Bathing at this spot cures leprosy and other diseases. Its pilgrimage is performed every Sunday, on the sixth day of the light half of Bhádra and Mággh, on the sixth of the light half of Bhádra, if there be a Sunday on that day, and on every Sunday in Pausa. The origin of Ghoshárka is this: There was a king named Ghosha, of the solar race, who was very powerful, who protected his subjects, and whose renown had spread far and wide.

His glory was like that of the sun, and he conquered all his enemies. Having entrusted the management of his dominions to his ministers, he went to a thick forest to hunt, killed many deer, tigers, and pigs, and wandered about here and there. He felt thirsty and searched for water, when luckily he saw a pond. He had a wound on the hand, which the application of no medicine could cure. But no sooner had he touched the water of the said pond, than the wound healed. Seeing this, the Rájá was astonished, bathed in the pond, drank its water, and asked the Munis what pond it was. Being told that it was the Súra-j-kund, he began to pray in the following manner, ‘I bow to thee, O Sun, thou art Bhagaván, filled with grandeur; thou art the lord of the god of the deities; thou art Chid-átmá (formed of wisdom), S’avitá (creator of the universe); Ingad, Anand (bestower of happiness to the world); Pírbha-geha (full of pomp); Deva (resident in the hearts of all); Trimurti (personification of the three Vedas, Rig, Yajur, and Sáma); Virusvan (covering the world with glory); Yogajna (well versed in religious meditation); Purapur-rup (personification of the immoveable and moveable, from the gods to the insects); Karankarya (personification of cause and effect); Triloka-timírachchhid (destroyer of darkness of the three worlds); Achintya (beyond thought and speech); Parabrahm (essence of the world); Bháskara (maker of light); Yogi-priya (lover of those who know and act according to the Yóga S’ástra); Yogarúp (who can only be known through deep meditation); Yoga (opportune); Sadá-mam one who always resides in me; bestower of all blessings and free from pride; Yaga-mantra-rúp (personification of sacrifice, its mantras, and everything connected with it); Rogoghena (destroyer of diseases); Utsai pirsant (protector of devotees and destroyer of the wicked); master of the planets and great sacrifices; Priya-átmá (lover of the soul); and Pirkash-korak (gratifier of every one’s wants)! I pray to thee, be pleased with me.’ The Sun being satisfied with the prayer, appeared to fulfil his wants. The Rájá worshipped him, and stood up with folded hands. The Sun replied, ‘O Rájá, ask whatever you choose, I will give it.’ The Rájá said, ‘Please remain at this place.’ To this the Sun agreed, and said, ‘Whoever shall read your prayer will obtain all his desires. This spot shall be named after you and me.’ Having said this, the Sun disappeared. The Rájá became as glorious as the sun, and bowing to him, went home. He who bathes at this place, will go to the regions of the sun and obtain all his wants.

“West of Ghoshárka is R a t i - k u n d, the destroyer of all sins. Bathing in it, and giving alms here, gives beauty.

“West of that is K á m a - k u n d, the bestower of happiness, by bathing in which one becomes as handsome as Káma, and obtains riches and virtue. Its pilgrimage is performed on the fifth of the light half of Mágha.”

## Chapter XIX.

Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, west of Kúsumáyudha-kund is Mantres'vara Mahádeva, the bestower of great blessings which have no equal. There is also the Mantres'vara-kund, where one should bathe and worship Mantres'vara, which frees a man from the transmigration of his soul for millions of kalpas. Its origin is this: When Rámachandra, having performed the orders of the gods, was on the point of leaving this world, he read a Mantra, created the kund, and stationed Mantres'vara Mahádeva there; from that time it has been a famous place. In its northern part are planted lotuses, water-lilies, and Kulhar plants. He who bathes here, gives alms, and worships Bráhmans, goes to heaven for ever. No one can fully describe the advantages of Mantres'vara.

"North of it is Sítalá Deví; by worshipping whom, one is freed from sins. Her worship takes place every Monday. She is to be especially worshipped during small-pox epidemics.

"North of it is Bandi Deví, by meditating on whom a man is released from prison. A man who is thrown into a dungeon, or has offended a king, is freed from both of them by meditating and worshipping her. Her pilgrimage is performed on every Tuesday.

"North of that is Chuṭkí Deví, by meditating on whom one obtains all his wishes. Snapping of the fingers (*chuṭkí*), and lighting lamps here, bestows great blessings. Her pilgrimage is performed on the fourteenth day of every month. West of it is her kund, and the pilgrimage to it is made on the fifteenth of Kártika. Bathing and giving alms at this place takes a person to heaven.

"West of Chuṭkí-kund is Nirmalí-kund, by bathing in which Indra was absolved of the sin of murdering Virtra Asur, and thence it is called by that name. By bathing and giving alms here, a man is absolved of capital crimes; and its pilgrimage is performed on the last day of Srávana.

"North of it is Gopirtar, where Vishṇu is stationed and is called Gupta-hari. In the beginning of Satya yuga," continued Mahádeva, "a battle took place between the gods and the demons, in which the former were defeated. Accompanied by the gods, I went to the sea of milk, where Vishṇu was sleeping on the hydra. Lakshmí was shampooing his feet; Nárada and others were praising him; and I thus began to pray, 'I bow to thee conqueror of Kál (death); devotees see thee in their devotion. Thou art the best of all, pure and free from ignorance. Thou art all the Vedas and Mantras. Thou assumest the shape of a goose, which separates milk from water, and then drinks it. Thou art truthful, nay truth itself. Thou art a mine of justice. Thou knowest everything, from the largest to the smallest. Thou art omniscient and all-seeing, the bestower of salvation, the place of un-



changeable wisdom, the destroyer of the wicked, and the treasury of riches. Thou descendest to the world to remove ignorance, deceit, and vice ; thou art the creator of illusion (*máyá*), matter, and the universe ; Mahárudra, S'esha, supporter of the earth, sleepless, creator of the lotus from the navel, from which Brahmá issued, and from him, the world. Thou supportest the earth and the water on the day of general destruction. Thou art cause and effect, the destroyer of the vicious, all powerful, and the life of all creatures. Thou assumest the shape of half lion and half man, to kill Hiranyakashiup and other demons. Thou art endless, the supporter and destroyer of the world, and the remover of darkness. Mind, Reason, and Wisdom do not come up to thee. Thou art invisible. There is no difference between thee and S'íva, and those who think so, go to hell, as is written in the Srutis and the Smritis. Thou art a Bráhmaṇ to explain the religious principles to the four castes, and art kind to the virtuous. Thou art separate from matter and salvation. In short, thou art both visible and invisible. Thy body is dark like the lotus, and covered with yellow clothes.' On hearing our prayer, Vishṇu appeared, was pleased, and said, " I know what ye have come for, ye have been deprived of your houses by the demons, go ye to Ayodhyá, perform devotions, and I will increase your power, and ye will be able to overcome them.' "

### Chapter XX.

Then Mahádeva said, " O Goddess, having thus told the deities, the rider on Garuḍa (Vishṇu) disappeared, and coming to Ayodhyá performed great acts of devotion in secret, to increase their powers. Hence the spot is called Gupta-hari.

Listen now to the origin of Chakra-hari. At this place Sudarsana Chakra fell from the hand of Hari, whence it received the name of Chakra-hari. By visiting these two Haris, a man is freed from all sins. The gods also performed severe devotion, and after thus obtaining additional strength, defeated the demons in battle, recovered their houses, gained great wealth, and became happy. Headed by Vrihaspati (the spiritual guide of the gods), they all went to Ayodhyá to see Hari, and adored him with undivided attention, upon which Parames'vara appeared dressed in yellow silk cloth, and said—' O gods, ye have been fortunate enough to conquer your powerful enemies, why have ye now come here, tell me without fear and delay.' The gods, having got permission, replied, ' O Bhagaván, we have obtained all our wishes through thy favour, please remain always kindly disposed towards us, and protect us when attacked by foes.' Bhagaván said that he would do so, and added that this place would be called Gupta-hari. He who will bathe here and worship Gupta-hari will gain salvation, and by giving alms, go to heaven. One should give, at this holy spot, a cow with her young one, her



horns covered with gold, her hoofs with silver, her back with brass, her tail with jewels, and her body covered with a beautiful cloth, to a fit person, free from sickness and sin, because otherwise she will carry him to hell. By worshipping me without desiring anything, a man shall go to paradise, and salvation shall fall to his lot. It is therefore proper for ye to repair thither, bathe and worship Gupta-hari, because he is the bestower of riches, piety, and many other blessings.' Having said this, Bhagaván disappeared. The gods then performed the pilgrimage to Ayodhyá in due form, were pleased with its advantages, and remained there. The pilgrimage to Gopirtar is performed on the last day of Kártika.

"North of Gupti-hari is Gopirtar, the destroyer of all sins. By bathing and giving alms here, a man is not involved in misery. O Goddess, there neither has been nor will there ever be such a place. What Mañikarnika is in Kás'i, Mahá-kál in Ujjain, and Chakravápi in Nímkhár, that Gopirtár is in Ayodhyá, because thence Rámachandra with all its inhabitants went to Sakaitun (parádise)." Párvatí asked how Rámachandra had carried all the residents of Ayodhyá to Sakaitun. Mahádeva answered, "O Goddess, listen to it attentively. When Raghunátha, having performed the work of the gods, intended to go to Sakaitun, which is his abode, all sorts of creatures, monkeys, bears, Munis, Gandharvas, &c., came to him to pay their respect, and said with folded hands—'We shall all follow you, for we shall die, if you go without us.' Hearing this, S'ri Raghunátha first spoke to Bibhishapa, 'O Bibhishapa, I have told you to reign in Lanká till the end of creation, and you know my words cannot be untrue, nor ought you to think so, therefore you had best go to Lanká; you are my friend, do not otherwise, nor answer me.' Then Rámachandra said to Hanumán—'Do not disobey me, remain in this world, tell the people of my story, increase my fame, and protect the pious.' He then turned to Dobind Mayind and said—'You have drunk nectar and are immortal, stop here and protect the princes of my family.' Afterwards he told the rest of the monkeys, bears, and Rákshasas to accompany him, and dismissed Bibhishapa and the others. Having done this, he called V ás'ishtha, his spiritual guide, and requested him to make preparations for departure to Sakaitun, which he did."

### Chapter XXI.

Mahádeo continued, "O Goddess, having bathed and dressed in yellow silk cloth, S'ri Raghunátha performed the usual daily ceremonies, and, taking *kúsh*-grass into his hands, prepared to leave. He said nothing to any one, but went out of the city like the moon issuing forth from the sea. Lakshmi and Sarasvatí assumed human shapes, and went forth from his left and right arms respectively; the former, the goddess of wealth, and the lat-

ter that of wisdom. Weapons, such as the sword, bow, and arrows, appeared in form of men, and the Vedas as Bráhman. So also did Onkár, Gáyitrí, Svalá, S'raddhá, Vashat, mountains, Munis, those whom Rámachandra respected, Bharata, Satrugna, Bráhman with their children and wives and servants, all the subjects, with purified hearts, clean clothes, and daubed with sandal, bears, monkeys, insects, worms, beasts, birds, scorpions, serpents, and aquatic animals, all freed from sins and sorrow. Thus they came to Svargadvára, bathed there, and began to move, conversing together. Seeing this the gods were struck with wonder. They went four and a half *kos* to the west of Svargadvára, and observing the Sarayú became very happy. The generous, great, and the father of all, Brahmá, with the gods, mounted on chariots, came gently through the air. Flowers were showered on Raghunátha and his companions, Apsarás danced, and Gandharvas sang. Brahmá said, 'O Rághava, leave the visible body and come with thy brothers; I cannot compel thee, do whatever thou pleasest. I alone know thee, thou art he to whom all go and in whom all find a resting-place. Thou art omniscient, the supporter of all, and the bestower of salvation. No one knows thee, devoid of Máyá, which thou hast produced to create the world. Thou art beyond thought, the essence of everything, the smallest and largest, and everlasting. Thou hast no superior; come to thy ancient residence with, or without, a body.' Rámachandra considered that as he had come from Ayodhyá, it was improper for him to go back, so he went to Sakaitun, where Vishnu is worshipped. His companions followed him with their bodies without feeling the least pain, and enjoyed all blessings. All the gods praised them and went to their homes. The imprecation of Nárada, which was that Rámachandra should suffer from the separation of his wife, was fulfilled, and now Rámachandra became Vishnu, and Sítá Lakshmi. Rámachandra then said to Brahmá, 'O Brahmá, point out a place for the residence of my followers, who have left their homes and relations; they are my devotees and are beloved by me. I could not allow them to die.' Brahmá said, 'Let them remain in Sántaloka (a name of heaven).' Those who leave this world, meditating on Rámachandra or Ayodhyá, or merely bathe at Gopirtár, will surely obtain heaven. All men, animals, insects, worms, birds, and other creatures, when bathing in the Sarayú, became beautiful and glorious, just as iron is converted into gold when it touches the philosopher's stone, and go to the regions of Vishnu.

"Here, therefore, they went across the Sarayú without fear, like those who in crossing catch hold of the tail of a cow; hence the place is called 'Gopirtár.'"

## Chapter XXII.

Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, a man is sure to get salvation at Gopitár; for there is no other sacred place equal to it. Those who bathe here go to heaven. Its pilgrimage is performed on the fifteenth of Kártika. Indra, the other gods, and all the sacred spots on earth come and reside here during the month of Kártika, and are cleansed of their sins. Bathing, giving alms, according to one's means, worship and sacrifice, all bestow everlasting fruits. The sacred places being filled with the sins of the people, remain restless till Kártika, when they repair to it and bathing here, become all pure. To please Vishṇu, one should feed Bráhmaṇs, and give a cow and grain in due form to a proper person. Lighting lamps here with ghí or oil of sesamum confers the same advantages as bathing at Kurukshetra during a solar, or in the Narbada, during a lunar, eclipse, and weighing oneself against gold. He who gives a bead of gold here, goes to paradise, and whoever performs a sacrifice and bestows grain upon the poor, is freed from the transmigration of soul. Burning oneself in the fire, leads one to the place of Vishṇu. Those who fast here never return to this world. The Sarayú flows from the eyes of Náráyaṇa: who can describe its benefits? The Ganges rises from the feet of Hari, and a man obtains the fruit of an As'vamedha at every step which he takes towards it. What then shall I say of the Sarayú where Rámachandra daily bathes?"

Then Párvatí said, "O S'ankara, I have heard that Rájás Harischandra and Rukmángada carried Ayodhyá to heaven; tell me how." S'ankara answered, "There was a Rájá named Harischandra in the Tretá cycle, a descendant of Ikṣváku, celebrated for piety. Draught never visited his country, and no plague ever occurred in his land. The young did not die, the people were not irreligious, they were ever happy, and did no injustice for the sake of getting rich. This was the cause why he carried Ayodhyá to heaven. Another Rájá, Rukmángada, of the same line, had a son named Dharmángada, very learned, brave, and obedient to his father. He kept the fast of the eleventh day of every month in due manner at the advice of Nárada, and went to the regions of Vishṇu with all his subjects. Rukmángada, mounting a celestial car, also went to that place."

## Chapter XXIII.

Then Párvatí asked Mahádeva to describe the remaining sacred places at Ayodhyá. Mahádeva said, "West of Súraj-kunḍa is Durgá-kunḍa. Bathing here and giving alms and feeding the Bráhmaṇs, make a man obtain his wishes. The eight-armed goddess is stationed here. The pilgrimage is performed on every Tuesday and the eighth of every month.

"South-east of Súraj-kunḍ is Nura gráma, by bathing in which all sins are destroyed. South of it lies Náráyaṇa-gráma, which has a

pond, by bathing in which a man is absolved of all his sins. The pilgrimage to these places is performed on the eleventh of the light half of Kártika.

“East of Súra-j-kuṇḍa is Trepúrári Mahádeva in the vicinity of the Sarayú. By bathing in the Sarayú on the last day of Kártika and worshipping him, people obtain their wishes.

“East of it is Bilvahari, the destroyer of sins. Its origin is this : There was a very beautiful and young Gandharva who used to laugh at every one, and ill-use Munis, devotees, and Bráhmans. Seeing this, Nárada cursed him, and told him to be a buffalo for a thousand yugas. But he solicited forgiveness, upon which Nárada ordered him to go and live in Ayodhyá, where he would obtain salvation on the birth of Rámachandra. Accordingly, he went to Ayodhyá, resided on the bank of the Sarayú for a long time; and when he heard of Rámachandra's birth, he went to his house, and ascending a fine celestial car, repaired to heaven. He stationed Vishnu at Ayodhyá, and called him by the name of Bilvahari. He who sees him is freed from the three kinds of debts, poverty or misfortune, separation from friends, and fear of enemies; and he who bathes and worships Rámachandra and Jánakí here, will certainly gain salvation. Its pilgrimage is performed on the fifteenth day of Vaisákha.

“East of it is Válmíka Tírtha. It is related that a hunter named Dīṇḍhir, from the Himálayas, once came to the Sarayú in pursuit of a deer, and, seeing a devotee, halted for three nights. The devotee released him from his sins, and the hunter spent a thousand years in devotion of the gods. He was reduced to a mere skeleton and covered with a Valmíka\*. Some time after, Rámachandra came playing to the Sarayú, and seeing the Valmíka touched it with his hand, whereby it assumed a beautiful shape and went to heaven. Having observed this, Raghunátha asked him who he was. He told his story and with folded hands fell upon the ground. Raghunátha told him to rise, and by his order he mounted a chariot and went to Sakaitun. From that time the place was called Valmíka. Men who visit it are freed from the three kinds of debts. Visiting Valmíka, leads a man to Jana-loka; bathing there leads to the regions of Vishnu. He who offers here oblations, pleases his deceased ancestors and obtains the fruits of performing a s'raddha at Gayá.

East of it is the sacred residence of Rishyasringa Rishi, who was married to Santají, the sister of Rámachandra. He lived here with his wife for a long time, and performed acts of devotion for the benefit of the people. He who bathes in the Sarayú and worships the said Muni, obtains his wishes. The pilgrimage to this place takes place on the last day of Kártika and the ninth day of the light half of Chaitra.

“South-west of it is Ponnari, where there is a pond, by bathing in

\* A mound of earth raised by white ants.



which a man gains his desires. The pilgrimage to it is performed on every Sunday. By giving alms at this spot, one is cured of the sickness called pándu (jaundice). West of it is Bharata-kunḍa, a beautiful pond filled with lotuses, waterlilies and other flowers."

#### Chapter XXIV.

Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, by bathing in the Bharata-kunḍa a man is freed from all his sins. The advantages of bathing and giving alms here are everlasting. A man should give grain to the poor at this place, and give money and clothes to a Bráhmaṇ and his wife. North of it lies Nandígráma, where Bharata lived. He was passionless, obedient to Rámachandra, and protected his subjects. By visiting it, a man gains the benefits of living at Kás'í for a thousand manvantaras, bathing at Práyága for twelve succeeding years in Makara, performing a s'raddha at Gayá, and visiting Jagannátha. The pond is adorned with beautiful flowers and trees which cast their shadow upon it. Performing the s'raddha at this spot, pleases the deceased ancestors and the gods. The fruits of giving here gold, grain, clothes, cows, and lands, are everlasting.

"To the west of the tank is Kálká, whose worship grants all desires. West of it is Juṭá-kunḍa, where Rámachandra and others were shaved on their return from conquest. By bathing here, a person obtains all his wishes. A man at Bharata-kunḍa should worship Bharata with his wife; and at Juṭá-kunḍa, Rámachandra, Lakshmana, and Jánakí. The pilgrimage to both these kunḍas is performed on the fourteenth of the dark half of Chaitra.

"To the west of Juṭá kunḍ is Ajíta Viśṇu. He who lives on water or milk, worships Ajíta Viśṇu, sings and dances here, gains all his desires.

"To the east of it is Satrughna-kunḍ. The pilgrimage to it is performed on the eleventh of the dark half of Chaitra.

"North of Satrughna-kunḍ and south of Bharata-kunḍ is Gayá-kúpa, the bestower of all desires. The deceased ancestors of a man who bathes here and gives alms, are released from hell and go to the regions of Viśṇu. The performing of a s'raddha with parched grain, sweetmeat made of flour, *ghí* and sugar, pancake, rice milk, oil, and molasses, which ever of these the pilgrim may be able to afford, satisfies the Pitris; it is therefore necessary for a man to do so, because thereby he obtains many sons, riches, and other blessings. The s'raddha should particularly be performed on the 15th day of a month, if it be a Monday.

"East of it is the sacred place Pis'achamochan, by bathing in which and giving alms there, a man is never affected by the power of ghosts; s'raddhas should also be performed here. The pilgrimage is performed on the fourteenth of the light half of Agraháyana.

“East of it and of its the vicinity is *Manus*, also called *Punnibás*, by bathing in which a man gains his wishes and is absolved of his mental, bodily, and oral sins. The pilgrimage to it is performed on the last day of *Bhádra*.

“South of it is the *Tons*, bathing in which destroys all sins. On its banks are situated the charming abodes of *Munis*, such as *Mándukya*, which grant all desires and destroy all sins.”

### Chapter XXV.

*Mahádeva* then said, “*O Goddess*, the *Tons* rises from a place in the forest of *Pramadak*, a very sacred spot, adorned with various beautiful trees, by visiting which a man is released from his sins. Different kinds of birds perch on the trees, and sing harmonious songs, which destroy the sins of the hearer and give them pleasure. Its water is very clear and wholesome. In the forest, *Mándukya Muni* performed devotion, and thus made it sacred.

“East of it is the holy residence of *Gautama Rishi*, and east of that, is the abode of *Chavana Muni*, the mere sight of which destroys all sins. There are a great many trees which adorn the banks of the *Tons*, and are used as pillars of sacrifices. The pilgrimage to it is made on the last day of *Agraháyana*.

“On the other side of the *Tons* and near *Dhugdes'var* is *Sítá-kunḍ*, the destroyer of all sins and bestower of our wishes. The pilgrimage to it is performed on the fourteenth of the light half of *Bhádra*. In the vicinity of it is *Ráma-kunḍ*. There is no limit to its advantages, they could not be described in a hundred years. The benefits of bathing here are equal to those of giving grain, clothes, carriages, gold, land, villages, and cows. Listen to an ancient story. There was a *Bráhmaṇ*, named *Brahmadatta*, well acquainted with the *Vedas*. He performed acts of great devotion by living on vegetables of spontaneous growth, fruits, and roots. He made pilgrimages to the *Ganges*, *Yamuná*, *Gomatí*, *Gaṇḍakí*, *Satadrú*, *Payoshini*, *Chandrabhágá*, *Sarasvatí*, *Narbadá*, *Sona*, *Prayág*, *Gayá*, *Vindhya Tírtha*, *Himnut Tírtha*, *Breshurvana*, and other sacred places, such as *Nímkbár*, *Pushkara*, *Kurukshetra*, &c., in due form. Having performed these, he came to this pond, was pleased with it, bathed in the *Ráma-kunḍ* and the *Sítá-kunḍ*, meditated on *Rámachandra*, breathed his last, and riding on a celestial car went to heaven, attended by *Apsarás* and *Gandharvas*. Reading or hearing the above story leads a man to heaven.

“South of that is the abode of *Bhairava*, the mere sight of which destroys all sins. He was stationed here by *Vishṇu* for the protection of *Ayodhá*. The pilgrimage to it is performed on the eighth of the dark half of *Agraháyana*, and bestows great blessings. A man should offer to him sacrifices of animals and worship him, which will fulfil all his wishes. Having com-

fortably resided at Ayodhyá, Bharata went to pay his visit to Bhairava and built a temple for him."

### Chapter XXVI.

Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, at that time there appeared a cow, from the teats of which sweet milk spontaneously issued. It fell upon the ground, on seeing which monkeys and bears were struck with astonishment, and asked S'rí Raghunandana, what the cause of its appearance was. Rámachandra answered, 'You should ask the spiritual guide Váśiṣṭha this question.' They then went to him, headed by Raghunátha, and requested him to reply to the point in question. After some meditation, he said that the cow had come for their sake, and that the place where its milk had fallen, should in future be called Kshira-kunḍa. Kshires'var Mahádeva had appeared in it, pleased with him because he had subdued his enemies and performed the work of the gods; he should therefore worship him with Jánakí. Raghunandan worshipped the image as told by Váśiṣṭha, and from that time it has been called Dughdes'vara, and the kunḍa, Sítá-kunḍa, because it was built by her. He who visits Dughdes'vara and bathes in it, is absolved from his sins; and he who worships Sítá, Ráma, Lakshmana, and Dughdes'vara here, obtains his wishes. The pilgrimage to it is performed on the fourteenth of the light half of Jyaishtṥa. He who performs it goes to heaven, and is freed from all kinds of grief.

"To the east of it is Sugriva-kunḍ, near which is Shabh, where by bathing, giving alms, and worshipping Ráma, a man gains that very day his desires. East of it is Hanumat-kunḍa, to the west of which is Bibhishana Sar. A man by bathing in both, giving alms and worshipping Ráma here immediately obtains his wishes. West of it is the abode of Astika Muni, by visiting which one is freed from the fear of serpents. In its neighbourhood is the residence of Ramanika Muni, the mere sight of which destroys all sins.

"West of that is the kunḍ of Ghritáchí Apsará in the water of the Sarayú, like that of Nirmala. In former times, there was a devotee named Vatsa, who wandered about on the Himálaya without food, and restrained his passions. Indra saw him and became jealous, lest he might seize his throne, and sent Ghritáchí Apsará to disturb him. The Muni saw how adorned she was with beautiful clothes and costly ornaments, became restless, and in his anger cursed her. He said, 'Thou art proud of thy beauty and disturbest devotees, go and be ugly!' Deformed through the curse she fell to his feet, and solicited him with folded hands, and spoke thus—'Have pity on me and forgive my fault, I am not independent; I have come here at the command of another; tell me, therefore, how I may be released from your curse.' The Muni replied, 'There is a kunḍ at Ayodhyá, in the water of the Sarayú, west

of the residence of Kurunaka ; go and bathe in it, and thou shalt be restored to thy beauty, and the kuṇḍ will be named after thee.' She did accordingly, and became beautiful again ; the kuṇḍ has, since then, been called Ghritáchi-kuṇḍ. He who bathes in it, in due form, obtains beauty either in this life or afterwards. There is no doubt about this. The pilgrimage to it is performed on the fourteenth of the light half of Pausa. To worship Viṣṇu here is proper.

“ West of it, at the distance of four miles, is the confluence. By bathing in it, a man obtains the benefits of performing a thousand As'va-medhas, a hundred Vájapeyi and many Rájasuya, and of bathing at Kurukshetra during an eclipse of the sun. He who bathes here on the twelfth, fifteenth, and last days of a month, and during eclipses, undoubtedly goes to heaven. The benefit of bathing at this spot on the last day of Pausa, is greater than that of standing on one leg for a thousand years, and hanging with the feet upwards and head downwards for ten thousand years. Ten millions of sacred places assemble here on the twelfth of every month, and the fruits of visiting all of them are, therefore, obtained by once bathing here on that day. Bathing at this place always confers blessings, but particularly in Pausa, when all, whether Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or even bastards, obtain heaven and are freed from the transmigration of souls. Lighting lamps at the confluence, in due manner, during the month of Pausa, destroys the great and small sins of many births, just as fire destroys a heap of cotton, and bestows long life, health, wealth, and high rank. By keeping up the whole night, remaining pure, restraining the passions, causing fire-sacrifices to be performed by Bráhmans, worshipping Viṣṇu, hearing religious stories, such as the Gítá, &c., which please Bhagaván ; bathing at early dawn at the confluence in due form, giving gold, grain, clothes, cows, and horses on the fourteenth of the light half of Pausa, one obtains salvation and goes to the place of Viṣṇu. By bathing here, a man gains the fruits of making the annual pilgrimages of all the sacred spots. In the early part of the Satya Yuga, Bhagaván became incarnate in the shape of a boar, killed Hiranyáksha, cleared the earth of wicked men, came and lived here, and built a shrine. The Gods and Gandharvas and Munis, filled with joy, thus began to pray :—‘ O Varáha, we bow to thee, thou art the lord of the deities, omnipresent, the destroyer of the fear of thy devotees, all-powerful, thou killedst demons with thy teeth, perservedst religion, and gavest a present to the sea.’ On hearing the above, Varáha asked, ‘ What is your request, tell me now at this place, which bestows salvation on my devotees.’ The Gods said, ‘ O Bhagaván, if thou art pleased with us, grant that whoever bathes at the confluence, may be released from the dread of his enemies, from separation from his friends, and from re-entering the womb of a mother.’ Varáha answered, ‘ Be it so, the confluence will be the de-



stroyer of sins, and the bestower of wealth, justice, love, and salvation.' After this, the Gods, Gandharvas, and Munis settled here."

### Chapter XXVII.

Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, west of Varáhakshetra is Jambú Tírtha, the giver of all wishes, by bathing in which a person is freed from the crime of killing a Bráhmaṇ. Its origin is this: A jackal once went to the house of a Bráhmaṇ, named Devasarva, the sight of which made him good.

"Near it is the residence of Tundáluk Bráhmaṇ. He who visits it and performs sacrifices here, scares away poverty, and goes to heaven. There was a Bráhmaṇ called Tundala (fat), very greedy, and clad in the bark of trees, who was involved in debts, and suffered great distress. He once came to the bank of the Sarayú, and seeing a charming spot, stopped there for three successive nights without sleeping, and then bathed. This released him from debt and restored him to health, and thus he went to heaven. Those who bathe in the Sarayú near his abode are sure to obtain salvation through Bhagaván's favour.

"South of it lies the Agastya Sar. Bathing here, giving alms, performing sacrifices and worship, and fasting and keeping up for three successive days and nights, yields the fruits of an Agnishtoma Yága, without fasting; but he who lives upon vegetables, roots, and fruits, is freed from all sins whether committed in childhood, manhood, or old age."

"Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, listen now to the names and the advantages of the sacred places that lie on the northern bank of the Sarayú. First, Pana Shur, by worshipping which, after bathing in the Sarayú, one obtains all his wishes. This is beyond a question. Secondly, Gokula Nagarí, in which there is a holy pond, and near it is the temple of Lakshmí. He who bathes in the pond, adores Lakshmí, gives alms in proportion to his riches, and performs oblations, will obtain wealth. There is no better place of worship for the acquisition of riches. The pilgrimage to it should be made on the eight of the light half of Bhádra. Thirdly, Sapnes'varí Deví resides at her place, and informs a man in dream, whether his desires are to be fulfilled or not. The pilgrimage to her place is performed on the eighth and fourteenth of every month.

"East of that lies the Srotas river, and the Katlá (crooked) joins it. Bathing at the confluence and giving alms there in due form destroys all sins, especially on the last day of Kártika."

### Chapter XXVIII.

Then Mahádeva said, "O Goddess, at the confluence is a sacred spot, called Champa ká pura, the destroyer of all sins, where there was a disciple

of Guler Muni, who was very learned and obedient to his spiritual guide, whose daughter he had married. She became pregnant, and when once at midnight he read the Vedas, the child in the womb spoke and said, 'It is improper to read the Vedas at this time,' which so offended him that he cursed the child, and said, 'May thy eight limbs be deformed !' In due time the wife gave birth to a boy who, though its eight limbs were deformed, was yet a very fine child. One day, he asked his father's permission, went out to perform his devotions, and set out for the Yamuná, where he worshipped. He was engaged in devotion when by chance fourteen hundred daughters of the great Rájá Mándhátá came to the place. They laughed at the devotee; and angry at their impertinence, he said, 'Be ye, too, ugly and deformed !' When they returned home, their father was surprised at their deformity, and asked them the cause of it. They replied that they were under the curse of the devotee. The father told them to go to Ayodhyá and visit Kátalá Deví. They did so, and were restored to their former beauty. The pilgrimage to this place is performed on the ninth of the light half of Chaitra.

North-east of Kátalá is Manorama, the bestower of all our wishes, where the renowned Rájá Das'aratha performed a sacrifice to obtain forgiveness of sins. He was successful, made an As'vamedha Yága, fed a great many Bráhmans, and gave alms. Here the Gods, Gandharvas, and Munis perform devotion to gain their wishes. Its pilgrimage is performed on the last day of Chaitra. Oblations in honour of the deceased release them from hell, and carry them to heaven.

South-east of Manorama is Ráma Rek há, formed by Rámachandra with his bow for the sake of giving his cows water. He who visits it, does not go to hell, and bathing in it destroys all sins. Men, animals, birds, insects, and worms that die here, go to the regions of Vishnu. Those who see this river, will gain riches, age, health, a son, a wife, a grandson, fame, wisdom, and other blessings. A Bráhmaṇ will gain spiritual knowledge; a Kshatriya victory; a Vaisya, wealth; and a S'údra, worldly comforts. Its pilgrimage is performed on the third day of the light half of Chaitra. West of Ráma Rek há is the Sarayú, bathing in which frees all from sins."

### Chapter XXIX.

Párvatí said, "O Mahádeva, relate to me more of the advantages of Ráma Rek há." Mahádeva replied, "Listen attentively, for merely hearing my story destroys the sins of all former births. The Gods, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Kinnaras, Navas, Nagas, Gohink, Siddhas, Gerah, Nakshatras, Lok-pálas, Dikpálas and Brahmá once came to Ayodhyá to bathe at the Ráma Ghát on the birthday (anniversary) of Rámachandra. They all became pure,

and settled there as invisible beings. There was a great assembly of the people at the Ghát, and some person went to Vas'ishthá Muni and asked him the cause of it. He said that it was Rámachandra's anniversary, when bathing in the Sarayú and worshipping him, destroys all sins and releases men from returning to a mother's womb. Hear, O Goddess, some of the advantages of this holy spot as described by the Muni to the inquirer. On the day of Ráma Navamí, a peacock accidentally came to Ráma Ghát with a serpent, which fell from its beak into the Sarayú, assumed a beautiful shape, with four arms, and riding on a celestial car went to heaven, in presence of the whole assembly. Drums beat in the skies and flowers were showered down. The Rishis were struck with astonishment. Ráma Ghát is also called Ráma Kunḍa. Nárada said to the Rishis, 'This is the benefit of bathing at the Ghat.' Hearing this, they did as they were told, became four-armed, and went to heaven. Those who listen to this story obtain salvation, and their deceased ancestors are satisfied. All the qualities in a man, such as truth, purity of heart, fondness of the Vedas, reading religious stories, knowledge, wisdom, good behaviour, mercy, humility, and simplicity are unprofitable, if he do not visit Ayodhyá. Even to cherish the wish to go to Ayodhyá is commendable. The advantages of the Ráma Navamí are everlasting. One gains heaven by daily praising Ayodhyá early in the morning. All good actions are inglorious unless a man see Ayodhyá, just as the day is useless without the sun, and the night without the moon."

Párvatí said, "O Mahádeva, you have related to me the fruits of visiting the sacred spots in Ayodhyá, describe those of the city itself." Mahádeva answered, "O Goddess, those who perform the pilgrimage to Ayodhyá bodily, mentally and orally, gain all advantages. They should first purify their hearts, and secondly visit the sacred places outside." The goddess asked how the first could be done. Mahádeva replied, "By speaking the truth, shewing mercy, restraining the passions, and by wisdom, fasting, and devotion."

### Chapter XXX.

As there are pure, indifferent, and impure parts in the body, so are there water and fire on earth. Those who perform acts of both internal and external devotion as mentioned before, are sure to go to heaven. The chief thing in worship is to be pure-hearted. The animals in the water are born and die in it, but they do not get to heaven, because they are not pure-hearted. An impure heart is attached to the passions of the body, to house and wife, and son, and friend, and wealth. A pure heart is one which is free from these things and loves Vishṇu. Bathing in water does not purify the heart, just as a wine-vessel is not pure, be it ever so clean. He who bathes, gives alms, makes sacrifices, prays with a pure heart, lives in a sacred



place, and daily reads the Vedas, obtains the full benefits of virtue; but wherever he may reside, he must restrain his passions, deal fairly, and love Vishṇu, whereby he will gain the advantages of living at Kurukshetra, Nímkhár, and Prayága. He who bathes at Svargadvára and Sahust Dhara, and visits Dharma-hari, the Janmashán, Chakra-Tírtha, Brahmá Kund, and Rínmochan on the eleventh of every month, obtains salvation, and is absolved of his sins. Ayodhyá is an excellent place, and there is no other equal to it.

“Hear the names of other places than Ayodhyá that also give salvation, *viz.* Brahmá's seven rivers:—the Son, Sindh, Hiran Naksh, Kokh, Lohita, Ghághrá, and Satadrú; three Grámas:—Saligrám, Sambhalagráma, and Nandi-gráma; seven towns, *viz.*, Mathurá, Haridwár, Kás'í, Káncí, Ujjayiní, and Dvarká; nine forests:—Daṇḍak, Samdhaka, Jambú, Marg, Pushkara, Utpaláranya, Nímkháran, Kurujangala, Himvan, and Urhad; nine *Ukhars* (waste lands):—Rainuku, Shukur, Kás'í, Kál, Kálinjar, Mahákál, Kálí, Vat and Es'var; fourteen *Gohiyas* (concealed places):—Kokh, Kubyá Arhud, Mankarm, Vat, Saligrám, Shukar Dvarká, Mathurá, Gayá, Nishkríman, Haridvár, Lohargul, Svayam Pirbhás, Maluo, and Badri. Bathing in the Ganges is necessary, frequenting the company of the virtuous, giving cows, meditating on Hari, feeding the poor, and listening to the *Puráṇas*. The Munis say that the company of the virtuous stands highest: it destroys sins, and bestows wisdom and faith. The mere sight of Ayodhyá confers the same benefits as frequenting the company of the virtuous.”

This Máhátmya has no parallel. Whoever reads it or hears it, goes to heaven. Every one should worship Bráhmans and Vishṇu, and give gold to the former. Those who recite this Máhátmya should receive grain, clothes, gold, cows, and money, which bless the giver in this world and in the world to come. All kinds of devotion yield numerous benefits, when the devotee pays Bráhmans in proportion to his means. When listening to this Máhátmya, a man gains sons, wealth, knowledge and salvation, whatsoever he wants, and is sure to go to heaven.



*Notes on Manipuri Grammar.*—By G. H. DAMANT, B. A., C. S., Cachar.

The grammar of the Manipuri language is practically unknown at present, and the Europeans who have any acquaintance at all with it might be counted on one's fingers. So far as I know, there is only one book on the language, an English-Manipuri dictionary, printed at the Baptist Mission Press in 1830, and this is now very scarce. The language is to a certain extent a written one, and formerly had a character peculiar to itself. Manuscripts in this character still exist, and it is even now used



in Manipur for genealogies and family records, but all ordinary business matters are carried on either in Bengali or in Manipuri written in the Bengali character. I may note that all grammatical forms given hereafter are derived from the language as spoken at present, and not from the manuscripts, which, I am told, contain many obsolete forms, and indeed are hardly intelligible to an ordinary Manipuri. The grammar is very well worth studying; and as it contains many peculiarities which are found as well in the allied dialects of the Kookies and the Koupuis, a tribe of Nágás who inhabit parts of Manipur and Kachhár, it seems probable that the language of the Lushais and several of the Nágá tribes may be derived from the same stock. But we hardly know enough of these dialects to pronounce an opinion yet; however even if we grant that they are originally branches of the same stem, they have varied so much that they are now distinct languages and not mere dialects, and a knowledge of one is of very little use in learning another, a Kookie speaking his own language cannot be understood by a Nágá, or a Manipuri by either.

One of the first peculiarities which strikes one is the double possessive which is prefixed to certain nouns; thus—

aigi ipâ	my father
nangi napâ	your father
mâgi mapâ	his father
aigi ikok	my head
nangi nakok	your head
mâgi makok	his head

In these words the possessives *i*, *na*, and *ma* are prefixed in addition to the usual forms *aigi nangi*, and *mâgi*; *pâ* is of course the Manipuri for father in the abstract, but practically it is never used except in the forms ipâ, napâ, and mapâ. This peculiarity is as a rule confined to words signifying relationship as mother, brother, sister, and the like, and to those which signify a part of the body as hand, foot, &c.; and it is also used with a few words in very common use, as *yûm* a house, *pot* a thing. It is not generally used with words of two syllables, but there are exceptions, as ‘aigi iraipâk’ my country, instead of ‘aigi laipâk.’ These are general rules only, for nothing but constant practice can teach precisely in what words it should or should not be used.

The Kookies use *ka*, *na*, and *a* in the same way; *e. g.*—

kapâ	my father
napâ	your father
apâ	his father

but they carry it a step farther than the Manipuris, for they apply it even to verbs; as:

ken kamoyi	I have seen
nang namûm	you have seen
amâku amuye	he has seen

### Verbs.

The conjugation of the Manipuri verb, in its primary form, is simple enough, but is rendered somewhat difficult by the number of verbal forms, such as participles, and also by the great differences in the negative and interrogative forms.

The verbs are nothing more than a series of roots to which terminations are attached in the simplest way. Thus the root *chat* signifies "go", *châ* = eat, *pâm* = love, *hai* = say; but these roots are never found alone in this form except in composition, in such words as *tâningbâ* = wishing to hear where *tâ* = hear, *ning* + the termination *bâ* = wishing. The forms in common use, which are nearest the original roots, are *chatpâ*, *châbâ*, *pâmbâ*, *haibâ*, &c. They are nothing more nor less than verbal nouns, whether adjectives or substantives, though more generally used as adjectives or to qualify a sentence, as *khul asidâ laibâ*, residing in that village. These forms in the feminine are changed into *pi* and *bi*, as *yâmnâ phajabi nupi*, a very beautiful woman; *atumbi koubi nupi*, a woman called Atumbi. The forms *pâ* and *bâ* are the same, the change being merely for the sake of euphony. In the same way *t* and *d*, *l* and *r*, and *k* and *g*, are constantly interchanged.

We may distinguish six different tenses—a present terminating in *li*, or *ri*; a future in *kani* or *gani*; an imperative in *si*; and three past tenses terminating in *le* or *re*, *lûre* or *rûre*, and *lammi* or *rammi*. The latter refers to a thing done some time ago. It is a kind of aorist. The form in *lure* refers to something done just now, it might be called imperfect, and the form in *le* is a simple past and resembles the perfect: it answers to such forms as, went, did, saw, in English.

The forms in *le* and *lure* seem to be often interchanged. In giving names to the tenses, I have done so more to distinguish one past tense from another than with any other object, as I do not mean that the perfect, imperfect, and aorist, are exactly represented by the tenses here given, but there is a considerable resemblance.

The participles are perhaps the most difficult part of the verb. There are no less than ten different forms, and it is often no easy matter to know which form should be used. There are two present participles ending in *dana* and *kîdana*. There appears to be little if any difference between them; for they are used only with the present and imperative tenses, as 'go there and see him', *âsikâ chattana* (or *chatkîdana*) *mahâkpoo yengu*.

The past participles are two, ending in *ladana* and *lûdana*. They are only used in reference to an action which is completely finished, and there

appears to be little difference between them. They are only used in conjunction with a past tense, *e. g.*, when I went there, I saw him, *ainá ásíká chatlúdána mahakpoo ainá urammi*.

The future participle ends in *lagá*. It is said to be used only with the first person, the present participle in *dána* being used in its place with the other persons, but there appears to be some doubt about this.

‘When I go there I will see him’, *ainá ásíká chatlagá mahakpoo uganí*.

The next participle ending in *abadi* is used with the future to imply a doubt, whereas the form in *lagá* implies a certainty or fixed intention. ‘If I go there, I will see him’, *Towning amasung ainá ásíká chatlabadi mahákpoo ainá uganí*.

The form in *kadabagi* is used to express a purpose, but only in the first person, as ‘I am preparing to go’, *ainá chatkadabagi touri*.

The form in *nanabá* is used in exactly the same way, but only in the 2nd and 3rd persons, as, ‘you make preparations to go’, *nang chatnanabá tourang tou*.

The participle showing time is formed by adding *lingaidá* to the root. It means at the time of doing a thing, as ‘when I was going there, I saw him’, *ainá ásíká chatlingaidá mahakpoo ainá urammi*.

The last participle is formed by adding *paniná* to the root, and its meaning is ‘from having done so,’ ‘because I have done so.’ ‘From having gone to that place I know all about it’, *mapham ásíká aina chatpaniná pumnamak ainá kangí*.

The causal form is made by the addition of *hal* to the root, thus *kangbá* = to know; *kanghalbá* = to make to know. This form is conjugated in the same way as an ordinary verb.

The general rule for the formation of the negative is to insert *da* or *d* between the termination and the root; but the *d* is in some tenses inserted in the middle of the termination, and in the present tense the termination *li* is changed into *loi* in the negative. The formation will be more clearly understood from the conjugation given hereafter, as there are considerable variations in some tenses, for which it is difficult to lay down exact rules.

The Kookies insert *hi* in much the same way; thus ‘I will see’, *ken vengè*; ‘I will not see’, *ken vehingè*; ‘see’, *ven*; ‘do not see’, *vehiin*.

The interrogative is always denoted by the syllable *rá*, which is varied in different tenses into *drá* and *brá*, but this will be more clearly seen from the conjugation given. The interrogative *rá* is often used without a verb, and is simply attached to a noun substantive, in such phrases as ‘is this woman your sister?’ *Nupi asi nangi nachal rá?* Where *rá* is attached directly to the substantive *chal* without the intervention of any verb.

The conjugation of the verbs in the plural is in all cases exactly the same as in the singular.

*Conjugation of the verb chatpâ, to go.*

PRESENT TENSE.

I go	Ai chatli
You go	Nang chatlu
He goes	Mâ chatli

FUTURE.

I will go	Ai chatkani <i>or</i> chatke
You will go	Nang chatlu
He will go	Mâ chatkani

IMPERATIVE.

Let me go	Chatsi
Go	Chatlu
Let him go	Chatsanu

PERFECT.

I went	Ai chatle
You went	Nang chatle
He went	Mâ chatle

AORIST.

I went	Ai chatlammi
You went	Nang chatlammi
He went	Mâ chatlammi

IMPERFECT.

I was going	Ai chatlure
You were going	Nang chatluyi
He was going	Mâ chatlure

PARTICIPLES.

Going	Chatkidanâ, chattanâ
Having gone	Chatlûdanâ, chatladanâ
When I go (used only in 1st person)	Chatlagâ
For the sake of going (1st person only)	Chatkadabagi
For the sake of going 2nd and 3rd persons only	Chatnanabâ
If I go (used in all three persons, implies a doubt)	Chatlabadi
By having gone,	Chatpaninâ
At the time of going.	Chatlingaidâ



*Negative Forms.*

## PRESENT.

Ai chatloi  
 Nang chatkanu  
 Mâ chatloi

## FUTURE.

Ai chatlaroi  
 Nang chatkanu  
 Mâ chatlaroi

## IMPERATIVE.

Chatlanushi  
 Chatkanu *or* chatluganu  
 Chattasanu

## PERFECT.

Ai chatte  
 Nang chatkanu  
 Mâ chatte

## AORIST.

Ai chatlamde  
 Nang chatlamde  
 Mâ chatlamde.

## IMPERFECT.

Ai chatludre  
 Nang chatludre  
 Ma chattare

## PARTICIPLES.

Chatkîdadanâ, chattadanâ  
 Chatlûdradanâ  
 Chattragâ  
 Chatloidabagi  
 Chattananabâ  
 Chatrabadi  
 Chattabaninâ  
 Chatringaidâ

*Interrogative Forms.*

## PRESENT.

Are you (or he) going ?	Chatlibra
Are you not going ?	Chatloidra

## FUTURE.

Will you go ?	Chatkera, chatkadra
Will you not go ?	Chatloidra

## IMPEREECT.

Did you go ?	Chatlûrabra
Did you not go ?	Chatlûdrabra

## PERFECT.

Have you gone ?	Chatpra
Have you not gone ?	Chattabra

## AORIST.

Did you go ?	Chatlambra
Did you not go ?	Chatlamdra

There is also a past interrogative *chatpage*, which is always used with *kari*, as *kari chatpage* ? = why did you go ? Chatlibage is also used meaning 'are you going ?' and chatlibage, meaning 'did you go ?'

There appears to be no interrogative for the first person and the forms in *ra* are common to both the 2nd and 3rd persons and the sing. and plural.

## Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are—

*Ai or Ihâk* = I ; *Nang or nahâk* = Thou ; *Mâ or mahâk* = He

The plural forms are—*aikhoi*, *nâkhoi*, and *mâkhoi*. The forms ending in *hâk* are either emphatic or honorific. All the pronouns are declined in the same way, *e. g.*

<i>Singular</i>	Nom.	Nang	Thou
	Gen.	Nangi	Of thee, thine
	Dat.	Nangandâ	To thee
	Acc.	Nangboo	Thee
	Abl.	Nangdâgi	From thee
<i>Plural</i>	Nom.	Nâkhoi	You
	Gen.	Nâkhoigi	Of you
	Dat.	Nâkhoidâ	To you
	Acc.	Nâkhoiboo	You
	Abl.	Nakhoidâgi	From you

The other pronouns are *asi* and *adu*, this, and *masi* and *madu*, that.

There is also an interrogative pronoun *kanâ* or *kanâno* who ?, which is declined in the same way as the personal pronouns.

There are no relatives in the language, and sentences containing a relative are expressed very awkwardly by using a verbal noun with the demonstrative *adu*, thus—Where is the book which I gave you yesterday ? = *Gnarang aina nangandâ pikhiba lairik adu kaidano* ?

Whatever work you do is well done = *Nangna touba thabak adu pum-namak phai*.

### Nouns substantive.

These are very simple, and an example of one will serve for the whole language. There is really only one gender in use, but the masculine sex in animals is distinguished by the addition of *laba*, and the feminine by the addition of *amom*; thus *sagol* = a horse, generally *sagol-laba* = a stallion, and *sagol-amom* = a mare; and in men by the addition of *nipa* and *nupi*, thus *macha-nipa* = a son, and *macha-nupi* = a daughter.

The plural is indicated by adding *sing*, but for things without life *pumnamak* is generally used, which simply means "all."

The termination *gi* is used as a genitive in every sense; *da* is used as the dative and also as a locative, both of time and place; thus *yumda* = in the house; *nongmagi numitta* = on a certain day. The termination *boo* is generally an accusative, but occasionally it is used as a dative, though this does not appear to be considered quite correct.

<i>Singular</i>	Nom.	Mi	A man
	Gen.	Migi	Of a man
	Dat.	Midâ	To a man
	Acc.	Miboo	A man
	Abl.	Midâgi	From a man
<i>Plural</i>	Nom.	Mising	Men
	Gen.	Misinggi	Of men
	Dat.	Misingdâ	To men
	Acc.	Misingboo	Men
	Abl.	Misingdâgi	From men

### Adjectives.

No separate class of words is known in Manipuri as adjectives, but the verbal forms in *ba* are used instead, and they can generally be conjugated indifferently as verbs or adjectives, but sometimes with a slightly different meaning; thus *phaba mi ama* = a good man, *wangba u ama* = a high tree, while, the man is good = *mi asi phai*, the tree is high = *u asi wângi*. When verbals in *ba* are used as adjectives, an initial *a* is often prefixed, thus *aphaba* or *phaba*, *awangba* or *wângbâ*, are used indifferently. In the feminine the final *ba* is changed into *bi*. There is no change in the plural. Some adjectives are merely the negative forms of their opposites thus *phattaba*, bad, is merely the negative of *phaba*, good.

It is extremely probable that there may be some errors in the above, although I have done my best to ensure correctness. I am very doubtful especially about the difference in meaning between the three different forms

of the past tense and the interrogative forms. I fancy the Manipuris themselves often confuse these forms, and it is extremely difficult in a practically unwritten language like Manipuri, to obtain accurate information on minute points of grammar.

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*The Bārah Bhūyas of Bengal.* No. II.—By DR. JAMES WISE.

It was remarked in a former paper\* that the European and Muhammadan historians are strangely silent regarding the government of Bengal between 1576 and 1593. That the country was ruled by twelve governors, called Bhūyas, the facts embodied in that paper satisfactorily proved, and on examining the writings of early European travellers and missionaries further particulars regarding these governors are obtained.

Jarric,† who derived his information from the Jesuit fathers, sent to Bengal in 1599 by the Archbishop of Goa, mentions that the “prefects” of the twelve kingdoms, governed by the king of the Pathans, united their forces, drove out the Mughuls, “et suum quisque tyrannice regnum invasit; adeo ut nulli hodie pareant, aut tributum pendant. Non se tamen dixere reges, etsi regium splendorem praeferant, sed *Boiones*, quasi forsan Principes. Hisce tum Patanii, tum Bengalani indigenae parent: quorum tres ethnicae superstitiones servant, Chandecanus, Siripuranus, et Bacalanus; reliqui novem Mahometanes: etsi et rex Arracanus, quem Mogosiorum regem dicunt, partem Bengalae occupet.

D’Aivy‡ copies this description of Bengal, but gives a few additional particulars of these twelve sovereigns, as he calls them. The most powerful, he informs us, were those of “Siripur et Chandecan, mais le Masandolin ou Maasudalin,” is the chief. This is evidently the primitive way of spelling Masnad-i-’Alī, the title of ’Isā Khān of Khizrpur.

One of the earliest travellers and writers on Bengal was Sébastien Manrique, a Spanish monk of the order of St. Augustin, who resided in India from 1628 to 1641. On his return he published his Itinerary,§ in which he states that the kingdoms of Bengal are divided into twelve provinces, to wit, “Bengal, Angelim, Ourixa, Jagarnatte, Chandecan, Medinipur, Catrabo, Bacala, Solimanvās, Bulua, Daca, Ragamol.” The king of Bengal, he goes on to say, resided at Gaur. He maintained as vassals twelve chiefs in as many districts (en la doce provincias doce régulos sus

\* Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLIII, for 1874, Part I, p. 197.

† R. P. Petri Jarrici “Thesaurus rerum Indicarum,” Col. Agrippinae, Anno 1615.

‡ La Monde ou la description générale de ses quatres parties, &c., composé par Pierre D’Aivy, Seigneur de Montmartin, à Paris, 1643, fol.

§ “Itinerario de las Misiones que hizo el Padre F. Sébastien Manrique,” en Roma, 1649.



Vasallos), whom the natives call the twelve "Boiones de Bengala, los "quales estan oy todos sugétos al Imperio Mogalano, por guerras civiles "que tubieron entre si después de la ruina, y total destruccion del Empe-  
rador de Bengala."

It is impossible to accept as correct the above list given by Manrique. We doubt that Orissa, Jagarnáth, and Medinípúr, ever had separate rulers; and the name Bengala seems to recall the fabulous city on which so much was written by the travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Catrabo is Katrabo, now a "tappa" on the Lakhya, opposite Khizrúpúr, and which for long was the property of the descendants of 'Isá Khán. Solimanvàs is perhaps Salimbábád in Báqirganj, a pargana which was never included in the territory ruled over by the Chandradíp family.

In the description of the East Indies by Clemente Tosi,\* he mentions "Katabro, capo d'una provincia," and goes on to say "e ritornando in dietro "per la riva del fiume si vedono un dopo l'altro Siripur, Noricul, e Tamboli, "ne cui porti per esser frequentati habitano: et continuando il camino "contra la corrente del fiume vegonsi dalla stessa parte Solimanvàs e "Bacala, citta ambedue metropoli di due Provincie." This passage seems to confirm the supposition that Salimbábád is Solimanvàs.

Finally, Purchas describing Sondípt† in 1602 gives us some insight into the civil war then waging between different nations at the mouth of the Megna. When Bengal was conquered by the Mughuls, they took possession of the island, but Cadaragi [Kedar Rái of Srípúr] still claimed it as his rightful property. The Portuguese captured it; but this roused the anger of the king of Arrakan, who sent a fleet to drive the Portuguese out, "and Cadaray (Kedár Rái), which they say was true Lord of it, sent one hundred Cossi (kosahs) from Srípúr to help him. The combined fleets were defeated, and the Portuguese entered into a treaty with Kedár Rái. Carnalius, the leader of the Portuguese, took his disabled vessels to Srípúr to refit them. There he was attacked by one hundred kosahs under command of "Mandaray, a man famous in those parts." The Mughul fleet was defeated and its admiral Mandaray killed.

These authorities advance our knowledge considerably. The Bhúyas, according to them, had been dependants of the king of Gaur, but had acquired independence by force of arms. They refused to pay tribute, or to acknowledge allegiance to any one. From being prefects appointed by the king, they had become kings, with armies and fleets at their command,

\* Dell' India Orientale descrizione geografica et historica, del P. Abbate D. Clemente Tosi, Roma, 1669.

† Purchas, His Pilgrimage, p. 513.

ever ready to wage war against each other or to oppose the invasion of Portuguese pirates and Mag freebooters.

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*Note on Mahásthán near Bagurá (Bogra), Eastern Bengal.*—By C. J. O'DONNELL, C. S.

Mahásthán Garh is the name of a place famous in the earliest Hindu traditions of this part of India, and also of interest in later times as a Muhammadan shrine of great sanctity. It is situated seven miles north of the Civil Station of Bogra, in  $24^{\circ} 57'$  north latitude and  $89^{\circ} 25'$  east longitude, and consists of a great mound of earth intermixed with old bricks. This is the Hindu Mahásthán, which, literally translated, means the "great place." Branching out from it north and west are two great ramparts, which are continued round to form a quadrangular enclosure, the later Musalmán Fort or *Garh*. Dr. Buchanan, in his account of the Dínájpúr District, says, "the tradition belonging to this District, which is referred to the earliest period by the Hindus, is that it was under the government of Paras'uráma, a very powerful monarch who had subject to him twenty-two princes, and who lived at Mahásthán Garh in Rájsháhí. The Bráhmaṇs, whom I have consulted, consider this personage as the same with the sixth incarnation of the god Vishṇu, who appeared an immense number of years ago, and on this account I have placed this tradition first; but the common belief of the country is that Paras'uráma of Mahásthán was destroyed by a Muhammadan saint named Sháh Sultán Hazrat Auliya. This does not appear remarkable to the Bráhmaṇs, as they consider that Paras'uráma is still on earth and that he now resides in the western parts of India." They make no remark on the contradiction necessary in referring at once to the earliest Hindu tradition and the Musalmán conquest of Eastern Bengal. The only other source from which I have been able to obtain any information about Mahásthán is a selection of popular legends called 'Laghu Bháráta,' put together by a Deputy Collector of this District in very high-flown Sanskrit, together with some theories of his own. The value of the work may be judged from one of the latter, in which he seeks to prove that, after the Páṇḍava war, Sisunág, of the family of the kings of Magadhá, was an independent sovereign of Mecca in Arabia. With regard to Mahásthán he seems more correct. He identifies it with Bárendra, the capital of the country of the Bárendra Hindus. In favour of this view the only arguments are strong, though simple. The whole country between the Ganges, the Mahánandá, Kám-rúp, and the Karatoyá, was undoubtedly the old Barendra Desha. To the present day, much of it is

called 'Barind'. The locality of the greatest fame within it is Mahásthán, and the river of the greatest sanctity, the Karatoyá. At the same time there are evident traces, as I shall afterwards mention, that a considerable city existed near Mahásthán, whilst tradition is even stronger on the point. At that time who were its rulers, it is impossible to say. All round it, however, there are shrines, holy wells and embankments connected with the name of Bhíma, one of the Páṇḍava brothers. The legend runs that at the end of their great contest with the Kauravas, they went into the forests of Kámrúp to perform the penitential ceremony, called *banabás*, for a year, at the end of which time Bhíma settled in the country of the King Viráta, who ruled in Matsya Desha, or the Land of the Fish, which included much of the present Bogra District, and was so called from the fact that Viráta was said to be the offspring of his mother's amour with a fish. Bhíma is said to have made a large fortified town south of Mahásthán, which is marked by great earthworks altogether about eight miles long, and still in places as much as twenty feet high. The whole country between them and Mahásthán is in places covered with old bricks. Inside the earthworks the bricks are fewer, but outside and east from Mahásthán they are very numerous. I am led to think that the enclosure was, like the ring forts of Italy, a place of temporary refuge not only for the people of the neighbouring town, but of the country round in times of danger. On one side it was protected by the great river Karatoyá, and on the other by a deep and wide ditch for some four miles long, which still exists and is used for boat-traffic in the rains. These earthworks are called by the people *Bhímá-jangal*. After Bhíma a dynasty of Asuras is said to have reigned in the surrounding country, and to have made the shrine at Mahásthán one of its most holy places. In Bráhmaṇi literature the word 'Asura' is used very much as we use pagan, and was certainly applied to the Buddhists. Dr. Buchanan explains it as meaning 'a worshipper of S'íva' as opposed to a worshipper of Krishṇa. The other explanation is now preferred, particularly as it is known that the earlier Pála Rájás, many of the remains of whose times are found in this district, were Buddhists. The history of this dynasty belongs properly to Dínájjpúr, but it may be mentioned in connection with Mahásthán that there is a legend that on a certain occasion twelve persons of very high distinction and mostly named Pála, came from the west, to perform a religious ceremony in the Karatoyá river, but arriving too late, settled down on its banks till the next occurrence of the holy season, the Náráyaṇí, which depends on certain conjunctions of the planets, and was then twelve years distant. They are said to have built numerous palaces and temples, dug tanks, and performed other pious acts. They are said to have been of the Bhuinhár or Bháman *zamíndár* tribe, which is, at the present day, represented by the Rájás of Banáras and Bhattia.

On the top of the Mahásthán mound there lies a figure made seemingly of limestone, which I was informed by one of the *fakírs* of the Muhammadan shrine had been found in a neighbouring marsh. It is the figure of a woman, very like what is usually said to be of Buddhist production, but is perfectly nude, and it is hard to find any distinguishing sign. The back is quite undressed and the lower legs which have no feet are square, as if they were intended to fit into holes in some larger piece of stone, probably some part of the front of a temple.

After this time, Mahásthán became a seat of orthodox Hinduism, and the worship of S'íva was celebrated with much fervour. Within a radius of a mile, a hundred thousand *lingas* are said to have been set up in honour of that god. About the end of the thirteenth century, according to the most generally accepted traditions, Mahásthán was the capital of a minor Kshatriya prince, named Paras'uráma. At that time the Muhammadans had conquered Gaur, and driven the last Hindu dynasty out of Nadiyá, and their arms were beginning to be pushed to Eastern Bengal. It was then that a humble *fakír* or religious mendicant appeared before Paras'uráma, and begged for as much ground as he might cover with his *chamrá*, or skin, kneeling on which he might say his prayers. The Hindu prince granted his request, and the *fakír*, turning towards the west, began to pray. Scarcely had he done so when the skin began to expand, and before he had done, it covered nearly the whole principality. Paras'uráma called his troops together and attacked the *fakír*, but to no purpose, as he and they perished in the battle. Paras'uráma had one daughter, the beautiful S'ilá Deví, whom the conqueror, who bore the name of Sháh Sultán Hazrat Auliyá, now claimed as his prize. The Hindu princess pretending to accept her fate, found an opportunity of stabbing him, and then threw herself into the Karatoyá. A steep part of the bank, where there is now a flight of stairs, still bears the name of S'ilá Deví's Ghát, and in Hindu hymns the favourite name for Mahásthán is 'S'ilá Dvípa', or the Island of S'ilá. The word 'island' draws attention to a change which has taken place in the river Karatoyá. It at one time divided into two branches near Mahásthán, re-uniting again about a mile north of the present town of Bagurá. The western branch is now the little stream Subil.

There is a title very frequently appended to Sháh Sultán's name, *viz.* : 'máhi-suwár', or 'riding on a fish', which is variously explained. The most generally given, though not very satisfactory, reason is, that he came in a boat shaped like a fish, or with the figure-head of a fish. A very strange figure is still found on the top of the Mahásthán mound, which may be connected with this name. There is the figure of a girl with a long fish's tail, altogether presenting the recognized semblance of the mermaid of English story. The tail is curved up under the right arm, and is covered with



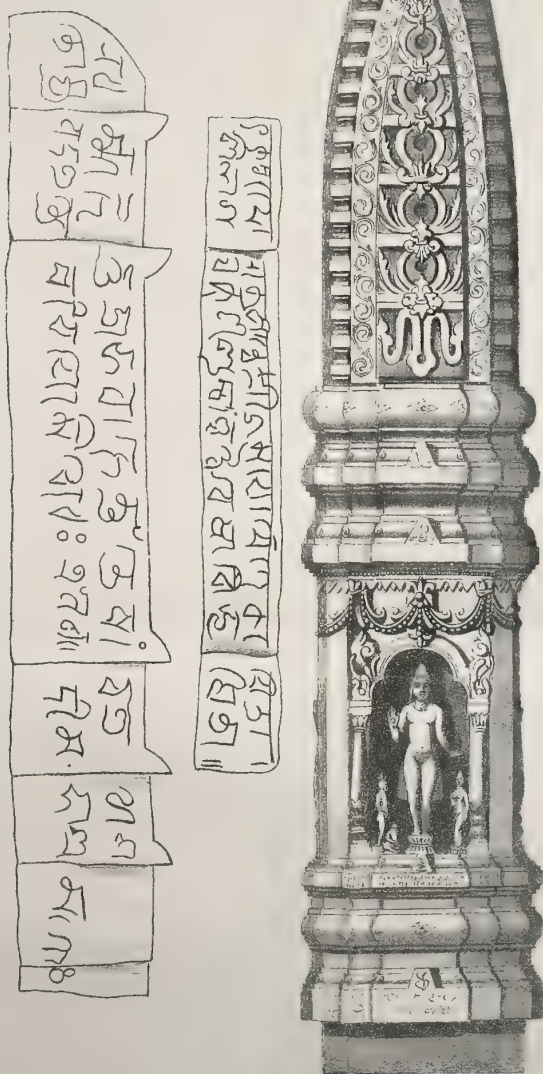
scales. On her head there are also, what seem to be, large scales instead of hair. She is half reclining on her left side, but on what no one can say, as it is much defaced and partly broken or perhaps only chipped. On her right shoulder is a large right hand clenched, placed back downwards with the fingers turned up. At first, this seems part of a larger figure from which it was broken, but I found on a piece of limestone which seemed to have been at one time the threshold of a temple, a relief, much worn, which was precisely the same as the larger one. The relief was three to four inches long and the other about two feet square. I cannot pretend to explain these forms, but it is quite possible that they are connected with the old Hindu times, and may be some reference in stone to the allegory to the name of the land of the fish applied to this country.

All the Muhammadan buildings, some of which by appearance and repute are modern, are entirely made of brick, except where stones, evidently taken from some older building, are used. I noticed a few small blocks of granite lying about. At present, the shrine is approached from the Rangpúr road on the west by a steep flight of stairs. These are evidently of comparatively modern erection, the former approach being from the north by a winding path, like those seen on Buddhist topes, which, after passing nearly once round the mound leads to a spot midway between the tomb of Sháh Sulṭán and a small mosque built some two hundred years ago, and where a large *linga*, some three feet and a half wide, still lies half buried in the ground. The door entering into the tomb is supported on two uprights of stone, on each of which a word or two in Devanagari is still to be seen, though they are in parts so worn as to be unintelligible. I was told by one of the *fakírs* who live on the mound that about twenty years ago an English gentleman carried away to Rangpúr a large square block of stone, on all four sides of which there were inscriptions—he could not say in what character—and figures like the woman-fish above mentioned. This shrine is supported by the largest *pírpal* holding in the district, measuring as it does some 650 acres. It was granted by a sanad given by an Emperor of Dihlí. This has been lost, but it is known that the grant was recognized and confirmed in the year 1076, Hijrah, A. D. 1066, by a *farmán* of the governor of Dháká. In 1836, proceedings were instituted by Government for resumption of this tenure, but they were abandoned in 1844 on proof of the great age of the grant. There are besides other sources of revenue. A fair is held at Mahásthán about the middle of April, the profits of which (about £60) are made over to the shrine. The *mutawallis* of the *dargáh* are of the family of the Chaudhari zamíndárs of Bilár and Paikar.

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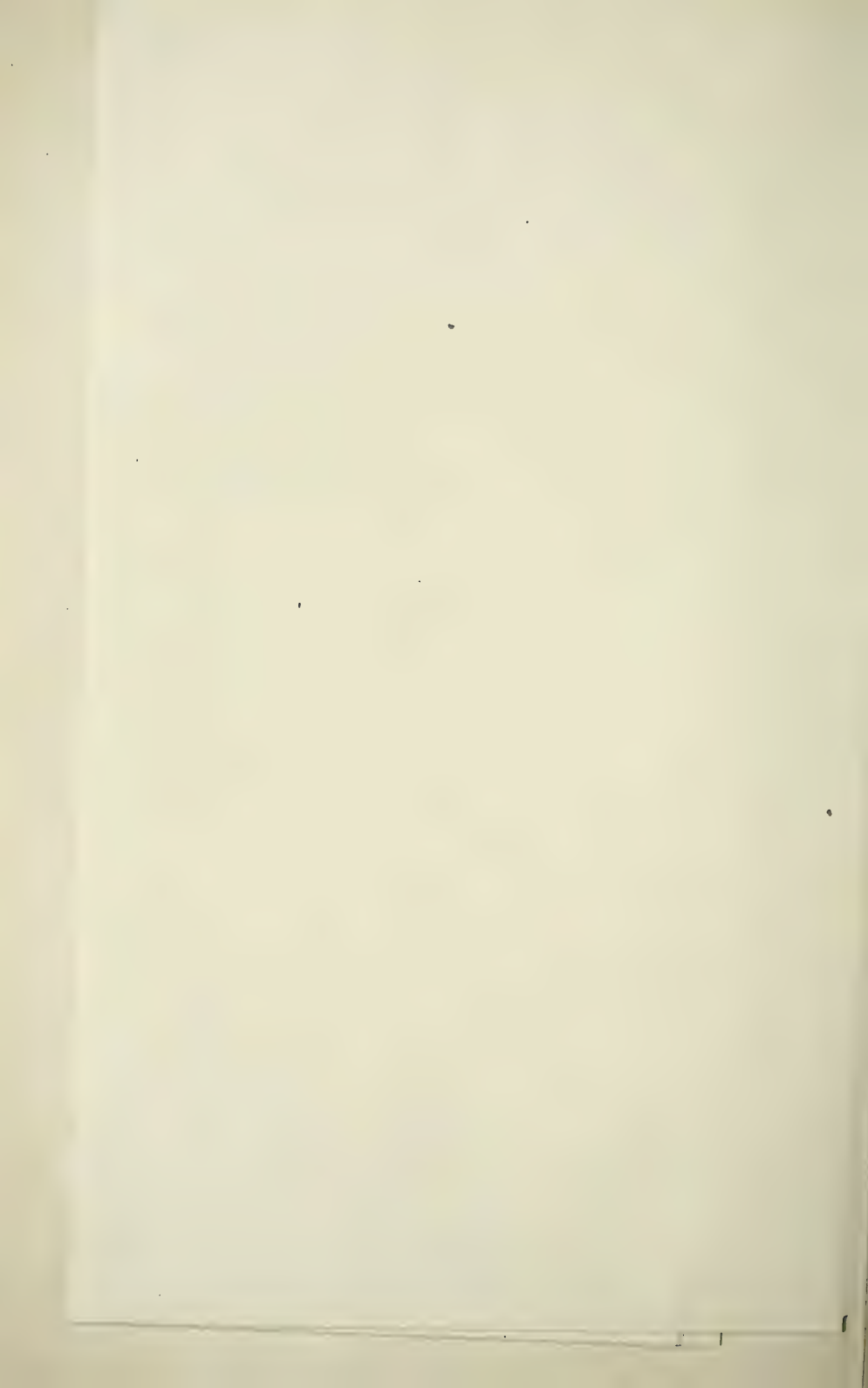


J. Schramberg, Lith.

*Pillar from near POTNITALÁ, District Dinájpúr, Bengal.*

(Scale, 3 inches to one foot.)





# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1873.

*On Traces of Buddhism in Dinájpur and Bagurá (Bogra).—By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, B. C. S., F. R. G. S., Member of the Bengal Asiatic and Royal Asiatic Societies.*

(With a plate.)

I cannot tell what may have been the original position of this little pillar, which was brought to me from the neighbourhood of Potnítalá in Dinájpur. The other three sides are similarly carved to the one which I have drawn, but contain no inscription. From its size I should think that it was a votive offering, set up in a temple or in the court yard of a temple. The Buddhism of the giver is plain, not only from the carving, which represents Buddha teaching the law, with hand uplifted, but from the lower of the two inscriptions, which is the well known Buddhist formula, '*ye dharma hetu prabhava hetu, etc., etc.*' "Of all things proceeding from cause hath Tathágata explained the causes. The great Sramana hath likewise explained the causes of the cessation of existence." The upper inscription I am not Sanskrit scholar enough to read. It seems to give the name of the person who presented 'this stone made pillar', but to contain no date. The character is in that stage of progress towards modern Bengali, which we find in use in the eleventh century of the Christian era. It is more modern than that of the Ámgáchhi copperplate, engraved in the reign of Vigráha Pál, and I should fix its date at the period of one of the last of the Pál kings, a dynasty whose Buddhism is well known. The pillar was probably intended to represent a Buddhist *stupa*, and before it was broken, probably bore three umbrellas, one above another.

In all south-eastern Dinájpur, and the neighbouring parts of Bogra, remains of Buddhism and of the Buddhist Pál kings are numerous. It was in this neighbourhood that in the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang found the Buddhist court of Paundra-Varddhana, which I identify with Varddhana-kúti, the residence of a very ancient family, close to Govindganj, on the Karatoya. Mr. Fergusson, in his paper on Hiouen-Thsang, quotes from an account of Pundra Desa in the fourth volume of the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, that Varddhana Kuta, governed by a Yavana, or Musalmán, was one of the chief towns of Nivritti, comprising Dinájpur, Rangpur, and Koch Bihár, and consequently the eastern half of Hiouen-Thsang's kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana. If the Pál kings were not the rulers of Bengal in the time of Hiouen-Thsang, little more than a century elapsed from his visit before they became so. They resided in the part of the country of which I am speaking, and may have continued to do so for some time after the Sen dynasty had established itself at Bikrampur, near Dháká. Dharmma Pál, whose fort still bears his name, more than seventy miles north of Varddhana-Kúti, and other Pál kings, were ruling east of the Karatoya long after Bengal had been subdued by the Sens, before whom indeed the Páls probably retreated by degrees to the north-east, and were supplanted without any great catastrophe. Had the Sens signally defeated the Páls, and violently dispossessed them, I cannot but think that there would have been some trace of such an event in history.

Be that as it may, the Pál kings and their Buddhism have left their traces plentifully in this corner of Bengal. First, thirty-two miles W. S. W. from Govindganj, in a village called Pahárpur, or 'the Town of the Hill', is a tall brick mound which was once a Buddhist *stupa*, and, so far as I know, the only one of importance in this part of the country. Dr. Buchanan has described it in his account of Dinájpur. It is, he says—"An immense steep heap of bricks, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet in perpendicular height, covered with bushes, and crowned by a remarkably fine tree." Half way up, Dr. Buchanan saw three large rough stones, but without an inscription; for these I searched in vain. "On the summit is a small chamber of brick, with a door facing the east and a small niche towards the west. This is said to have been the residence of a Muhammadan hermit, which is very probable. The heap of bricks, or hill, as it is called, has been surrounded by a square rampart, the ruins of which contain many bricks, and each side may be 400 yards in length. The rampart is overgrown with trees, but the space between it and the hill is clear, contains some small tanks, and indications of brick buildings, especially towards the corners of the rampart. The thickness of this would induce one to believe that the place might have been a fortress; but no ditch can be traced, and the heap, which is by far the most re-

“ markable part of the ruin, could not have answered for defence. I am therefore inclined to believe that it has been a temple, and its great steepness and height induce me to suppose that it has been solid, like many of the temples of Buddha in Ava and Nepál ; for a hollow temple, of which the roof had fallen in, would be much flatter. My conjecture is confirmed by the vicinity of the several places which are said to have belonged to the Pál family, who were worshippers of Buddha.”

I have no doubt but that Dr. Buchanan is correct, and the rampart round, I think, was probably raised, as usual in this low lying country, as a foundation for buildings, which buildings would be the monastery, surrounding the *stupa*.

Only five miles W. N. W., at the curious subterranean place of worship, called Jogíghopá, I saw stone carvings of undoubted Buddhist origin. On one slab, twenty-one inches long, was carved Máyá-Deví, recumbent, with the baby by her side and attendants round her. With it was a slab, 40 inches high, with a relief of Náráyaṇa Chaturbhúja, bearing the *shank, yada*, lotus, and disc, showing that the Buddhist carving had been preserved by the votaries of a later religion. The carvings were singularly perfect. In a field near the tháná of Khyetlál, said to have been a residence of the Bordhoukúti zamíndárs, who once owned all Khyetlál, I saw carvings corresponding curiously with those at Jogíghopá. The carvings at Khyetlál are four. They are set up in a field as objects of worship. One, if not two, are Buddhist, the others are S’aiva sculptures of a later date.

First, on a slab 32 inches by 14, Máyá Deví in high relief ; the head rests on the left hand, the right knee is bent ; the baby, the infant Buddha, is on a pillow below, a small figure is at each end of the bed, and on a scroll above are ten little seated figures. This is probably as early as the ninth or tenth century.

Second, on a slab 12 inches by 9½, a relief of a figure seated on a lotus. He has two arms only. The head has disappeared. Below are two figures, one blowing some instrument, the other holding something like a scarf. I think this may be a Buddha.

Third, on a slab 23 inches by 14, is a relief of a pair dallying. The male is four-armed, and under him is a bull, under the female a lion. I conclude that they represent S’iva and Párvatí.

Fourth, on a slab 38 inches by 20, a sculptured figure, partly in relief, partly in the round, of a deity erect on a lotus. It is much mutilated, and I am not sure whether there were originally four arms or six. Below are two pairs of small female figures, and above one flying, the corresponding corner being broken off. On each side of the principal figure, facing outwards, is the well known device of the Lion, rampant on a small crouching Elephant, of which I have long tried to discover the historical significance.



It evidently belongs to a later period than that of the Buddhist kings. This last sculpture is almost exactly similar to the one at Jogíghopá, called Náráyana Chaturbhuja, which has also the device of the lion and elephant.

It is quite clear that the S'aiva worshippers preserved the Buddhist sculptures of an earlier age with their own. Whence these remains were taken it is impossible to conjecture. The only traces of antiquity near Khyetlal are certain inequalities, said to have formed the site of a residence of the Borddhon-kúti zamíndárs, but they contain scarcely any bricks, and appear to be comparatively modern. Near the sculptures are the S'aiva *lingam* and *argha*, and close by was found a granite pillar, which I caused to be set up at the corner of the tháná compound.

North-east from Panchbíbí tháná, and eleven miles N. N. E. from the Pahárpur *stupa*, on the banks of the Tulsiganga, is the shrine of Nimay Sháh, a Muhammadan saint of great sanctity. The place is called Patharghátá from the number of stones collected in the river. I made my way to this place with great difficulty, and my visit was very disappointing from the density of the jungle and an attack of fever. As I left the shrine, I came face to face with a large leopard, whom I woke up from his siesta under a tree. I saw quite enough to satisfy me that this formed no exception to General Cunningham's rule that the erection of a Muhammadan mosque always implies the destruction of a Hindu temple. There is a decided mound of bricks, which has evidently been much reduced by taking material for the Muhammadan buildings, which have been rather extensive, but if, as I think likely, the mound has been a Buddhist *stupa*, it must have been a much smaller one than the one at Pahárpur, unless indeed, the main part of the original *stupa* has been cut away by the Tulsiganga, which might account for the great number of stones in the bed of the river. Among them I found the head and shoulders of a colossal statue of Buddha.

About a mile to the north-west, at a place called Mahípur, the heavy jungle covers the remains of many masonry buildings, which Dr. Buchanan was told had been the residence of Mahí Pál, while similar ruins at 'Aťápur, close by, were said to have been the palace of Usha Pál. I could hear of no traditions of the Páls when I was in the neighbourhood. On the actual spot there are no inhabitants. Nevertheless, the name of Mahí Pál is certainly suggested by the name Mahípur, as it is by numerous other names, from the tank of Mahí Pál Dighí, forty-five miles to the northwest, to Mahíganj in Rangpur, fifty miles N. N. E. from the great *stupa*. It may be traced in several places called Mahíganj, Mahípur, or Mahínagar, and perhaps in the name of Mahí Santosh, given to the site of a Muhammadan shrine on the banks of the Atrai, in parganah Santosh, evidently occupying the site of a large Hindu town. The inscriptions on the tomb are of the date of Bárbak Sháh.

I have mentioned the frequent existence of brick remains in the jungle in this neighbourhood. I cannot nearly enumerate all, but I may instance the traces of a large town nine miles south of the Pahárpur *stupa*, through which the Northern Bengal Railway, now in course of construction, will run for some distance. The only clue to its origin with which I am acquainted, is the dimension of the bricks, ten inches square by two and a half thick. I believe these large bricks are assigned to the Buddhist period. The only piece of sculpture I saw was a brick carved in relief, in a style which I consider not earlier than the last half of the seventeenth century, but the town is certainly much older than that.

There are remains at Nayánagar on the Karatoya, twenty miles north of the *stupa*, called a Rájbarí. I have not seen them, but at Bagjoná I saw a handsomely carved stone lintel, six feet by ten and a half inches, and seven inches thick, said to have been brought from Nayánagar. It bore no figures or inscriptions.

Close to Jogíghopá are extensive brick remains, said to have been the palace of Dev Pál; whether the Dev Pál of the Munger plate or not I will not say, but certainly he of the Ámgáchhí plate. Bhimla Deví, daughter of Dev Pál, is said by the ignorant *pújáris* to be represented by one of the Jogíghopá carvings. A mile to the south-west, at Amári, are more brick remains, which Dr. Buchanan heard called the palace of Mahí Pál. Across the *bil*, two miles north-east, at Chondíra, are remains, which he was told were those of Chandra Pál's palace; there are more bricks at Kaṭak and Dhorol, and indeed in all the country round are innumerable brick ruins. Seven miles north of the great *stupa* is the celebrated Buddal pillar, set up by a minister of Nárāyaṇ Pál, and bearing an inscription, in which Dev Pál and Sura Pál are mentioned as having preceded Nárāyaṇ Pál. A dozen miles north of that again was found the Ámgáchhí plate, containing a grant by Vighraha Pál, and enumerating his ancestors, Naya Pál his father, Mahí Pál, Dharmma Pál, and others.

I think it likely that much might be added to our knowledge of the Buddhist kings of Bengal, by properly organised research in this neighbourhood. The Pahárpur *stupa* might be excavated, and perhaps that at the shrine of Nimay Sháh, unless it appeared on examination that the river had really cut away the central portion of it. I should like also to endeavour to trace the old towns, especially those occupied by Muhammadan shrines, as at Mahí Santosh; for I consider the selection of a site for a mosque by the early Muhammadans to be an indication that on the spot they found plenty of material in Hindu buildings, or in other words that the site had been occupied by extensive masonry buildings before the Muhammadan conquest.

The sanctity of Jogíghopá, and the Buddhist carvings preserved

there, indicate the remains of the palace of Dev Pāl as another place likely to reward research. Besides the possibility of finding inscriptions, it would be interesting to discover the plan of those great buildings of which the granite cornices, mouldings, and pillars, and the delicately carved doorways, have been spread far and wide through the neighbouring districts, wherever materials were required for new erections. Whether we should succeed in finding any such traces of Buddhist buildings is a question I could not answer positively in the affirmative; for it appears that S'aivas have built with materials taken from Buddhist ruins, Muhammadans have similarly plundered the S'aivas, and have in their turn furnished materials for modern Hindu architecture, but I think the experiment would be well worth trying, and should be glad if I had funds and leisure to devote to it.



*The Rhapsodies of Gambhīr Rāi, the bard of Nūrpur, A. D. 1650.—*

*By* JOHN BEAMES, C. S.

A short notice of this work has already appeared in the Society's Proceedings for August 1872, but as it possesses considerable interest both from a philological and historical point of view, it has been thought advisable to reproduce it entire as regards the text, with tentative translations of such parts as are translatable. Those parts the meaning of which is not clear to me, have been left untranslated, and I hope that scholars in other parts of India will kindly offer suggestions as to these (to me) obscure portions. The whole work may perhaps ultimately be published in the Bibliotheca Indica, but the pages of the Journal seem to be the fitting place for its preliminary discussion.

The work is contained in a little volume of 105 small quarto pages, written in rather an indistinct hand, and very carelessly copied. One line is run into another, and whole words and passages omitted or hopelessly garbled; but there are so many repetitions, that we are fortunately able to restore some of the garbled passages by comparison with other places where the same phrases recur. Some of the characters, especially compound ones, are so badly formed, that I can only guess at their meaning.

The poems are not a continuous history, but short songs or rhapsodies in praise of Rājā Jagat Singh, such as are sung by bards at the feasts and festivals of native princes, and the historical events are hinted at rather than detailed; they were evidently well known to the bard's hearers and therefore needed no further description.

Mr. Blochmann has kindly furnished me with a note on the Rājās of Nūrpur and a translation of the Muhammadan historian's account of Rājā Jagat Singh's rebellion from the Pádisháhnámah. These will form a fitting



introduction to the poem itself, and the allusions therein will be easily understood by reference to the historical narrative.

### The Rájá's of Núrpúr.

Núrpúr lies N. W. of Kángrah, on the Jabbarkhad, a small tributary of the Chakkí river, which flows into the Biáh. Its old name Dhamerí (دهمیری), the "Tammery" of De Laët and other old travellers, was changed to Núrpúr by Rájá Bású in honor of *Núruddín* Muhammad Jahángír. Muhammadan Historians generally call the Rájás of Núrpúr "zamindárs of Mau and Paṭhán". Mau was one of their strongholds, and was destroyed by Sháhjahán; and Paṭhán, or Paithán, is the same as Paṭhánkoṭ, west of Núrpúr. Paṭhán is mentioned in the *Aín* as a parganah of the Bári Dúáb, containing 199,872 big'hahs, yielding a revenue of 7,297,015 dáms (40 dáms = 1 Akbarsháhi Rupee), and furnishing 250 horse and 2000 foot; and Dhamerí is quoted as yielding 1,600,000 dáms, and furnishing 60 horse, and 1800 foot.

The zamindárs of Mau and Paṭhán are first noticed in the very beginning of Akbar's reign, when Rájá Bakht Mall is mentioned as a supporter of Sikandar Súr, whom Akbar, in 965 A. H., besieged in Mánkoṭ. When Bakht Mall saw that Sikandar's cause was hopeless, he paid his respects in the Imperial camp, and accompanied, after the surrender of Mánkoṭ, the army to Láhor, where Bairám Khán had him executed on the ground that he had supported Sikandar Súr. As successor Bairám appointed his brother Takht Mall. I am not sure whether the names of these two Rájás are correct, or whether the first should be called Takht Mall and the second Bakht Mall; for in every MS. of the Akbarnámah that I have seen, the two names (which differ only in the diacritical points) are continually interchanged.

Nearly thirty years later, we hear of Rájá Bású as reigning Zamindár of Mau and Paṭhán. It is not stated how he was related to Bakht Mall and Takht Mall; but the historians of the reigns of Sháhjahán and Aurangzib look upon him as the founder of a new line, and give the following genealogical tree—

Rájá Bású of Núrpúr (dies 1022).

(1.) Súra Mall. (2.) Mádhú Singh. (3.) Jagat Singh (dies 1055).

1. Rájárup (dies 1077).

2. Bháo Singh (Muríd Khán).

The last, Bháo Singh, in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign, turned Muhammadan, and received the name of Muríd Khán. His descendants, according to the *Maásir ul-Umará* still hold Sháhpúr, N. W. of Núrpúr,



near the Rávi, and "he who becomes Rájá, takes the name of Muríd Khán."

Rájá Jagat Singh served under Jahángír in Bengal, and in the 13th year when Súraj Mall rebelled, the emperor called him from Bengal, made him a commander of 1000, with 500 horse, gave him the title of Rájá, and a present of 20,000 Rupees, and sent him to Rájá Bikramájít, who invested Kángrah. Up to the end of Jahángír's reign, he rose to a command of 3000, with 2000 horse.

Under Sháhjahán, Jagat Singh retained his mançab, and was in the 8th year appointed to Bangash, and two years later to Kábul, where he distinguished himself in the capture of Karímdád, the son of Jalálah Taríkí, the Afghán rebel. In the 11th year of Sháhjahán's reign, when 'Alí Mar-dán handed Qandahár to Sháhjahán, and Sa'id Khán (سعید خان) was sent from Kábul to drive away the Persians, Jagat Singh commanded the *haráwal*, or vanguard. Arrived at Qandahár, Jagat Singh was ordered to conquer Zamín-Dáwar; he accompanied afterwards the army to Bust, where he distinguished himself. In the 12th year, he paid his respects at Láhor, received several presents, and was appointed Faujdár of Upper and Lower Bangash. Whilst he was there, his son Rájrúp rebelled, as will be seen from the following free translation from the *Pádisháhnámah*.

### The Conquest of Mau and Nu'rupu'r under Sha'hjahá'n.

(*Pádisháhnámah*, Ed. Bibl. Indica, II, pp. 237ff.)

In the 12th year of Sháhjahán's reign, when Sháhjahán was at Láhor, he appointed Rájrúp, eldest son of Rájá Jagat Singh of Mau, Faujdár of the Dáman i Koh i Kángrah and collector of the *peshkash* due by the several petty hill states. In the following year, when the emperor was in Kashmír, Rájrúp, who acted in concert with his father in Bangash, rebelled, and Jagat Singh, through friends he had at court, expressed a feigned dissatisfaction at the misconduct of his son, and requested the emperor to relieve him of his duties in Bangash and bestow upon him the office of his son. This would give him an opportunity of punishing Rájrúp, and of collecting the *peshkash*, which he valued at four lacs of rupees. The emperor gladly accepted the offer; but no sooner had Jagat Singh arrived in his district than he made preparations for rebellion, trusting to the height of his hill forts and the impenetrability of the jungles. He fortified especially Tárágarh, with the view of making it an asylum in days of ill-luck.

When the news of his rebellious conduct reached the court, Sháhjahán could scarcely believe it, and sent Kabrái Sundar to Mau to report on the truth of the rumour. Sundar had an interview with Jagat Singh, and, on his return to court, reported that the Rájá was sorry for his misbehaviour; he wished, however, to remain for a year in his district, and would send his

son Rájráp to court to ask for pardon. The emperor hesitated no longer, and appointed three corps to commence operations against Jagat Singh. The first corps was placed under Sayyid Khán Jahán Bárha,\* who was supported by Nazar Bahádur Khweshagí;† Shamsuddín, son of Zulfaqár Khán; Rájá Amr Singh of Narwar; Sayyid Luṭf 'Alí; Jaláluddín Mahmúd; Ráo Dan Singh Bhadauria; Mír Buzurg; Sarmast, son of I'timád Rái; and several other maṇṇabdárs, Ahadís, both bowmen and matchlockmen, and zamíndár troops. The second corps was commanded by Sa'id Khán Bahádur Zafarjang, together with his sons and relations, Rájá Rái Singh, Itifát Khán Çafawí, Gokul Dás Sísauidiah, Rái Singh Jhálá, Kripáram, Nádi 'Alí, Chait Singh, with other maṇṇabdárs and Ahadís, both bowmen and matchlockmen, and Mushkí Beg, Bakhshí of Dará Shikoh, with 1000 horse of the Prince's contingent. The third corps was under Açalát Khán, his brother 'Abdulkáfi, Muhammad Amín and Muhammad Múmin, sons of Sháh Qulí Khán, and other imperial maṇṇabdárs, and Khusrau Beg, an officer in the employ of Yamín ud-daulah [Açaf Khán Khánkhánán, brother of Núr Jahán, and father of Mumtáz Mahall] with 1000 horse of his contingent, and 500 horse belonging to Islám Khán under their Bakhshí. The whole was placed under the command of Prince Murád Bakhsh, who with Rájá Jaisingh, Ráo Amr Singh, Ján-sipár Khán, Akbar Qulí Khán Sulṭán Gakk'har, Harí Singh Ráthor, Chandr Man Bundelah, Daulat Khán Qiyámkhání, Rái Kásídás, Khizr Sulṭán Gakk'har, and Khalíl Beg with 700 Ahadís, Náhir Solangí, Bába i Khweshagí, and other maṇṇabdárs, was to move from Kábul over Siyálkoṭ to Paṭhán.

On the 17th Jumáda I., 1051 [14th August, 1641], the first two corps under Sayyid Khán Jahán and Sa'id Khán assembled at Ráipúr and Bahrámpúr, waiting for the arrival of the Prince; and Açalát Khán pushed on to Jammú, to collect the zamíndári troops of the District. When the Prince arrived, the whole army marched to Paṭhán. Khán Jahán and Sa'id Khán had each received valuable presents from his Majesty before leaving; so had Açalát Khán, Rái Singh, Itifát Khán, Nazar Bahádur Khweshagí, Zulfaqár Khán, Shamsuddín, son of Nazar Bahádur, Rájá Amr Singh of Narwar, Gokul Dás Sísauidiah, Rái Singh Jhálá, and others. One lac of rupees was given to Khán Jahán as an advance. As reporter to Khán Jahán's detachment Sulṭán Nazar was appointed, and Qází Nizámá to that of Bahádur Khán.

Murád Bakhsh now appointed Sa'id Khán, Rájá Jai Singh, and Açalát Khán, to invest Fort Ma u, which lies 3 kos from Paṭhán, and remained himself in that town to collect supplies.

Khán Jahán, on the 2nd Jumáda II. [29th August, 1641], left Ráipúr,

\* Aín translation, pp. 392, 394.

† Of Kasúr, Láhor District.

in order to march by the Balhawán Pass (بلهوان) on Núrpúr. At the foot of the pass, he came upon Rájrúp. Khán Jahán appointed Najábat Khán *haráwal*, who engaged Rájrúp. The obstacles which had been set up at the foot of the pass, were forced, and Khán Jahán moved rapidly to Machhí Bhawan. The enemy had everywhere blockaded the roads; but a native of the district shewed the Imperialists a path, which from its inaccessibility had not been obstructed. By this way the army arrived on the 14th Rajab [9th October, 1641] at the summit of a hill, half a *kos* from Núrpúr. The houses outside the Fort were given up to pillage, and the army encamped at the foot of the Fort. The Fort, which was well provided with provisions and material, was garrisoned by about 2000 mountaineers, mostly armed with matchlocks. Khán Jahán opened trenches and commenced the siege.

Sa'id Khán had in the mean time marched by way of Mount Hárah (ساره), and Rájá Jai Singh and Açálat Khán along the valley of the Chakkí River, and both met at Mau. The army encamped near Rájá Bású's villa, which lies on even ground, but it is joined by means of a hill with Mau itself. The roads were everywhere blockaded, and stone barricades with towers had been erected. The army could only slowly advance, and the soldiers had everywhere to cut trenches for protection against the fire of the enemies.

On the 17th Rájab [12th October], Qulij Khán and Rustam Khán joined the Prince at Paṭhán, bringing orders from Court that Qulij Khán should march to Mau, and Rustam Khán to Khán Jahán at Núrpúr. Reports had, in the mean time, been received at Court from loyal zamíndárs of the district to say that the occupation of Rúpār (روپړ), which overlooks Mau, was necessary for the complete investment of Mau; and as Prince Murád Bakhsh reported the same, orders were sent to Sa'id Khán to move to Rúpār. A portion of the troops at Núrpúr under Najábat Khán as *haráwal*, Nazar Bahádur Khweshagí, Akbar Qulí Sultán Gakk'har, and Rájá Mán of Gwáliár, should join Sa'id's corps. On the receipt of these orders, Sa'id Khán, on Tuesday, 15th Sha'bán [9th November, 1641], broke up, marched along the Núrpúr Pass, and halted in the neighbourhood of the Mau Mountain on the road to Rúpār. He then sent his sons Sa'dullah and 'Abdullah with a detachment of men of his own contingent, and Imperial Rifles under Zulfaqár, from the right and the left, up the mountain to fix upon a site for the camp. On reaching the height, they sent a report to Sa'id that much jungle would have to be cut, if the whole army was to come up. They waited for further orders, when they were suddenly attacked by 4 or 5000 matchlockmen and bowmen from a neighbouring hill. Sa'id sent at once reinforcements under his son Luṭfullah, and afterwards more under Shaikh Faríd and Sarandáz Khán. Before Luṭfullah could join his brothers, he was attacked, and received a sword-wound in the right shoulder and a spear-wound in his left



arm. He was with difficulty taken from the field by Khwájah 'Abdurrahmán, son of 'Abdul 'Azíz Naqshbandí, as the enemies were just disabling the horse. Zulfaqár drove away the enemies who had attacked him, and retreated to Sa'id Khán, and soon after, Sa'dullah and 'Abdullah arrived likewise. Sa'id Khán reached Rupar next day, cut down the jungle for the encampment, cut ditches, and set up hedges, to guard against night-attacks. The enemies now collected in large numbers round about, and continued to erect fences and throw up obstacles of all sorts. Sa'id advanced slowly cutting down the jungle; and on the 21st Sha'bán [15th November], the vanguard under Najábat Khán arrived at a pass in the neighbourhood of a hostile camp near Rájá Bású's garden. The enemies were at once attacked, from one side by Zulfaqár with the Imperial artillery, and from the other by Nazar Bahádur Khweshagí, Shaikh Faríd, Akbar Qulí Sultán Gakk'har, Sarandáz Khán, and Rájá Mán. A number of men of Najábat Khán and Rájá Mán put boards on their heads instead of shields, rushed forward, and set fire to a wall made of poles and planks. Several were killed on both sides.

In the night before the 29th Sha'bán [22nd to 23rd November], Rájá Mán sent about one hundred foot of his own native place to surprise Fort Chhat (چھٹ). They killed many enemies, who had left the Fort to oppose them, among them the commander. A portion of them occupied the Fort, the rest returned to Rájá Mán.

During the day, a bastion (*burj*) of Fort Núrpúr, which Khán Jahán besieged, was blown up. This happened as follows. Zulfí Ahúnzan and Aqá Hasan Rúmí had laid seven mines in various directions. Six of them had been discovered by the besieged, who filled them with water. The seventh had been made from the trenches of Khán Jahán's men, and had been successfully carried forward to the bastion, a space of three yards only remaining undug to the very foundation of the bastion. Khán Jahán's son and his men, from fear that the besieged would detect the last mine too, filled it with powder, and sent word to Khán Jahán that the mine was ready. Khán Jahán, therefore, gave in the afternoon orders to the men of several trenches to be ready for an assault, and to fire the mine. But as the mine was incomplete, one side only of the bastion flew up, whilst the other side sank to the ground. But the besieged had been cunning enough to erect behind each bastion a wall, which was joined with both ends to the outer wall of the Fort. This wall behind the blown up bastion remained uninjured, and no actual breach was effected; and Sayyid Luţf 'Alí and Jaláluddín Mahmúd, who had rushed forward with Khán Jahán's men, found the way closed, and called to the *bíldárs* to throw down the wall. The besieged thinking that the Imperialists had succeeded in effecting a breach, retreated to the inner Fort, keeping up a destructive fire on Luţf 'Alí, who was shot in the



hand. But unfortunately it got dark, and the storming party had to retire.

In the end of Sha'bán, Bahádúr Khán was ordered by his Majesty to move from Islámpúr to Paṭhán, where he met the Prince with 3000 horse and the same number of foot. On the last of Sha'bán [23rd November], Damṭál [south of Paṭhánkot] was taken by Bahádúr Khán, and Tihárí by Allah Virdí Khán. The emperor also sent orders that Aḡálat Khán should hasten to Núrpúr and take part in the siege; and Sayyid Khán Jahán, Rustam Khán, and others, together with Bahádúr Khán as *haráwal*, should attack Mau by way of Ganga-thal (گنگ تھل); for when Mau was conquered, it would be easier to reduce Núrpúr. The Prince should leave Ráo Amr Singh and Mírzá Hasan Ḡafawí in Paṭhán, and march upon Mau, and encamp in the pass, where, in former days, 'Abdullah Khán Bahádúr had encamped.

On the 1st Ramazán [24th November], the Prince left Paṭhán for Mau. Jagat Singh began now to doubt of success, and requested Allah Virdí Khán to beg the Prince to allow Rájrúp an interview: the Imperial commanders, from envy and hatred towards him, had forced the war on him, and their only object was to rob and kill him and his people. As Rájpút, he had to defend his military honor; but as the Prince had now himself come, he wished to submit and send his son to settle affairs.

On the 5th Ramazán [28th November, 1641], Rájrúp with a halter round his neck appeared before the Prince, who promised to intercede on Jagat Singh's behalf with his Majesty. But the emperor, to whom the Prince sent a report, demanded an unconditional surrender, and Murád Bakhsh had to send Rájrúp back.

Sayyid Khán Jahán and Bahádúr Khán were now sent by the Prince over Gangat'hal to Mau. They moved slowly forward cutting down the jungle, and drove away the enemies wherever they found them. When they approached strong barricades, they dug trenches, and thus succeeded in overcoming all obstacles. When they reached Mau, Jagat Singh, with the best men of his own clan, engaged them in sharp encounters for five days. Neither Bahádúr Khán, nor Khán Jahán, spared their men; in fact, the men of Bahádúr Khán used the dead bodies of the slain to step over the trenches dug by the enemies. But during these five days, no less than 700 men of Bahádúr Khán's contingent were killed and wounded, and the same number of the other corps. A large number of the enemies also 'went to hell.' All officers fought gallantly, Sayyid Khán Jahán, Rustam Khán, and others, but especially Bahádúr Khán, Sayyid Khán Jahán's *haráwal*.

But as the war made slow progress, his Majesty ordered that the attacks upon Mau should be vigorously continued at the place where Khán Jahán

and Bahádúr Khán had fought, and the other corps should also attack and take the Fort by storm. On the morning of the 20th Ramazán, therefore, [13th December, 1641], the Prince gave the Bakhshís of his own men the order to make a general assault, and sent word to Khán Jahán and Sa'id Khán to commence the assault on their side. Sa'id Khán delayed, but Khán Jahán faithfully rendered excellent service, and Rustam Khán and Bahádúr Khán and many others distinguished themselves by their gallantry. They, from their side, and Rájá Jai Singh, Qulij Khán, and Allah Vírdí Khán, from the other side, were firmly resolved to take Mau by assault. Rájá Jai Singh, and Allah Vírdí Khán from the valley, Qulij Khán from the left, and the others from the right, succeeded to pass through the jungle, and managed to reach the summit of the mountain. In consequence of the continued fights on the preceding days, Jagat Singh had been so weakened, that he called in troops which he had posted to certain places to keep back the Imperialists; and Rájá Jai Singh, Qulij Khán, and Allah Vírdí Khán, who were nearest to Mau, found the ascent easy. The few men that held the barricades opposite to them, could not offer serious resistance, whence it happened that they entered Mau before Khán Jahán and Bahádúr Khán had come up. Jagat Singh had before taken his family and treasures to Tárágarh, and had remained alone in Mau; but when he saw the luck and the successes of his enemies, he took his sons and dependents who had escaped the sword, and fled.

Two days after [15th December, 1641], Açálat Khán reported to the Prince that the besieged in Núrpúr, considering Jagat Singh's cause hopeless after the fall of Mau, had at midnight deserted the Fort, which was now in his possession.

On the 23rd Ramazán [16th December, 1641], the Prince sent Prithí Chand, zamíndár of Chambah, whose father had been killed by Jagat Singh, to court. Mau was left in charge of Rájá Jaisingh; Tihári was garrisoned by Qulij Khán; Damtál by Gokuldás Sísauidiah; and Paṭhán by Mírzá Hasan Çafawí. A large detachment was told off to cut down the jungle and widen the roads in the neighbourhood of Mau.

The Prince then returned with Bahádúr Khán and Açálat Khán to court, when he arrived six days later.

On 1st Shawwál [23rd December, 1641], the Prince received orders to bring Jagat Singh either a prisoner or dead to court. Prithí Chand received the title of Rájá and a mançab of 1000, with 400 horse, and was ordered to return to Chambah, to collect his men, and to occupy a hill near Fort Tárágarh, the possession of which was necessary before the Fort could be taken. Tárágarh in fact belongs to Chambah; but Jagat Singh had taken it by force.

On 5th Shawwál [27th December, 1641], the Prince reached Núrpúr

with Sayyid Khán Jahán, and sent Sa'id Khán with his sons to Jammú. Bahádur Khán and Açálat Khán with nearly 2000 horse were sent to Tárágarh. Rájá Mán Singh of Gwáliár, the sworn enemy of Jagat Singh, joined Prithí Chand, in order to attack Tárágarh from the rear.

Although the fort was high, and difficult of access beyond all expectation, the Imperialists commenced the siege. \* \* \* Jagat Singh seeing that he was vigorously attacked from all sides, was now sorry that he had rebelled against his Majesty, his benefactor, and addressed Sayyid Khán Jahán to intercede for him with the Prince. The Prince recommended him to the mercy of the emperor. Tárágarh was to be handed over to the Imperialists, and was to be destroyed with exception of certain houses which at Jagat Singh's request were to be left as dwelling-places for his servants, and as store houses for his property. The fortifications of Mau and Núrpúr were likewise to be levelled.

This was done. Jagat Singh invited Sayyid Khán Jahán to dismantle Tárágarh. The Sayyid then ordered his relation Sayyid Fírúz to destroy the Sher Háji bastion and other fortifications.

On Thursday evening, 19th Zil Hajjah [11th March, 1642], Jagat Singh paid his respects to the Prince. Najábat Khán was ordered to make a settlement for the whole district. Bahádur Khán and Açálat Khán were left in Núrpúr to dismantle the bastions, and the Prince with Sayyid Khán Jahán and Jagat Singh together with his sons went to Court.

On the 25th Zil Hajjah, Jagat Singh and his sons, each with a *fauṭāh* round the neck, were presented to his Majesty, who pardoned them.

On the 19th Muharram, 1052 [10th April, 1642], Rájá Jagat Singh and Rájúp, his son, who had escaped the fire of his Majesty's wrath, were reappointed to their former rank and office. Soon after, Jagat Singh went with Dára Shikoh to Qandahár, and was made commandant of Qalát. In the 17th year of Sháhjahán's reign, Sa'id Khán was made governor of the Qúbah, and Jagat Singh, who could not agree with him, was sent with the army to Badakhshán (1055), whither his son Rájúp accompanied him. He occupied Khúst, Saráb, and Indráb, and erected between the last two places a strong stockade with masonry towers, and successfully repelled the attacks of the Uzbaks. Leaving a strong garrison in his stockade, Jagat Singh, in Ramazán 1055, returned to Panjshír, bravely fighting on the road under heavy snowstorms. Ill-health compelled him to go to Pasháwar, where he died in the end of the same year [January, 1646].

Rájúp was made Rájá, a commander of 1500, with 1000 horse, and was left in possession of his zamíndáris. But Murshid Qulí, the Faujdár of Dáman i Koh i Kangrah, in the beginning of 1056, was ordered to take away Tárágarh. He did so, and Tárágarh was henceforth garrisoned by Imperialists.—

The manuscript belongs to the Hon'ble E. C. Bayley, for whom it was copied from the original in his possession of the Rájá of Núrpúr. The copy ends abruptly, and it is probable that it has not been completed. The Rájá was unwilling to allow the copy to be taken, and now states that the original has been lost. We must therefore make the best of the present text. The work is in two parts, the first part ends on page 57, where the second part begins with the words अब राजा मानघाताके कवित्त जगत सिंह का पौत्रा राज-रूप का पुत्र मानघाता ॥ "Now begin the poems of Rájá Mándhátá, grandson of Jagat Singh, son of Rájúrú, Mándhátá." The Muhammadan historians do not mention any person as Mándhátá: the succession, according to them passed from Jagat's son Rájúrú to another son, Bháo Singh, who turned Musalmán, and took the name of Muríd Khan. Who this Mándhátá was is therefore uncertain, but the word is a title rather than a proper name, and may therefore be used of some person known to the historians by a different name.

I now give text and translation of the invocation and the first twelve kavitas.

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

गजमुख सन्मुख हो तंहो ॥

विघ्न मुख होय जात ॥

ज्यों मग परत पराग पग ॥

पाप पहार विलात ।

कवित । उमद्यो हे समुद्र ज्यों साह जहां दिल्ली पत ॥

कै लाख दल साज डेरा आन कर्यो हे ॥

सुंदर सुकवे इत जगत सुमेरु भूष ॥

मउ के मदान बीच खंभ गाड लर्यो हे ॥

आडें करि गांठी कोऊ दूर ते न कुहन पावे ॥

थांभी पातसाही सनमुख सार भार्यो हे ॥

मानतन आन सभ बांधि वासुदेव सुत ॥

जानो वनजारा एक टांडा लाद पर्यो हे ॥ १ ॥

भयो है मवास वासुदेव को जगत सिंह ॥

भई देश देश वात जग मे कहानी हे ॥

चौकस हे चऊं उर वेर रावो साह दल ॥

मारत है सांभ मोर यहे जीय जानी हे ॥



चलत न वाट घाट रहे न उमराउ ठाठ ॥  
 खाने बिन पानी बिन फौजे विललानी हे ॥  
 सुनके खबर पातसाह जीय संसा पर्यो हे ॥  
 मउ की मही मयारो मौत की नसानी हे ॥ २ ॥  
 राजन के राजा महाराजा जू जगत सिंह ॥  
 तेरी तरवार भरी भेख हे भवानी को ॥  
 कहे कवि राइ एसा बीर रच्यौ जगत सिंह ॥  
 आग सो जरत लोभ लोह की निसानी को ॥  
 अजों लग राउ रंक खेत मे खपत जात ॥  
 जेते केते कोडे वडे पूत तुरकानी को ॥  
 जनमे ते मारे अजनमे सकुच डारे ॥  
 तूं नहार्यो भेट पेट हार्यो मुगलानी को ॥ ३ ॥  
 एके हरी हर एके कामना कल्पतरु ॥  
 एके दिनकर यहै तप तेज जाही में ॥  
 एके नभ धूँध तारो शेषनाग धर्यो भार्यो ॥  
 उद्ध के पर हृद् बांधो कल याही मे ॥  
 एकै मरदानो जोर जालम जगत सिंह ॥  
 तेग त्याग सत्तशील प्रभु पूजा जाही में ॥  
 एके नभ एके वाय दूसरे वताऊं काहे ॥  
 एक पातसाह एक राजा पातसाही में ॥ ४ ॥  
 कीने एसे जोर जंग जग में जगत सिंह ॥  
 कूटे हे अनगन धनख वाण कसके ॥  
 फूट गई फौजे और कूटे हे कटक सभ ॥  
 ए कटुक कीने केते घाउ सभके ॥  
 कहत गंभीर वर बीर वासुदेव सुत ॥  
 हने हे गजराज तेऊ रहे हे वन वसके ॥  
 डार मृग काल खाल खाल लेत उाढवे को ॥  
 कुंजर को सोस गरे ईस नाच्यो हसके ॥ ५ ॥  
 जिन मखयाला लियो हे भूप बीच कियो  
 भई हे खबर देश देश यह वात हे ॥  
 जां के दल चढत हलत गढ कोट

घास ज्यों मवास जित कित रोठो जात है ॥  
 राजा वासुदेव सुत कहत गंभीर राय ॥  
 वेरन के नेर खलभेल सेां विहात है ॥ ६ ॥  
 गोलिन की मारी डग डोली सी फिरत फौजें ॥  
 और पातसाहन की कही उर सलई ॥  
 मरद मैदान में वेठो है जोत खंभ ॥  
 गाड चक्कीहं के बीच कीच रुधिर की लई ॥  
 सूरे सरदार मारे जित कित खंड डारे ॥  
 लीनी हर हरख गही खंड मालई ॥  
 साहन सेां कर रुठ वेठो देण मऊ मांभ ॥  
 जगत हलायो एक जगता न हालई ॥ ७ ॥  
 खंभ बांध खान मार्यो खेत चढ मीर मार्यो ॥  
 केते उमराउ मारे हैहे नहि रान कोां ॥  
 कावली कलवास लाख क्यों न आयो ॥  
 और चारो पांचो सहजादा आयो वान बांधके ॥  
 केते उमराउ और केतक सुपाह भेजे ॥  
 जो आप क्यों न आयो पातसाह तुरकाने कोां ॥  
 कवहं कवहं सुध होत लसकर मांभ ॥  
 जगता न जाने जीय और मरदाने कोां ॥ ८ ॥  
 छूटे उमराउ और साह के हसम लूटे ॥  
 हाथी हय उट नको धारा हांक ल्याये है ॥  
 सुंदर कुकवे एक पेड़ पर राखी भैंड ॥  
 चकत्ता सेां खंभ गह दावा कै दिखायो है ॥  
 भाख मार रहै सभ काह्र ते' न खुस्यो कक् ॥  
 ताते' साह जहां भुपके आजज मनायो है ॥  
 जीवन प्रमाण तेरो जग में जगत सिंह ॥  
 जेतो पियो ते अमृत तेतो ही पचाया है ॥ ९ ॥

॥ सिवैया ॥

श्री जगता जग सांइ कियो पत राख लई महावीरन की ॥  
 धाइ मिले रजपूत बहादुर मार करी रन तीरन की ॥

बारहीं बार पुकारत फौजन भूल गई सुध मीरन की ॥

जेइ आइ मिले सुकराना भयो गय सीरनि बांठन पीरन की ॥ १० ॥

॥ कवित्त ॥

राजन के राजा महाराजा जू जगत सिंह

कंपत सदा को साह तेरी तरवार ते ॥

तेरे ही अवध गयो है [दुयन] सभते

तो सरह बांधी सिंधु वार पार ते ॥

राजा वासुदेव तनय कहत गंभीर राय

थांभ्यो है पहार सभ तेरे भुज भार ते ॥

उत्तर नरेश देश देश में सुजस तेरो

राउ राजा रोज पावे तेरे दरबार ते ॥ ११ ॥

जेतो जोर ऊतो तेतो चकत्ता लाय थक्यो

भेजे सब सूबा अब कौन को पठावेगो ॥

सुंदर सुकव जेइ आए तेइ सूर कोने

मऊ सोम सिंह रूप आगे कौन आवेगो ॥

कलि में अमर भयो जगता प्रसिद्ध

जग भूभी पातसाही नव खंड कीर्ति गायो है ॥

लक्ष्मी नरायण सहाय तेरो रैन दिन

भक्त मार साह जहां चूमके मनावेगो ॥ १२ ॥

हेंदु सुलतान गह गेंडु ज्यों पटके मीर

भीर अरंभ जनम जेज तेज तत्ता है ॥

माई दास वल वेन प्रगट्यो पुरूरव

किधो मानो मान धत्ता है ॥

ढाहे गढ कोट राजा राउत के ओट

दोजे कौन जोट एक चोट कौं चकत्ता है ॥

हाथ का मुकत्ता मन राम नाम रत्ता

चारो मद मत्ता जोर जग में जगत्ता है ॥ १३ ॥

सकुचै सराजी सुन सटके समरकंदी

दुनियां को दौर दुति दोनी है दिल्लीस की ॥

बलख वुखारै न पलक लागे रैन संकत

सिपाहां पे संक सभ भेस की ॥

कहत गंभीर राय राजा वासुदेव सुत  
 तो लों करो राज जो लों माथे मन श्रेष्ठ की ॥  
 खुरी में कंधार लई खुरासान रोर गई  
 परी है हरेउ हई जगता नरेस की ॥ १४ ॥

॥ सवैया ॥

श्री जगता जग सिंह चह्यौ धर धूम मची चह्मं चक्र में चाला ॥  
 नाउ विना चऊ लाउ लघी जों वि हाथहीं हाथ भयो जैसें नाला ॥  
 जारेज जूहे कै कोटस और धूरं की धूर भयो नभ काला ॥  
 पांच मलका गहै पल एक में कूगएल में मखयाला ॥ १५ ॥

॥ कवित्त ॥

तेरी तो कुमान कुरमान में हिरान रही  
 तीर रहै तरकस में एतो बोल बोली है ॥  
 सैदा खां नवाव पे कवाव भूले वार वार  
 जगता ने खेत मांछो घुंघट पट खाली है ॥  
 चारो सहजादे पातसाह आप आयो  
 मऊ के मदान मांभ वरका की होली है ॥  
 वासुदेव नंद जू नरेद जग माह भयो  
 सारी पातसाही ते तराजू पार तोली है ॥ १६ ॥  
 रोस के उधान कीनो राम राम चित भीनो  
 शैल न वरख वान जगत हिलाए है ॥  
 करवर धारा रिपु शीस भूज कारा न्यारा  
 हर हारा रन ते पुकारा प्रेत आयो है ॥  
 धकाधक भीर चीर चुभट समीर तीर  
 प्रवल पैठाण तेरे लोह ते गलाए हैं ॥  
 सुकव गंभीर राय जगता नरेश जग  
 शत्रु मारे खेत गह गरदमें मिलाए हैं ॥ १७ ॥  
 रिस के उठान कीनो बांध लीने रिपु तीनो  
 सवै जिय जानी वडी कलह मिटाई है ॥  
 सूबेदार मौजदार राउ राजा वार पार  
 सात सिंधु लों हकात बली बल दाई है ॥



जीवन जनम धन्न तेरो प्रवल पैठाण पत

अचल चलाय रिपु भवन में पिटाई है ॥

सुकव गंभीर राय जगत नरेन्द्र इन्द्र

तेरे कर उरत्त सब सुधा हिलाई है ॥ १८ ॥

औ जगता रण सिंह चहौ धरणी धसकी फन शेष के टूटे ॥

दिलीश्वर के दल में गल वदल आय चहं दिस केहर घूटे ॥

भभके तभ सुंड ते शोणत पूरण भागय ते कुंभ सत्तर तूटे ॥

राय गंभीर कहै जीय सांच वडो वल वाज्ज मतं गज कूटे ॥ १९ ॥

### Translation.

Om! Reverence to S'ri Ganesha!

Thou of the elephant face, be present, then

Thy face is conquering obstacles,

As when the foot alights on the road to Parâg,

The mountain of sin melts away.

होए जात = जयत है 'is conquering.' जात for जयत, with substitution of अ for य, just as in the fourth line विलात for विलयत. Or if जात is the present tense of जाना, which is the most natural way to take it, we must make विघ्न the nominative and render "obstacles depart from before thy face"; मुख would thus have to be expanded into तुम्हारे मुख से. The first translation seems preferable. पराग is of course प्रयाग. The elision of य is frequently noticed in these poems, the dialect of which may be described as seventeenth century Rājput Hindī of an extreme northwestern type, verging on Panjābī and the Doghrā dialects of the hills.

The next kavitt has already appeared in the Proceedings above quoted, and is here reproduced in order to complete the translation.

1. Swelled like the sea Shāh Jahān, lord of Dilli,  
Arraying an army of many lakhs, he came and pitched his tent.  
Beautiful, fair-faced, is here Jagat, king of Sumerū,  
In the plain of Mau planting the pillar he fought.  
Making hedges and entrenchments, that no one might touch him from afar,  
Restraining the Pātshāh's forces, he swept with the steel.  
The son of Bāsūdev coming arraying all his honored ones,  
Like a banjārā, having loaded his *tāndā*, has alighted.

दिल्ली is of course Delhi, in its old Hindī spelling.

The Muhammadan historian does not say that the Emperor himself was present at the siege, and from other parts of Gambhír's own poems, it would appear that he was not there, though in others he is said to have been present. We must therefore refer आन कौँ ह not to the Pādishāh, but to the army. The grammatical construction is excessively loose through-

out the poems. आन is in Hindí often an irregular indefinite participle from आना, to come, though it may also be from आनना, to bring. In Panjábí, आण is more frequently used in the sense of “having come”, which I have, therefore, adopted here.

सुंदर may refer to Jagat Singh, whose beauty is often mentioned in the poems, or it may be an allusion to Kabrái Sundar, whom the Emperor sent to visit Jagat just before the rebellion. This Sundar is always alluded to by Gambhír as सुंदर कुकव, or ‘Sundar, the bad poet’. He himself is unvaryingly सुकव, ‘the good poet’.

मदान वीच is a regular Panjabicism. In that dialect, विच is the regular sign of the locative instead of में. The constant mention of the ‘Mau ká maidán’ is explained by the fact that Jagat, although he fortified and garrisoned all his strongholds, did not himself stay in any one of them. He entrenched himself in the plain of Mau, at the foot of some hills covered with jungle, where he had a villa and met his enemies there. There is the regular old smack of Rájput daring and fool-hardiness in this, in fact throughout the whole affair, Jagat and his son seem to have been playing at rebellion; perhaps his easy successes over the Muhammadans of Kábul may have put into his head the idea that it would be rather good (Rájput) fun to have a brush with the Pádisháh and his forces. खंभ गाड, planting the pillar, the रण खंभ, or pillar of war, just as we plant a standard in the middle of a camp.

सभ Panjábí and Sindhí for सब. The र of सर्व on disappearing aspirates the remaining consonant.

टांडा is the encampment of bullocks made by the banjarás. Several towns in India are named Tándá from this cause.

मानतन I have taken as a plural of मानित, honoured, noble. If divided into मान तन, it is difficult to make sense of the passage.

2. Jagat Singh, son of Básúdev, was their protector;  
The story went from land to land, it is a tale in the world;  
He is vigilant on all four sides to hem in the Sultan's army,  
He smites them morn and eve, this he knew in his mind,  
One goes not by road or ghát, the princes remained not staunch,  
Without food, without water, the armies melted away.  
Hearing the news doubt fell on the Pátsáh's mind.  
In the midst of the plain of Mau there is slaughter unto death.

If we followed the Muhammadan historian's account, it would be perfectly compatible with the text, so loose and vague is its style, to translate this passage quite the other way. Thus in the first line by making साहदल the nominative we might render—

“The Sháh's army were vigilant on all sides to hem *him* in.”

But this would not agree with the assertion that the ‘Umrao’ did not remain firm or staunch; nor with the anxiety of the Sháh, nor with the

general scope of the book, which is entirely in glorification of Jagat Singh.

वेर रावो I take to be for Hindī वेड़ रहना, "to remain surrounding"; वेड़, or वेढ, (Sanskrit वेष्टन), and रावो, for रहवो, the old infinitive in वा (वा), which is constantly used in these poems, as in most Rājput dialects, though it has not left any very distinct traces in classical Hindī.

विल्लानी हे I take to be a reduplicated form of विल्लात in the invocation, which, if derived from a root वि + लि, would mean 'to melt away.' The last line contains the word मयारो, which is not clear. I have translated it as if it were the same as Chand's word मभारि, a lengthened form of मभि = in; but this is not quite satisfactory. नसानी would be a verbal noun from नसाना, to destroy (नाश); literally there is a destruction (as) of death, मौत = Arab. موت. This line needs further elucidation. It has been suggested that it should be मही मयारो, in the land (मही), O friends, Persian, یارو, with म for में, but this also seems strained.

3. King of kings, great king, lord Jagat Singh,  
Thy full sword is a disguise for Bhawani.  
Quoth Kavi Rāi, such a hero has been made, Jagat Singh  
Burns like fire the thirst for blood of (thy) kettledrum.  
To this day, prince and beggar in the field lie rotting,  
As many big sons of the Turk woman as they left there.  
The born they slew, the unborn they destroyed through fear,  
Thou didst not slay, the meeting destroyed the womb of the Mughalani.

तेरी तरवार भरी perhaps means "the weight of thy sword", but this would require की, which was erroneously given in my former extract. I now take भरी as passive part. of भरना, and render "thy full sword" in the sense of the sword being satiated with slaughter. रच्यो has been made, or perhaps 'has been described', as रचना, like Greek ποιέω, means often to make verses. The next line has been suggested as divisible in another way thus, खेत मेख पत जात "the (tent) pegs have fallen in the field," but this is deficient, inasmuch as it supplies no correlative to the "tall sons" of the next verse. पत जात is hardly in our author's style, though he may have, as I suspect also in other places, here used purposely an archaic phrase. Another rendering would be "in the fields of rich and poor", the fields round Mau being naturally the property of Jagat Singh's Rāos and of his poorer subjects, while the Turks cannot well be called Rāos. कै is of course the old Hindī genitive, modern का. It will be observed that the employment of the three genitive participles is totally at variance with the practice of the modern language, where we should expect तुरकानी के पुत in the plural.

The last line may also be translated differently by dividing तूं नहार्यो (for निहय्यो, from निहारना 'to look'), 'thou didst look, (and) the meeting, etc.' As given above the sense would be 'thou didst not smite, but the mere meeting with thee made or destroyed.'

The idea of the women miscarrying through fear, is the same as that in the *Rámáyan* of Tulsí Dás (*Sundara Kánd*), where Hanumán is leaving Lanka—

चलत महा धुनि गरजेउ भारी ॥

गर्भ श्रवेउ सुनि निश्चर नारी ॥

Going he roared with mighty sound ;

Hearing it, the wombs of the she-fiends melted.

4. There is one Hari and Hara, one wish-granting tree of desire,  
One sun, this one, in whom is warmth and light,  
One comet in the sky, (one) Seshnág weighed down by the earth ;  
(Who) bound the further limits of the sea in this Kali (yug).  
One manly Jagat Singh, terrible in strength,  
When abandoning the sword, virtuous, in whom is worship of the lord.  
One sky, one air, why should I describe a second,  
One Pátsáh, one Rájá in the Pátsáhi.

The object is clearly to extol Jagat as the one unrivalled hero of his time. धूख तारो I take for धूखां तारा = धूसकेतु comet. धर्यो भार्यो is a puzzle ; if धर्यो is for धरा or धरणी 'earth', then भार्यो is a verb भरना, which can only mean 'weighed down, or loaded', but the rendering is scarcely satisfactory on grammatical grounds, and the fourth line is also difficult to make sense of. The sixth line probably means that, though terrible in war, yet when he laid aside his sword, Jagat was mild and pious, and the last contains the oft-repeated sentiment that, though Sháhjahán was sole Emperor, yet Jagat was no less an independent Rájá.

5. Jagat Singh hath made such mighty wars in the world ;  
Arrows were discharged from countless tight-drawn bows ;  
The armies were crushed, and all the camps were broken up ;  
This camp has dealt how many wounds to all.  
Saith Gambhír, great hero, son of Básúdev,  
The elephant lords have been smitten, they have remained dwelling in the forest,  
Rending the deer, stripping the skin, taking the hide to wear  
An elephant's head (hanging) from his neck ; Shiva danced laughing.
6. He who took Makhayálá, placed a king therein,  
The fame of it was in every land, this is certain ;  
Whose army going up (to war), shaking castles and forts,  
As cattle (eat up) grass, with all goes fighting.  
King, son of Básúdev, saith Gambhír Rái,  
The city of thy enemies is fainting with alarm.
7. Smitten by bullets, with trembling steps the armies retire,  
And the news hath pierced the heart of the Patshah.  
The hero is sitting in the plain (by) the pillar of victory,  
Planting it in the midst of boulders by reason of the mud and blood.  
Heroes and chiefs were slain, all the corpses were torn ;  
Hara took rejoicing, he seized the garland of corpses.  
Fighting with the Shah, he sits in the land of Mau ;  
The world was shaken, Jagatá alone was not shaken.



On the above three kavitts some notes may now be offered. It is to be hoped that it will be understood that this translation is not put forward as authoritative, but merely as an attempt to get some meaning out of these rugged lines, and that hints and suggestions will be afforded by Hindī scholars in further elucidation. It will be observed that the past tense in such words as *हने हें, मारे*, and others, has been translated as a passive participle. This it is undoubtedly by origin, and it may be admitted that in these bardic verses, as in the early Vaishnava poems in Bengali, it is used in this sense in the absence of any *nomen agentis*. Also the phrases *जित कित*, and *जेते केते* literally “as many (as there were), so many”, are in fact equivalent to “all”, and have been so translated.

In kavitt 5, line 2, the word *कसके* is literally “having tightened”, and the only way to make sense of the line is to refer this to the bows. The sense is however rather involved, and can only be made clear by inverting the order of the words thus *अनगन धनख कसके*, “having strung countless bows”, *वाण कूटे हें* “arrows have have been discharged”.

Kavitt 6, line 1. The allusion here is apparently to some previous exploit of Rājā Jagat. I do not know where the Makhayālā referred to is. Mr. Blochmann finds “two places of that name, one *مکھيالہ*, the other with long ā, *ماکھيالہ* . The latter is mentioned in the *Āin* as a strong fort on a mountain in the Sindh Sāgar Dūāb. There is little water to be had; a salt mine is here and temples. The inhabitants are Jānūhās. The former is mentioned as a village where Shāhjahān once halted and hunted on his way from Kashmīr to Lāhor.” It lies somewhere on the west bank of the Chanāb, and I should be inclined to look for it north of Kariānwālā and Tāndah, where there was good sport to be had, when I was Assistant Commissioner of Gujarāt fifteen years ago. The other, or Mākhyāla, seems to be somewhere between Jogī Tilā Hill and Pind Dādan Khān.

In line 4, *सवास* would seem from the context to be the Arabic word *مواشي* ‘cattle’, and not the Hindī *सवास*, protection, as the latter does not make sense.

K. 7, l. 4 *चक्कीरं* is a word unknown to me. It would seem to mean boulders, round stones; *की लई = के लीये*.

8. Fixing the pillar he slew the Khāns, going up to battle he slew the Mīrs.

How many chiefs were there not slain in the fray ?

Why did not Kabulis and Kizilbashs come by the lakh,

[Why did not] four or five Shahzadas more come with arrows set (in their bows) ?

How many chiefs and how many soldiers has he sent ?

Why did not he come himself, the Padshah of the Turks ?

Ever and ever being alone in the midst of the army,

Jagatā did not know in his heart any other manly ones.

1. 2. the meaning of हो हे is not clear ; I have rendered it as if it were for हए हें.

1. 3. कलवास is always found in connection with names of races inhabiting Persia and Afghánistán, and is therefore conjectured to be a corruption of the word قزلباش.

1. 7. सुष has many meanings, it is here taken to mean 'alone', in the light of the rendering of the next line.

9. The chiefs were scattered, and the servants of the Shah were plundered,  
Elephants, horses, and camels led by the nose-rein he has driven and brought in,

\* \* \* \* \*

Why did all remain astonished, nothing was plundered from him.

Sháh Jahán dejected begged for pardon.

Life indeed is thine in the world, Jagat Singh :

As much nectar as thou hast drunk, so much indeed thou hast well carried.

Lines 3 and 4 are obscure, and are therefore left untranslated, as the meaning which they seem to bear is not easily to be got out of the words.

1. 5. *Khusyan*. In Panjábí *khusná* means 'to be plundered'.

1. 6. The word written *jhupke* is not certain. If the reading is correct, it would, I think, mean 'bowing', or metaphorically 'depressed'. This is confirmed by the next two words, *đjiz* (Arabic, عاجز) *manána*, i. e. to confess oneself weak, to beg for pardon.

1. 8. *Pachárá* or *pachaurá*, Panj., literally 'to digest', but freely used in conversation in the sense of shewing that one has digested, that is, shewing by one's actions that one worthily bears, or is worthy of, honor, rank, or the like. The bard appears to mean that Jagat by his actions has carried immortality ; this he expresses by saying he has drunk *amrita*, and has digested it, so that it gives him strength and heroism, which he shows in the war he is now carrying on.

10. The Lord of the world has made Srí Jagata lord, he has undertaken the protection of the heroes,

The warlike Rajputs have run to join him, they have made a smiting with arrows of battle,

Again and again he shouts to his hosts, the caution of the Mírs went astray,

Whosoever came and joined them became faint-hearted, they have gone to divide the sweetmeats of the Pírs.

1. 4. This may mean that they have to make offerings (síní = شیرینی) to their saints, to invoke their aid, being discouraged by their defeat.

11. King of kings, great king, lord Jagat Singh,

Trembles ever the Shah at thy sword ;

Thy era has been established in all [lands],

Thy boundary is set up on both sides of the Indus,

King, son of Bāsúdev, quoth Gambhír Rái,

All the mountains are supported by the strength of thy arm.

King of the North, thy glory is in all lands;  
 Chiefs and Rájás daily attend in thy court.

1. 3. The word translated 'lands' contains a letter which occurs frequently and seems to be meant for  $\text{ॐ}$  or  $\text{ॐ}$ , it is not clear which; the scribe uses a thick pen and forms his letters very small, so that it is sometimes not easy to decypher them. In neither case is the meaning clear; the word 'lands' is inserted conjecturally.

1. 4. This seems to allude to Jagat Singh's exploits across the Indus in Bangash and Afghánistán.

12. All his forces were wearied with bearing the shield;  
 He has sent all his Subas, whom now will he send?  
 Sundar the good poet celebrated all the heroes that came,  
 On the confines of Mau (he is) like a lion, who shall come before him?  
 In the Kali Yug, Jagatá has become immortal,  
 Fighting, he has sung the fame of the Empire in the nine climes.  
 Lachmi and Náráyan are thy aid night and day,  
 Sháh Jahán abashed kissing shall honor thee.

(*To be continued.*)

*Supposed Greek Sculpture at Mathurá.*—By F. S. GROWSE, M. A.,  
 B. C. S.

(With three plates.)

In 1836 Colonel Stacy discovered at or near Mathurá—for the exact locality does not appear to have been placed on record—a large and curiously sculptured block of red sand-stone, which has given rise to much antiquarian discussion. It measured 3 feet 10 inches in height, 3 feet in breadth, and 1 foot 4 inches in thickness, and the top was scooped out, or worn by time, into a shallow circular basin 16 inches in diameter and 8 inches deep. It was carved on both sides with a Bacchanalian group, the principal figure in which was supposed to represent Silenus and the whole to be the work of Bactrian Greek artists. It was deposited in the Calcutta Museum (where it still is) by the finder, who described it as a tazza, or rather a pedestal that had been used to support a large tazza or sacrificial vase. This opinion was endorsed by James Prinsep, and has prevailed to the present day, though I believe it can now be shown to be erroneous. The following description of the design (which I have not myself seen\*) is abridged from one given by Bábu Rájen-

\* Since the above was written, General Cunningham has very kindly sent me two photographs of Groups I and II. He conjectures that the stones were intended for altars (which, however, I do not think possible), and writes: "Your altar is a very interesting discovery, as the head-dress of the female holding the cup is that of the

dralála in his 'Antiquities of Orissa', where it is introduced *à propos* of the discussion regarding the amount of influence exercised by the Greeks on Indian art.

GROUP No. I.—In this are four figures, (*vide* Pl. XII) two male and two female, standing under masses of long lanceolate, pinnate leaflets, with tufts of small flowers. The leaves are like those of the Asoka; but the flowers more resemble the kadamb. The first figure to the right is a female dressed in a long skirt and upper jacket, with a narrow shawl thrown across the body. On her feet are shoes, and thick heavy rings round her ankles. Her left hand holds the hem of her mantle and the right is in the grasp of an amorous swain who stands beside her with crossed legs, resting his left hand on her shoulder. He wears close-fitting drawers, which simply cover his nakedness and extend to about the middle of the thighs, but leave his protuberant paunch exposed. A scarf, fastened in front with a sort of sailor's knot at the neck, hangs down his back behind. His feet are bare. The third figure is a female, dressed exactly as the first, but wearing elaborately worked bangles which cover nearly half the length of her fore-arm. In her left hand is a lotus-bud, while the right hangs down straight by her side. Near her feet are two covered vessels, one on either side. To the extreme left of the group stands a youth who appears to be a mere passive spectator.\* He has no shoes and wears a flowered muslin tunic reaching down to the knee. A little above the ankle are marks which show that his under-garment is a pair of long close-fitting drawers. All four figures show traces of chaplets which had crowned their heads.† The leaves may be those of the vine or the ivy.

GROUP No. II.—The principal figure is a pot-bellied man, (*vide* Pl. XIII) seated in a wine-befuddled state on a rock, or low stool, with his arms supported by two attendants, who stand on either side of him. For dress he has only a wrapper, thrown round his loins, leaving his prominent paunch uncovered. One leg is raised on the seat, the other hanging down. On his head is a chaplet of leaves. The attendant on the right side is a male wearing a mantle fastened at the neck in front with a clasp. The right hand is stretched behind the central figure for its support. The attendant on the left is a female supporting the right arm of the drunkard. She wears a long skirt reaching to the feet, with a short, sleeved jacket over it. A necklace of five rows adorns her breast, and thick heavy jewels are pendant from

Indo-Scythian females of the old sculptures and of the hill women to the north of Simla at the present day. I take the seated figure to be the Scythian Hercules"—a suggestion which strikes me as the most plausible yet advanced.

\* It does not so appear to me; but rather each of the male figures seems to be urging his female companion to do something about which they are hesitating.

† These are scarcely if at all perceptible in the photograph.



her ears. Before her stands sideways a small boy, naked, with his right hand resting on the thigh of the central figure. Before the male attendant is another boy in a dancing posture with the right hand uplifted. In front of the principal figure lies a flagon.

During the cold weather of 1873-74, I discovered the companion block to the one above described, of precisely the same shape and dimensions and carved with two similar groups of figures. These are shewn in the accompanying illustrations; and to distinguish them from the preceding are numbered groups III and IV (*vide* Pls. XII and XIII). The mound, out of which I dug the stone, is according to modern territorial divisions beyond the boundaries of the Mathurá township, and is included in the small village of Páli-Kherá. It is, however, only about two miles distant from the temple of Kesava Deva, and all the intervening space is dotted with mounds,—the ruins of the ancient Madhupuri,—in most of which Buddhist antiquities have been discovered.

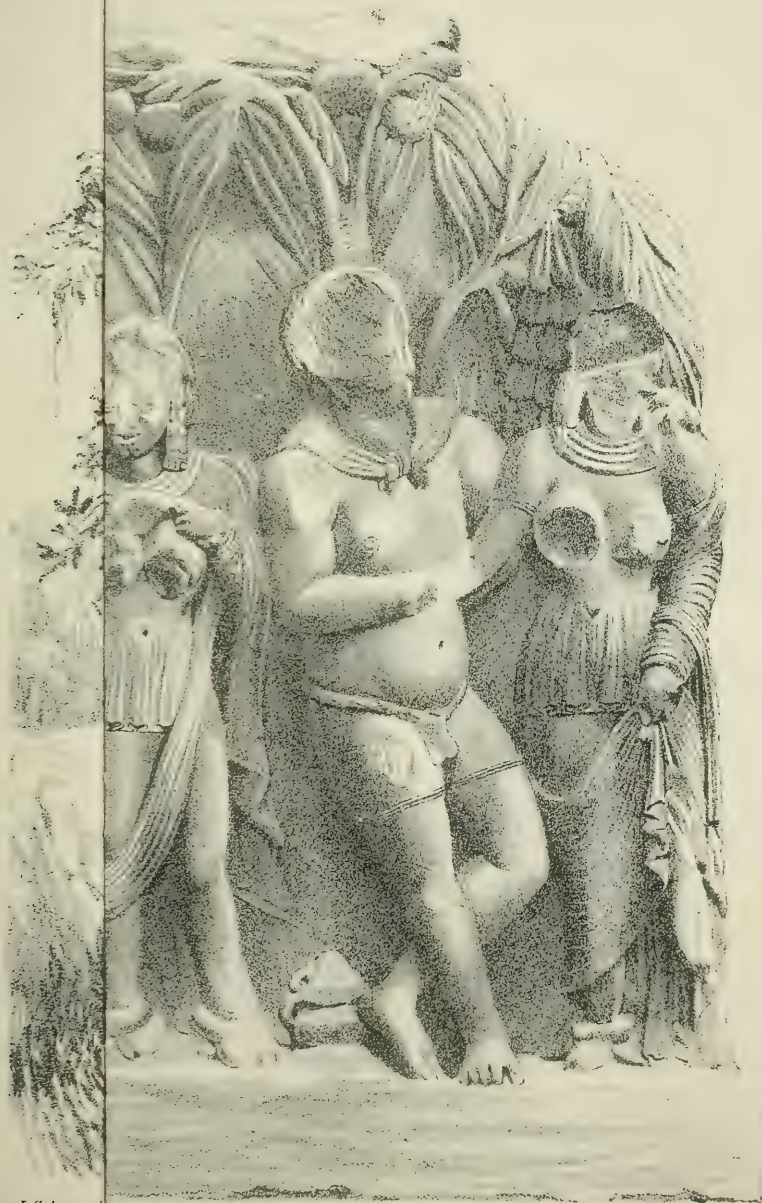
GROUP No. III.—Here four of the figures are apparently the same as in No. I. The grouping and action, however, are different; and two additional figures are introduced, *viz.*, the principal personage, the so-called Silenus, who is seated with a cup in his hand, and the little boy at his knee, as in No. II. The cup is noticeable for a peculiarity in the handle, the lower end of which joins on, not to the bottom of the bowl, but to the foot of the cup.

GROUP No. IV.—The concluding scene of the drama, in which the cup has been drained and has had its intoxicating effect, is almost identically the same with No. II, already described.

In my opinion the later discovery disposes of the tazza theory. The two blocks of stone seem to be the bases of a pair of pillars forming the entrance to a shrine, rather than pedestals for sacrificial vases. Such an idea would probably never have been conceived but for the shallow basin at the top of the stone first found; but on comparison with the later discovery this is clearly seen to be nothing more than a socket for the reception of a slender upright shaft.

As to the subject which the artist intended to represent—Silenus may be dismissed at the same time as the tazza. Future research in Buddhist literature may result in the discovery of some legend which the three scenes, *viz.* the Plot, the Carouse, and the Effects of the Carouse, may be found to illustrate; but pending this, the principal figure may with great probability be regarded as the wine-bibbing Balaráma, one of the tutelary divinities of Mathurá, attended by his wife Revati and the other members of his family. A confirmation of this view is afforded by an ancient and mutilated statue at the village of Kukargama in the Sa'dábád Pargana of this district, which is apparently intended for Balaráma. He is stand-

*Group I.*



*J. Schaubert*



Group III.



J. Schaumburg, Lith.

Group I.



BACCHANALIAN SCULPTURE FROM MATHURÁ, N.W.P

(From photograph)



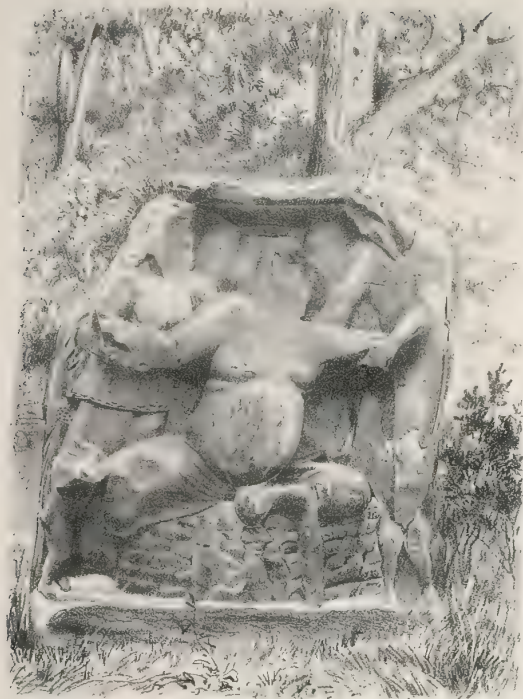


Group II.



J. Schauer





J. Schaumburg, Lith.



BACCHANALIAN SCULPTURE FROM MATHURÁ, N.W. P.

(from photograph)







BACCHANALIAN SCULPTURE FROM KUKARGAMA, DISTRICT MATHURÁ.



BUDDHIST BACCHANALIAN SCULPTURE FROM MATHURÁ, N. W. P.

S. Sedgfield Lith:

(From a drawing)

Calcutta.



ing under the conventional canopy of serpents' heads, with a garland of wild-flowers (*ban-mála*) thrown across his body; and while his right hand is raised above his head in wild gesticulation, in his left hand he holds a cup very similar to the one represented in the Páli-Kherá sculpture. His head-dress closely resembles Krishna's distinctive ornament the *mukut*, but it may be only the spiral coil of hair observable in the Sanchi and Amara-vati sculptures. In any case, the inference must not be pressed too far; for *first* the hooded snake is as constant an accompaniment of Sákya Muni as of Balaráma; and, *secondly*, I have in my possession another sculpture of an equally Bacchanalian character, which is unmistakeably Buddhist. This is a rudely executed figure of a fat little fellow (*vide* Pl. XIV), who has both his hands raised above his head, and holds in one a cup, in the other a bunch of grapes. The head with its close curling hair leaves no doubt that Buddha is the person intended; though possibly in the days of his youth, when "he dwelt still in his palace and indulged himself in all carnal pleasures." Or it might be a caricature of Buddhism as regarded from the point of view of a Brahmanical ascetic.

Finally, as to the nationality of the artist. The foliage, it must be observed, is identical in character with what is seen on many Buddhist pillars found in the immediate neighbourhood, and generally in connection with figures of Maya Devi; whence it may be presumed that it is intended to represent the Sál tree, under which Buddha was born. The other minor accessories are also with one exception either clearly Indian, or at least not strikingly un-Indian: such as the ear-rings and bangles worn by the female figures and the feet either bare or certainly not shod with sandals. The one exception is the male attendant in Group IV, with the mantle fastened at the neck by a fibula, and hanging from the shoulder in vandyked folds, which are very suggestive of late Greek design. But considering the local character of all the other accessories, I find it impossible to agree with General Cunningham in ascribing the work to a foreign artist, "one of a small body of Bactrian sculptors, who found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathurá, as in later days Europeans were employed under the Mughul Emperors." The thoroughly Indian character of the details seems to me, as to Bábu Rájendralála, decisive proof that the sculptor was a native of the country; nor do I think it very strange that he should represent one of the less important characters as clothed in a modified Greek costume; since it is an established historical fact that Mathurá was included in the Bactrian Empire, and the Greek style of dress cannot have been altogether unfamiliar to him. The artificial folds of the drapery were probably borrowed from what he saw on coins.

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*A Rough Comparative Vocabulary of two more of the Dialects spoken in the "Nágá Hills".—Compiled by Captain JOHN BUTLER, Political Agent, Nágá Hills.*

The plan adopted for designating the long sound of vowels has been the one previously explained in the Vocabulary, published in the Appendix to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLII, Part I, for 1873.

| <i>English.</i>         | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuria Nágá.</i> |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| A, an, <i>or</i> one,   | Ekha               | Vánthé                |
| Abandon, <i>v.</i>      | Apiá               |                       |
| Abdomen, <i>n.</i>      | Opok               | Vok                   |
| Above, <i>prep.</i>     | Potso              | Ákho-nang             |
| Abundance, <i>n.</i>    | Khosha             |                       |
| Accept, <i>v.</i>       | Khialo             |                       |
| Accompany, <i>v.</i>    | Neniyá             |                       |
| Accurate, <i>a.</i>     | Ochocho            |                       |
| Acid, <i>a.</i>         | Théná              |                       |
| Acquaintance, <i>n.</i> | Anánchiá           |                       |
| Advance, <i>v.</i>      | Vongává            |                       |
| Adversary, <i>n.</i>    | Ratá               |                       |
| Adult, <i>n.</i>        | Cháli              |                       |
| Adze, <i>n.</i>         | Opú                |                       |
| Afar, <i>ad.</i>        | Ekoni              |                       |
| Affray, <i>n.</i>       | Khondaka           |                       |
| After, <i>prep.</i>     | Silámo             |                       |
| Afternoon, <i>n.</i>    | Inching            |                       |
| Air, <i>n.</i>          | Umpúng             | Pong                  |
| Alike, <i>ad.</i>       | Khidi              | Rorang                |
| Alive, <i>a.</i>        | Ekam               |                       |
| All, <i>a.</i>          | Hetobúlá           | Phangtang             |
| Alligator, <i>n.</i>    | Erro               |                       |
| Alone, <i>a.</i>        | Aboti              |                       |
| Altogether, <i>ad.</i>  | Enika              |                       |
| Ankle, <i>n.</i>        | Chomhiek           |                       |
| Anger, <i>n.</i>        | Alom               | Ringkhá               |
| Annually, <i>ad.</i>    | Inzú-inzú          |                       |
| Ant, <i>n.</i>          | Chemphiro          | Sip-chák              |
| Apiece, <i>ad.</i>      | Mochangchang       |                       |
| Armlet, <i>n.</i>       | Ghoro              | Chángká               |
| Armpit, <i>n.</i>       | Zongop             |                       |

| <i>English.</i>      | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuriá Nágá.</i> |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Around, <i>prep.</i> | Hetobúto           |                       |
| Arrow, <i>n.</i>     | Otso               | Látchán               |
| Ascend, <i>v.</i>    | Langhekhingba      | Kúo                   |
| Ash, <i>n.</i>       | Khúr               | Táplá                 |
| Ask, <i>v.</i>       | Chúchánáchú        | Chiéno                |
| Asleep, <i>ad.</i>   | Ipá                |                       |
| Awake, <i>v.</i>     | Phanthiá           |                       |
| Axe, <i>n.</i>       | Opú                | Váká                  |
| Babe, <i>n.</i>      | Ngaro              |                       |
| Bachelor, <i>n.</i>  | Chinghran          |                       |
| Back, <i>n.</i>      | Echen              | Tám                   |
| Bacon, <i>n.</i>     | Okoso              |                       |
| Bad, <i>a.</i>       | Ūmho               | Achi                  |
| Badger, <i>n.</i>    | Thembakso          |                       |
| Bag, <i>n.</i>       | Cikú               | Khatong               |
| Bamboo, <i>n.</i>    | Chingsa, Chiro     | Vá                    |
| Bark, <i>n.</i>      | Ofú                | Akhúon                |
| Barn, <i>n.</i>      | Oson               |                       |
| Bat, <i>n.</i>       | Shoshiro           | Phákárang             |
| Battle, <i>n.</i>    | Oritso             |                       |
| Beak, <i>n.</i>      | Emé                |                       |
| Beam, <i>n.</i>      | Khiron             |                       |
| Bear, <i>n.</i>      | Seván              | Sápá                  |
| Beard, <i>n.</i>     | Khokháhúm          |                       |
| Beat, <i>v.</i>      | Langtháthá         | Váto                  |
| Beef, <i>n.</i>      | Masiso             |                       |
| Behind, <i>prep.</i> | Silamoi            |                       |
| Behold, <i>v.</i>    | Zedá               |                       |
| Below, <i>ad.</i>    | Ochongi            |                       |
| Best, <i>a.</i>      | Tengtommhona       |                       |
| Big, <i>a.</i>       | Chopo              |                       |
| Bill-hook, <i>n.</i> | Lopúkha            |                       |
| Bind, <i>v.</i>      | Chinga             | Kháko                 |
| Bird, <i>n.</i>      | Woro               | Vo                    |
| Bitch, <i>n.</i>     | Horo-o-kui         |                       |
| Bite, <i>v.</i>      | Kégá               |                       |
| Black, <i>a.</i>     | Niká               | Aniak                 |
| Blind, <i>a.</i>     | Chokúá             | Mitdúok               |
| Blood, <i>n.</i>     | Echen              | Hé                    |
| Blue, <i>a.</i>      | Miaga              | Aham                  |

| <i>English</i>               | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuríá Nágá.</i> |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Boat, <i>n.</i>              | Orhúng             | Khuongkho             |
| Body, <i>n.</i>              | Ochok              | Sák                   |
| Bone, <i>n.</i>              | Orú                | Árá                   |
| Borrow, <i>v.</i>            | Ochiápúa           | Námo                  |
| Bough, <i>n.</i>             | Piápiro            | Aphák                 |
| Boundary, <i>n.</i>          | Akhi               |                       |
| Bow, <i>n.</i>               | Olo                | Doákháp               |
| Box, <i>n.</i>               | Inkhi              | Temá                  |
| Boy, <i>n.</i>               | Núngori            | Nátá                  |
| Brains, <i>n.</i>            | Kicho              |                       |
| Brass, <i>n.</i>             | Rempam             |                       |
| Break, <i>v.</i>             | Khúcháká           |                       |
| Breast, <i>n.</i>            | Tiki               | Tánkhú                |
| Breath, <i>n.</i>            | Ethékechena        |                       |
| Bridge, <i>n.</i>            | Opho               | Si                    |
| Bring, <i>v.</i>             | Hánaiá             | Vánro                 |
| Broad, <i>a.</i>             | Unzoá              | Khádong               |
| Broadcloth, <i>n.</i>        | Sinio              | Khăt                  |
| Broken, <i>part.</i>         | Chágá              |                       |
| Brother (elder), <i>n.</i>   | Atá                | Ipho                  |
| Brother (younger), <i>n.</i> | Ango               | Iná                   |
| Brother-in-law, <i>n.</i>    | Oázi               |                       |
| Brow, <i>n.</i>              | Oto                |                       |
| Buck (deer), <i>n.</i>       | Opúng              |                       |
| Buffalo, <i>n.</i>           | Ziz                | Lé                    |
| Build, <i>v.</i>             | Kitsoá             | Húono                 |
| Bull, <i>n.</i>              | Maso-opúm          |                       |
| Bullet, <i>n.</i>            | Chingiching        |                       |
| Bundle, <i>n.</i>            | Unkhap             |                       |
| Burden, <i>n.</i>            | Ohá                |                       |
| Burn, <i>v.</i>              | Khuteta            | Tháko                 |
| Bury, <i>v.</i>              | Shotetá            | Bino                  |
| Buy, <i>v.</i>               | Shitágá            | Rio                   |
| Calf, <i>n.</i>              | Opungro            |                       |
| Calf (of leg), <i>n.</i>     | Unrá               |                       |
| Call, <i>v.</i>              | Cháhé              | Rúo                   |
| Cane, <i>n.</i>              | Orr                |                       |
| Cap, <i>n.</i>               | Kive               | Kafok                 |
| Carry, <i>v.</i>             | Ohanga             | Kapkáto               |
| Cat, <i>n.</i>               | Onioro             | Miáñ                  |

| <i>English.</i>          | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuríá Nágá.</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Catch, <i>v.</i>         | Rhemhátá           | Luo                   |
| Charcoal, <i>n.</i>      | Mihá               | Vanhi                 |
| Chase, <i>v.</i>         | Pháná              |                       |
| Cheap, <i>a.</i>         | Tétsúá             |                       |
| Cheek, <i>n.</i>         | Eio                | Than                  |
| Chicken, <i>n.</i>       | Honororo           |                       |
| Chin, <i>n.</i>          | Khokha             | Ká                    |
| Clean, <i>a.</i>         | Khidi              |                       |
| Cleave, <i>v.</i>        | Sisotava           |                       |
| Cloth, <i>n.</i>         | Oso                | Khat                  |
| Cloud, <i>n.</i>         | Potso              | Phúam                 |
| Cock, <i>n.</i>          | Honohámpúng        |                       |
| Cold, <i>n.</i>          | Ungúng             | Aki                   |
| Come, <i>v.</i>          | Rúá                | Káro                  |
| Conceal, <i>v.</i>       | Unbhoiábiá         |                       |
| Cook, <i>v.</i>          | Ekúá               | Puono                 |
| Cord, <i>n.</i>          | Ozú                |                       |
| Cost, <i>n.</i>          | Chigú              |                       |
| Cotton, <i>n.</i>        | Khúnkho            |                       |
| Cover, <i>v.</i>         | Lhebiathá          | Káhap                 |
| Count, <i>v.</i>         | Khá                |                       |
| Cow, <i>n.</i>           | Mású               | Mán                   |
| Cow-dung, <i>n.</i>      | Másúsú             |                       |
| Cowree, <i>n.</i>        | Phúho              |                       |
| Crazy, <i>a.</i>         | Zévái              |                       |
| Crooked, <i>a.</i>       | Khánkhúá           | Akúáng                |
| Crow, <i>n.</i>          | Káshá              | Vákhá                 |
| Cry, <i>v.</i>           | Kiávákhá           | Sapo                  |
| Cubit, <i>n.</i>         | Sibúá              | Dáká                  |
| Cup, <i>n.</i>           | Opú                | Bánchá                |
| Cut, <i>v.</i>           | Nangá              | Dúáko                 |
| Dark, <i>a.</i>          | Mengá              | Rangiek               |
| Daughter, <i>n.</i>      | Otsoi              |                       |
| Day, <i>n.</i>           | Inkhá              | Rángi                 |
| Dead, <i>a.</i>          | Shitogá            |                       |
| Deaf, <i>a.</i>          | Enopúngá           |                       |
| Dear (costly), <i>a.</i> | Shikok             |                       |
| Deer, <i>n.</i>          | Oso                | Kóhé                  |
| Descend,                 | Chéiá              |                       |
| Devil, <i>n.</i>         | Chújomho           |                       |



| <i>English.</i>      | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuríá Nágá.</i> |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Dialect, <i>n.</i>   | Oi                 |                       |
| Difficult, <i>a.</i> | Kénghá             |                       |
| Dig, <i>v.</i>       | Chíá               | Thúo                  |
| Disease, <i>n.</i>   | Perá               |                       |
| Distant, <i>a.</i>   | Ekoni              |                       |
| Divide, <i>v.</i>    | Chitava            |                       |
| Dog, <i>n.</i>       | Phúro              | Hú                    |
| Door, <i>n.</i>      | Hánkhá             |                       |
| Dove, <i>n.</i>      | Vékhú              | Phokphelerú           |
| Drink, <i>v.</i>     | Uiá                | Joko                  |
| Dry, <i>a.</i>       | Eking              |                       |
|                      |                    |                       |
| Ear, <i>n.</i>       | Eno                | Ná                    |
| Ear-ring, <i>n.</i>  | Impejá             | Nátho                 |
| Earth, <i>n.</i>     | Loko               | Há                    |
| Eat, <i>v.</i>       | Choá               | Cháo                  |
| Egg, <i>n.</i>       | Eteho              | Ati                   |
| Eight, <i>a.</i>     | Chizá              | Isat                  |
| Eighteen, <i>a.</i>  | Mechú-me-chizá     | Ichi-van-isat         |
| Eighty, <i>a.</i>    | Ekhá-chizá         | Ruak-isat             |
| Elbow, <i>n.</i>     | Khétso             | Dákú                  |
| Elephant, <i>n.</i>  | Sotso              | Púok                  |
| Eleven, <i>a.</i>    | Tero-sékha         | Ichi-vanthé           |
| Evening, <i>n.</i>   | Mitogá             | Rangjá                |
| Eye, <i>n.</i>       | Omhiek             | Mit                   |
| Eyebrow, <i>n.</i>   | Mhiékhó            |                       |
| Eyelash, <i>n.</i>   | Mhiémho            |                       |
| Eyelid, <i>n.</i>    | Mhiekching         |                       |
|                      |                    |                       |
| False, <i>a.</i>     | Echengcheng        |                       |
| Fat, <i>a.</i>       | Thúá               | Atat                  |
| Father, <i>n.</i>    | Apo                | Vá, Ivá, or Apá       |
| Feather, <i>n.</i>   | Hámphú             | Nap                   |
| Feed, <i>v.</i>      | Chotúgá            |                       |
| Female, <i>a.</i>    | Eloi               |                       |
| Fetch, <i>v.</i>     | Hánáiá             |                       |
| Fever, <i>n.</i>     | Ráthátá            | Achát                 |
| Few, <i>a.</i>       | Echik              | Ané                   |
| Fifteen, <i>a.</i>   | Tero-si-múngo      | Ichi-ván-bángá        |
| Fifty, <i>a.</i>     | Tinián             | Rúák-bángá            |

| <i>English.</i>          | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuriá Nágá.</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Find, <i>v.</i>          | Khondakorúá        | Ichúo                 |
| Finger, <i>n.</i>        | Ingro              | Dáksú                 |
| Fire, <i>n.</i>          | Omi                | Ván                   |
| Fish, <i>v.</i>          | Ongorumátá         |                       |
| Fish, <i>n.</i>          | Ongo               | Ngá                   |
| Fish-hook, <i>n.</i>     | Okhú               |                       |
| Flat, <i>a.</i>          | Khidi              | Todé                  |
| Flint, <i>n.</i>         | Olúng              |                       |
| Flower, <i>n.</i>        | Thirá              | Chongpo               |
| Foot, <i>n.</i>          | Ocho               | Dá                    |
| Forest, <i>n.</i>        | Otung              | Ling                  |
| Forget, <i>v.</i>        | Méchogáche         | Ilako                 |
| Fowl, <i>n.</i>          | Hono               | Vo                    |
| Friend, <i>n.</i>        | Ákhamo             |                       |
| Frog, <i>n.</i>          | Oú                 | Lúk                   |
| Fruit, <i>n.</i>         | Ethi               | Ari                   |
| Ginger, <i>n.</i>        | Osang              | Ching                 |
| Girl, <i>n.</i>          | Loroe              |                       |
| Give, <i>v.</i>          | Apiá               | Láhé                  |
| Go, <i>v.</i>            | Iá                 | Káo, Káláo            |
| Goat, <i>n.</i>          | Niania             | Kiên                  |
| Good, <i>a.</i>          | Mhoná              | Asan                  |
| Grandfather, <i>n.</i>   | Amétú              |                       |
| Grandmother, <i>n.</i>   | Aioro              |                       |
| Grandson, <i>n.</i>      | Arroo              |                       |
| Granddaughter, <i>n.</i> | Arr                |                       |
| Grass, <i>n.</i>         | Ero                | Hing                  |
| Grasshopper, <i>n.</i>   | Khomo              | Kúpehang              |
| Grave, <i>n.</i>         | Okhap              |                       |
| Great, <i>a.</i>         | Chepo              | Adong                 |
| Great-toe, <i>n.</i>     | Choiongpú          |                       |
| Green (raw), <i>a.</i>   | Esá                | Ahing                 |
| Ground, <i>n.</i>        | Loko               |                       |
| Gullet, <i>n.</i>        | Onatchang          |                       |
| Gun, <i>n.</i>           | Chingipú           | Vantho                |
| Gunpowder, <i>n.</i>     | Khúr               |                       |
| Guts, <i>n.</i>          | Err                |                       |
| Hair, <i>n.</i>          | Ochá               | Kácho                 |
| Half, <i>a.</i>          | Mochanghá          |                       |

| <i>English.</i>        | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipúria Nagá.</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Hand, <i>n.</i>        | Okhé               | Dák                   |
| Hawk, <i>n.</i>        | Mongshiro          | Lá                    |
| Head, <i>n.</i>        | Kori               | Khó                   |
| Hear, <i>v.</i>        | Engáche            | Táto                  |
| Heart, <i>n.</i>       | Mitháp             | Mangto                |
| Heavy, <i>a.</i>       | Mingá              | Ali                   |
| Heel, <i>n.</i>        | Umpho              |                       |
| Hen, <i>n.</i>         | Honopvú            | Vo                    |
| Here, <i>ad.</i>       | Helo               | Anang                 |
| Hill, <i>n.</i>        | Phunglá            | Háchong               |
| Hip, <i>n.</i>         | Ophi               |                       |
| Hoe, <i>n.</i>         | Khotrang           | Jánván                |
| Hold, <i>v.</i>        | Rimhátá            |                       |
| Honey, <i>n.</i>       | Chakichă           |                       |
| Hoof, <i>n.</i>        | Inkiep             | Dások                 |
| Horn, <i>n.</i>        | Etsă               | Rong                  |
| Horse, <i>n.</i>       | Qúrr               | Mok                   |
| Hot, <i>a.</i>         | Sosóúă             | Akhám                 |
| House, <i>n.</i>       | Kiká               | Húm                   |
| How much? <i>ad.</i>   | Kútátá             |                       |
| I, <i>pron.</i>        | Akhá               |                       |
| Iron, <i>n.</i>        | Ionchák            | Ján, or Zám.          |
| Ivory, <i>n.</i>       | Sotsoho            | Púokpá                |
| Jaw, <i>n.</i>         | Khokă              |                       |
| Jungle-fowl, <i>n.</i> | Ipiá               |                       |
| Jungle, <i>n.</i>      | Ora                |                       |
| Keep, <i>v.</i>        | Jetangánă          | Riémo                 |
| Kick, <i>v.</i>        | Echiáchă           |                       |
| Kid, <i>n.</i>         | Niániároro         |                       |
| Kill, <i>v.</i>        | Sáhi               | Rikvátó               |
| Kilt, <i>n.</i>        | Serim              |                       |
| Kind, <i>a.</i>        | Zánă               |                       |
| King, <i>n.</i>        | Etsă               |                       |
| Knee, <i>n.</i>        | Unkhok             | Dákú                  |
| Knot, <i>n.</i>        | Unsă               | Asik                  |
| Knuckle, <i>n.</i>     | Khemhiek           |                       |

| <i>English.</i>          | <i>Lhoiá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipúriá Nágá.</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Ladder, <i>n.</i>        | Jengi              | Hitho                 |
| Leaf, <i>n.</i>          | Oio                | Niáp                  |
| Leg, <i>n.</i>           | Ochokhá            | Dá                    |
| Lemon, <i>n.</i>         | Chámbe             |                       |
| Length, <i>n.</i>        | Sibúá              |                       |
| Leopard, <i>n.</i>       | Morrh              | Rúsá                  |
| Lick, <i>v.</i>          | Miágákhá           | Liepdáko              |
| Lightning, <i>n.</i>     | Chengchúá          | Kiepdá                |
| Lip, <i>n.</i>           | Méhu               |                       |
| Little, <i>a.</i>        | Ichikarro          | Achá                  |
| Liver, <i>n.</i>         | Inthén             |                       |
| Long, <i>a.</i>          | Sibúá              | Alo                   |
| Man, <i>n.</i>           | Chón               | Minian                |
| Mangoe, <i>n.</i>        | Chibingthi         |                       |
| Meat, <i>n.</i>          | Oso                |                       |
| Medicine, <i>n.</i>      | Moză               | Pham                  |
| Milk, <i>n.</i>          | Sirotechú          | Ngiúpo                |
| Monkey, <i>n.</i>        | Iákso              | Vé                    |
| Month, <i>n.</i>         | Choro              | Dápé                  |
| Moon, <i>n.</i>          | Choro              | Dá                    |
| Mother, <i>n.</i>        | Aio                |                       |
| Mountain, <i>n.</i>      | Phúnglang          | Háho                  |
| Mouse, <i>n.</i>         | Jiro               | Júpú                  |
| Mouth, <i>n.</i>         | Opang              | Tun                   |
| Mud, <i>n.</i>           | Emhá               |                       |
| Moustaches, <i>n.</i>    | Mhéham             |                       |
| Nail (finger), <i>n.</i> | Inkiep             |                       |
| Naked, <i>a.</i>         | Phushă             |                       |
| Navel, <i>n.</i>         | Nákháni            |                       |
| Near, <i>prep.</i>       | Osibo              | Thékro                |
| Neck, <i>n.</i>          | Engú               | Bo                    |
| Needle, <i>n.</i>        | Opiom              | Matkú                 |
| Nephew, <i>n.</i>        | Ango               |                       |
| Nest, <i>n.</i>          | Woroshep           | Arúp                  |
| Net, <i>n.</i>           | Ochák              | Chak                  |
| New, <i>a.</i>           | Ethán              | Anián                 |
| Night, <i>n.</i>         | Mengákhá           | Ránpán                |
| Nine, <i>a.</i>          | Toku               | Ikhú                  |
| Nineteen, <i>a.</i>      | Mechu-me-tokú      | Ichi-van-ikhú         |



| <i>English.</i>            | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipúriá Nágá.</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Ninety, <i>a.</i>          | Ekha-toku          | Rúák-ikhú             |
| No, <i>ad.</i>             | Ni                 | Má                    |
| Nose, <i>n.</i>            | Khéno              | Kho                   |
| Now, <i>ad.</i>            | Nhángá             | Doko.                 |
| Oil, <i>n.</i>             | Penchang           | Tánthi                |
| Old, <i>a.</i>             | Eke                | Ato                   |
| Onion, <i>n.</i>           | Sánráng            |                       |
| Orange, <i>n.</i>          | Kongkeng           | Múthúlá               |
| Orphan, <i>n.</i>          | Ipúti              |                       |
| Owl, <i>n.</i>             | Velongú            | Vákhú                 |
| Peacock, <i>n.</i>         | Titákhá            | Soijang               |
| Pig, <i>n.</i>             | Kashag             | Vák                   |
| Pigeon, <i>n.</i>          | Vehá               | Pári                  |
| Plantain, <i>n.</i>        | Vothitong          | Kiéké                 |
| Poison, <i>n.</i>          | Mozz               |                       |
| Poor, <i>a.</i>            | Yanché             |                       |
| Poreupine, <i>n.</i>       | Liso               | Vikhá                 |
| Potato, <i>n.</i>          | Horokhá            |                       |
| Pull, <i>v.</i>            | Sésíá              | Sieto                 |
| Push, <i>v.</i>            | Núngchiache        | Thúamo                |
| Rafter, <i>n.</i>          | Khiron             |                       |
| Rain, <i>n.</i>            | Erú                | Rángpát               |
| Rat, <i>n.</i>             | Zuru               | Júpú                  |
| Raw, <i>a.</i>             | Esă                | Ahing                 |
| Red, <i>a.</i>             | Rágá               |                       |
| Rest, <i>v.</i>            | Esántáwá           |                       |
| Return, <i>v.</i>          | Elainlé            |                       |
| Rib, <i>n.</i>             | Khoiorú            |                       |
| Rice (cooked), <i>n.</i>   | Ochang             | Vong                  |
| Rice (uncooked), <i>n.</i> | Ochok              |                       |
| Rich, <i>a.</i>            | Eli                |                       |
| Ring, <i>n.</i>            | Yonpenro,          | Khap                  |
| Ripe, <i>n.</i>            | Emhá               | Achúm                 |
| River, <i>n.</i>           | Zúkhu              | Joán                  |
| Road, <i>n.</i>            | Oláng              | Lam                   |
| Root, <i>n.</i>            | Chingien           | Aring                 |
| Rotten, <i>a.</i>          | Echion             | Asán                  |
| Rupee, <i>n.</i>           | Oráng              | Ráñká                 |

| <i>English.</i>          | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuriá Nágá.</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Salt, <i>n.</i>          | Omá                | Sún                   |
| Same, <i>a.</i>          | Eniká              |                       |
| Sand, <i>n.</i>          | Háchang            | Sé                    |
| Sap, <i>n.</i>           | Chingcha           |                       |
| Say, <i>v.</i>           | Phúá               | Thú                   |
| Scratch, <i>v.</i>       | Nakia              |                       |
| See, <i>v.</i>           | Zetache            |                       |
| Seige, <i>v.</i>         | Rémhátá            |                       |
| Seven, <i>a.</i>         | Ching              | Ingit                 |
| Seventy, <i>a.</i>       | Ekha-ching         | Rúák-ingit            |
| Seventeen, <i>a.</i>     | Mechu-me-ching     | Ichi-van-ingit        |
| Shade, <i>n.</i>         | Khámcho            | Rangbin               |
| Shame, <i>n.</i>         | Eiágrá             | Réséo                 |
| Share, <i>v.</i>         | Chitává            |                       |
| Sharpen, <i>v.</i>       | Mhonérúá           |                       |
| Shave, <i>v.</i>         | Koritsá            |                       |
| Shield, <i>n.</i>        | Ochung             | Lák                   |
| Short, <i>a.</i>         | Engháro            | Atón                  |
| Shoulder, <i>n.</i>      | Epúká              | Chúákho               |
| Shut, <i>v.</i>          | Elénghokhé         | Sako                  |
| Sick, <i>a.</i>          | Perthátá           | Achat                 |
| Silver, <i>n.</i>        | Orang              | Ngún                  |
| Sister, <i>n.</i>        | Ailoi              | Ingiá                 |
| Sister-in-law, <i>n.</i> | Oázio              |                       |
| Sit, <i>v.</i>           | Khúthéthá          | Tángo                 |
| Six, <i>a.</i>           | Chúro              | Irok                  |
| Sixteen, <i>a.</i>       | Mechu-me-chúro     | Ichi-van-irok         |
| Sixty, <i>a.</i>         | Rogro              | Rúák-irok             |
| Skin, <i>n.</i>          | Ohú                |                       |
| Sleep, <i>v.</i>         | Ipánáché           | Júpo                  |
| Slowly, <i>ad.</i>       | Chimá-chimá        | Aréré                 |
| Sly, <i>a.</i>           | Okiéllá            |                       |
| Small, <i>a.</i>         | Tiro               | Aring                 |
| Snake, <i>n.</i>         | Inră               | Pú                    |
| So, <i>ad.</i>           | Hetoloini          |                       |
| Son, <i>n.</i>           | Choi               |                       |
| Sow, <i>n.</i>           | Wokokú             | Váno                  |
| Span, <i>n.</i>          | Ekúá               |                       |
| Spear, <i>n.</i>         | Otho               | Pá                    |
| Stab, <i>v.</i>          | Echúngá            | Súo                   |
| Star, <i>n.</i>          | Santio             | Merik                 |

| <i>English.</i>       | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipúriá Nágá.</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Steal, <i>v.</i>      | Evanéá             | Húo                   |
| Stick, <i>n.</i>      | Karung             |                       |
| Stone, <i>n.</i>      | Alonkhá            | Long                  |
| Stomach, <i>n.</i>    | Opok               | Vok                   |
| Straight, <i>a.</i>   | Unsó               | Ating                 |
| Stream, <i>n.</i>     | Zúkhúro            |                       |
| Strength, <i>n.</i>   | Epúichúngá         | Achán                 |
| Sun, <i>n.</i>        | Eng                | Sán                   |
| Swear, <i>v.</i>      | Echámáhi           |                       |
| Sweet, <i>a.</i>      | Nangá              | Atú                   |
|                       |                    |                       |
| Tail, <i>n.</i>       | Emhi               | Amé                   |
| Take, <i>v.</i>       | Khialo             | Kápo                  |
| Tall, <i>a.</i>       | Sibúa              |                       |
| Ten, <i>a.</i>        | Tero               | Ichi                  |
| Then, <i>ad.</i>      | Kothingla          |                       |
| There, <i>ad.</i>     | Chikhe             |                       |
| Thick, <i>a.</i>      | Chiá               |                       |
| Thief, <i>n.</i>      | Evúi               | Ahú                   |
| Thin, <i>a.</i>       | Epúá               |                       |
| This, <i>pron.</i>    | Hiché              |                       |
| Thirty, <i>a.</i>     | Thúnro             | Rúák-ram              |
| Thorn, <i>n.</i>      | Okio               | Sú                    |
| Thousand, <i>a.</i>   | Unzotaro           | Chá-ichi              |
| Three, <i>a.</i>      | Etham              | Vánram                |
| Throw, <i>v.</i>      | Sia                | Páto                  |
| Thunder, <i>n.</i>    | Echénékhá          | Rángmok               |
| To-day, <i>ad.</i>    | Inching            | Tajá                  |
| Toe, <i>n.</i>        | Choiongro          | Dáshu                 |
| To-morrow, <i>ad.</i> | Ochú               | Ni-nap                |
| Tongue, <i>n.</i>     | Enni               | Tháli                 |
| Tooth, <i>n.</i>      | Oho                | Pá                    |
| Tree, <i>n.</i>       | Otong              | Báng                  |
| Truth, <i>n.</i>      | Otchocho           |                       |
| Twelve, <i>a.</i>     | Tero-seni          | Ichi-váni             |
| Twenty, <i>a.</i>     | Mekú               | Rúák-ni               |
| Two, <i>a.</i>        | Enni               | Váni                  |
|                       |                    |                       |
| Vegetable, <i>n.</i>  | Ohán               |                       |
| Village, <i>n.</i>    | Oiyá               | Há                    |
| Water, <i>n.</i>      | Otehá              | Jo                    |

| <i>English.</i>      | <i>Lhotá Nágá.</i> | <i>Jaipuríá Nágá.</i> |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Wax, <i>n.</i>       | Ockhá              | Niáso                 |
| Wet, <i>v.</i>       | Uncha              |                       |
| When, <i>ad.</i>     | Kothonga           |                       |
| Where, <i>ad.</i>    | Koiá               | Mákoá                 |
| Which, <i>pro.</i>   | Chokúto            | Mápá                  |
| White, <i>a.</i>     | Miá                | Apo                   |
| Who? <i>pron.</i>    | Chúá               | Hána                  |
| Wide, <i>a.</i>      | Choákk             |                       |
| Widow, <i>n.</i>     | Emi                | Jánténgiú             |
| Widower, <i>n.</i>   | Khiangrán          | Jántéva               |
| Wife, <i>n.</i>      | Ang                | Jánngiú               |
| Within, <i>prep.</i> | Táchúngi           |                       |
| Woman, <i>n.</i>     | Eloi               | Déhiék                |
| Wood, <i>n.</i>      | Otóng              | Pan                   |
| Wrist, <i>n.</i>     | Khemhiék           |                       |
|                      |                    |                       |
| Yam, <i>n.</i>       | Máni               | Hakhúon               |
| Year, <i>n.</i>      | Enzúkhá            | Ránpá                 |
| Yes, <i>ad.</i>      | Hokhá              |                       |

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*On the S'ulvasútras.*—By DR. G. THIBAUT, *Anglo-Sanskrit Professor,*  
*Banáras College.*

It is well known that not only Indian life with all its social and political institutions has been at all times under the mighty sway of religion, but that we are also led back to religious belief and worship when we try to account for the origin of research in those departments of knowledge which the Indians have cultivated with such remarkable success. At first sight, few traces of this origin may be visible in the *S'ástras* of later times, but looking closer we may always discern the connecting thread. The want of some norm by which to fix the right time for the sacrifices, gave the first impulse to astronomical observations; urged by this want, the priests remained watching night after night the advance of the moon through the circle of the *nakshatras* and day after day the alternate progress of the sun towards the north and the south. The laws of phonetics were investigated, because the wrath of the gods followed the wrong pronunciation of a single letter of the sacrificial formulas; grammar and etymology had the task of securing the right understanding of the holy texts. The close connexion of philosophy and theology—so close that it is often impossible to decide



where the one ends and the other begins—is too well known to require any comment.

These facts have a double interest. They are in the first place valuable for the history of the human mind in general; they are in the second place important for the mental history of India and for answering the question relative to the originality of Indian science. For whatever is closely connected with the ancient Indian religion must be considered as having sprung up among the Indians themselves, unless positive evidence of the strongest kind point to a contrary conclusion.

We have been long acquainted with the progress which the Indians made in later times in arithmetic, algebra, and geometry; but as the influence of Greek science is clearly traceable in the development of their astronomy, and as their treatises on algebra, &c., form but parts of astronomical text books, it is possible that the Indians may have received from the Greeks also communications regarding the methods of calculation. I merely say possible, because no direct evidence of such influence has been brought forward as yet, and because the general impression we receive from a comparison of the methods employed by Greeks and Indians respectively seems rather to point to an entirely independent growth of this branch of Indian science. The whole question is still unsettled, and new researches are required before we can arrive at a final decision.

While therefore unable positively to assert that the treasure of mathematical knowledge contained in the *Lilávatí*, the *Vijaganita*, and similar treatises, has been accumulated by the Indians without the aid of foreign nations, we must search whether there are not any traces left pointing to a purely Indian origin of these sciences. And such traces we find in a class of writings, commonly called *S'ulvasútras*, that means “*sútras* of the cord,” which prove that the earliest geometrical and mathematical investigations among the Indians arose from certain requirements of their sacrifices. “*S'ulvasútras*” is the name given to those portions or supplements of the *Kalpasútras*, which treat of the measurement and construction of the different vedis, or altars, the word “*s'ulva*” referring to the cords which were employed for those measurements. (I may remark at once that the *sútras* themselves do not make use of the term “*s'ulva*”; a cord is regularly called by them “*rajju*”). It appears that a *s'ulva-adhyáya* or, *pras'na* or, instead of that, a *s'ulvaparis'ishta* belonged to all *Kalpasútras*. Among the treatises belonging to this class which are known to me, the two most important are the *S'ulvasútras* of *Baudháyana* and of *A'pastamba*. The former, entitled to the first place by a clearer and more extensive treatment of the topics in question, very likely forms a part of *Baudháyana's* *Kalpasútra*; the want of complete manuscripts of this latter work prevents me from being positive on this point. The same remark applies to the *S'ulvasútra* of *A'pastamba*.

Two smaller treatises, a Mānava S'ulvasūtra and a Maitrāyaṇīya S'ulvasūtra, bear the stamp of a later time, compared with the works of Baudhāyana and A'pastamba. The literature of the white Yajur Veda possesses a S'ulvapariśiṣṭa, ascribed to Kātyāyana, and there is no sufficient reason for doubting that it was really composed by the author of the Kalpasūtra.

The first to direct attention to the importance of the S'ulvasūtras was Mr. A. C. Burnell, who in his "Catalogue of a Collection of Sanscrit Manuscripts," p. 29, remarks that "we must look to the S'ulva portions of the Kalpasūtras for the earliest beginnings of geometry among the Brāhmanas."

I have begun the publication of Baudhāyana's S'ulvasūtra, with the commentary by Dvārakanāthayajvan and a translation, in the May number of the "Paṇḍit, a monthly Journal of the Benares College, etc.," and intend as soon as I have finished Baudhāyana, to publish all other ancient S'ulva works of which I shall be able to procure sufficiently correct manuscripts. In the following pages I shall extract and fully explain the most important sūtras, always combining the rules given in the three most important s'ulva treatises, those of Baudhāyana, A'pastamba, and Kātyāyana, and so try to exhibit in some systematic order the knowledge embodied in these ancient sacrificial tracts.

The sūtras begin with general rules for measuring; the greater part of these rules, in which the chief interest of this class of writings is concentrated, will be given further on. In the next place they teach how to fix the right places for the sacred fires, and how to measure out the vedis of the different sacrifices, the saumikī vedi, the paitrikī vedi, and so on.

The remainder of the sūtras contains the detailed description of the construction of the "agni", the large altar built of bricks, which was required at the great soma sacrifices.

This altar could be constructed in different shapes, the earliest enumeration of which we find in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, V. 4. 11.

Following this enumeration Baudhāyana and A'pastamba furnish us with full particulars about the shape of all these different chitis and the bricks which had to be employed for their construction. The most ancient and primitive form is the chaturasras'yenachit, so called because it rudely imitates the form of a falcon, and because the bricks out of which it is composed are all of a square shape. It had to be employed whenever there was no special reason for preferring another shape of the agni; and all rules given by brāhmaṇas and sūtras for the agnichayana refer to it in first line. A full description of the construction of this agni according to the ritual of the white Yajur Veda and of all accompanying ceremonies has been given by Professor A. Weber in the 13th volume of the "Indische Studien." A nearer approach to the real shape of a falcon or—as the

sūtras have it—of the shadow of a falcon about to take wing is made in the s'yena vakrapaksha vyastapuchchha, the falcon with curved wings and outspread tail.\* The kañkachit, the agni constructed in the form of a heron, or according to Burnell (Catalogue, p. 29) of a carrion kite, is but a slight variation of the s'yenachiti; it is distinguished from it by the addition of the two feet. The alajachit again is very little different from the kañkachit, showing only a slight variation in the outline of the wings. What particular bird was denoted by the word alaja, the commentators are unable to inform us; in the commentary to Taittir. Samh. V. 5. 20 it is explained as "bhāsa", which does not advance us very much, as the meaning of bhāsa itself is doubtful. Next comes the praūgachit, the construction imitating the form of the praūga, the forepart of the poles of a chariot, an equilateral acutangular triangle and the ubhayatah-praūgachit made out of two such triangles joined with their bases. Then follows the rathachakrachit, the altar constructed in the form of a wheel; in the first place the simple rathachakrachit, a massive wheel without spokes, and secondly, the more elaborate sārathachakrachit, representing a wheel with sixteen spokes. The droṇachit represents a droṇa, a particular kind of tub or vessel; it could be constructed in two shapes, either square or circular (chaturasradroṇachit and parimaṇḍala-droṇachit). The parichāyyachit, which is mentioned in the next place, is in its circular outline equal to the rathachakrachit, but it differs from it in the arrangement of the bricks, which are to be placed in six concentric circles. The samūhyachit has likewise a circular shape; its characteristic feature was that loose earth was employed for its construction instead of the bricks. Of the s'mas'ānachit a full description together with the necessary diagrams will be given further on. The last chiti mentioned is the kūrṁmachit, the altar representing a tortoise; the tortoise may be either vakrāṅga, of an angular shape, or parimaṇḍala, circular.

Every one of these altars had to be constructed out of five layers of bricks, which reached together to the height of the knee; for some cases ten or fifteen layers and a correspondingly increased height of the altar were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks, so that the whole agni contained a thousand; the first, third, and fifth layers were divided into two hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second and the fourth, so that one brick was never lying upon another brick of the same size and form.

Regarding the reasons which may have induced the ancient Indians to devise all these strange shapes, the Samhitās and Brāhmanas give us

\* The plates accompanying this paper contain the diagrams of three different chitis; diagrams of all the remaining chitis will be given in the 'Paṇḍit' in the proper places.



but little information. Thus we read for instance in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā :

S'yenachitaṃ chinvīta suvargakāmah, s'yeno vai vayasāṃ patishṭhah, s'yena eva bhūtvā suvargaṃ lokam patati.

“He who desires heaven, may construct the falcon-shaped altar ; for the falcon is the best flyer among the birds ; thus he (the sacrificer) having become a falcon himself flies up to the heavenly world.”

In the same place the dropachiti is brought into connexion with the acquiring of food ; the praūga and rathachakra are described as thunderbolts which the sacrificer hurls on his enemies, and so on. Here as in many other cases we may doubt if the symbolical meaning which the authors of the brāhmanas find in the sacrificial requisites and ceremonies is the right one ; still we cannot propose anything more satisfactory.

But the chief interest of the matter does not lie in the superstitious fancies in which the wish of varying the shape of the altars may have originated, but in the geometrical operations without which these variations could not be accomplished. The old yājñikas had fixed for the most primitive chiti, the chaturasras'yenachit, an area of seven and a half square purushas, that means seven and a half squares, the side of which was equal to a purusha, *i. e.*, the height of a man with uplifted arms. This rule was valid at least for the case of the agni being constructed for the first time ; on each subsequent occasion the area had to be increased by one square purusha.

Looking at the sketch of the chaturas'ra s'yena we easily understand why just  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square purushas were set down for the agni. Four of them combined into a large square form the átman, or body of the bird, three are required for the two wings and the tail, and lastly, in order that the image might be a closer approach to the real shape of a bird, wings and tail were lengthened, the former by one fifth of a purusha each, the latter by one tenth. The usual expression used in the sūtras to denote the agni of this area is “agnih saptavidhah sáratnīprádes'ah, the sevenfold agni with aratni and prádes'a,” the aratni being the fifth ( = 24 aṅgulis), and the prádes'a, the tenth of a purusha ( = 12 aṅgulis).

Now when for the attainment of some special purpose, one of the variations enumerated above was adopted instead of the primitive shape of the agni, the rules regulating the size of the altar did not cease to be valid, but the area of every chiti whatever its shape might be—falcon with curved wings, wheel, praūga, tortoise, etc.—had to be equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square purushas. On the other hand, when at the second construction of the altar one square purusha had to be added to the seven and a half constituting the first chiti, and when for the third construction two square purushas more were required the shape of the whole, the relative proportions of the single



parts had to remain unchanged. A look at the outlines of the different chitis is sufficient to show that all this could not be accomplished without a certain amount of geometrical knowledge. Squares had to be found which would be equal to two or more given squares, or equal to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares and squares into oblongs; triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares or oblongs, and so on. The last task and not the least was that of finding a circle, the area of which might equal as closely as possible that of a given square.

Nor were all these problems suggested only by the substitution of the more complicated forms of the agni for the primitive chaturasras'yena, although this operation doubtless called for the greatest exertion of ingenuity; the solution of some of them was required for the simplest sacrificial constructions. Whenever a figure with right angles, square or oblong, had to be drawn on the ground, care had to be taken that the sides really stood at right angles on each other; for would the āhavanīya fire have carried up the offerings of the sacrificer to the gods if its hearth had not the shape of a perfect square? There was an ancient precept that the vedi at the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice was to be the third part of the vedi at the soma sacrifices, and the vedi at the pīṭriyajña its ninth part; consequently a method had to be found out by which it was possible to get the exact third and ninth part of a given figure. And when, according to the opinion of some theologians, the gārhapatya had to be constructed in a square shape, according to the opinion of others as a circle, the difference of the opinions referred only to the shape, not to the size, and consequently there arose the want of a rule for turning a square into a circle.

The results of the endeavours of the priests to accomplish tasks of this nature are contained in the paribhāshā sūtras of the Śulvasūtras. The most important among these is, to use our terms, that referring to the hypotenuse of the rectangular triangle. The geometrical proposition, the discovery of which the Greeks ascribed to Pythagoras, was known to the old āchāryas, in its essence at least. They express it, it is true, in words very different from those familiar to us; but we must remember that they were interested in geometrical truths only as far as they were of practical use, and that they accordingly gave to them the most practical expression. What they wanted was, in the first place, a rule enabling them to draw a square of double the size of another square, and in the second place a rule teaching how to draw a square equal to any two given squares, and according to that want they worded their knowledge. The result is, that we have two propositions instead of one, and that these propositions speak of squares and oblongs instead of the rectangular triangle.

These propositions are as follows :

Baudhāyana :

समचतुरस्रस्याह्णयारज्जुर्द्विस्तावतीं भूमिं करोति ।

The cord which is stretched across—in the diagonal of—a square produces an area of double the size.

That is : the square of the diagonal of a square is twice as large as that square.

Āpastamba :

चतुरस्रस्याह्णयारज्जुर्द्विस्तावतीं भूमिं करोति ।

Kātyāyana :

समचतुरस्रस्याह्णयारज्जुर्द्विकरणी ।

The cord in the diagonal of a square is the cord (the line) producing the double (area).

“Samachaturasra” is the term employed throughout in the *S'ulvasūtras* to denote a square, the “sama” referring to the equal length of the four sides and the *chaturasra* implying that the four angles are right angles. The more accurate terminology of later Indian geometry distinguishes two classes of *samachaturas'ras*, or *samachaturbhuja*, viz. the *samakarṇa samachaturbhuja* and the *vishamakarṇa samachaturbhuja*; the *S'ulvasūtras*, having to do only with the former one, make no such distinction. *Akshpayārajju* is the ancient term, representing the later “*karṇarajju*” or simply “*karna*.” “Area” is here denoted by “*bhūmi*,” while in later times “*kshetra*” expressed this idea, and “*bhūmi*” became one of the words for the base of a triangle or any other plane figure.

The side of a square is said to produce that square (*karoti*), a way of speaking apparently founded on the observation that the square is found by multiplying the number which expresses the measure of the side by itself; if the side was five feet long, the square was found to consist of  $5 \times 5$  little squares, &c. The expression was not applicable to other plane figures, to an oblong for instance; for there the area is the product of two sides of different length, neither of which can be said to produce the figure by itself.

The side of a square, or originally the cord forming the side of a square, is therefore called the “*karṇi*” of the square. That “*rajju*” is to be supplied to “*karṇi*”, is explicitly stated by Kātyāyana :

करणी तत्करणी तिर्यङ्मानो पार्श्वमान्यह्णयेति रज्जवः ।

By the expressions : *karṇi*, *karṇi* of that (of any square) &c., we mean cords.

The side of a square being called its *karṇi*, the side of a square of double the size was the “*dvikarṇi*”, the line producing the double (I shall for convenience sake often employ the terms “side” or “line”

instead of "cord"); this was therefore the name for the diagonal of a square. Other compounds with *karāṇi* will occur further on; the change of meaning which the word has undergone in later times will be considered at the end of this paper.

The authors of the *sūtras* do not give us any hint as to the way in which they found their proposition regarding the diagonal of a square; but we may suppose that they, too, were observant of the fact that the square on the diagonal is divided by its own diagonals into four triangles, one of which is equal to half the first square. This is at the same time an immediately convincing proof of the Pythagorean proposition as far as squares or equilateral rectangular triangles are concerned.

The second proposition is the following :

Baudhāyana :

दीर्घचतुरस्रस्याक्षरारज्जुः पार्श्वमानी तिर्यङ्मानी च यत्पृथग्भूते कुरुतस्तदुभयं करोति ।

The cord stretched in the diagonal of an oblong produces both (areas) which the cords forming the longer and the shorter side of an oblong produce separately.

That is: the square of the diagonal of an oblong is equal to the square of both its sides.

Āpastamba :

दीर्घस्याक्षरारज्जुः पार्श्वमानी तिर्यङ्मानी च यत्पृथग्भूते कुरुतस्तदुभयं करोति ।

Kātyāyana gives the rule in the same words as Baudhāyana.

The remark made about the term *samachaturasra* applies also to "*dirghachaturasra*" "the long quadrangle" meaning the long quadrangle with four right angles. "*Pārs'vamāni (rajju)*" is the cord measuring the *pārs'va* or the long side of the oblong or simply this side itself; *tiryāṇmāni*, the cord measuring the horizontal extent or the breadth of the oblong, in other words its shorter side, which stands at right angles to the longer side. Noteworthy is the expression "*prithagbhūte*;" for as one of the commentators observes it is meant as a caution against taking the square of the sum of the two sides instead of the sum of their squares (*prithag-grahaṇam samsargo mā bhūd ity evamartham*).

It is apparent that these two propositions about the diagonal of a square and an oblong, when taken together, express the same thing that is enunciated in the proposition of Pythagoras.

But how did the *sūtrakāras* satisfy themselves of the general truth of their second proposition regarding the diagonal of rectangular oblongs?

Here there was no such simple diagram as that which demonstrates the truth of the proposition regarding the diagonal of a square, and other means of proof had to be devised.

Baudhāyana :

त्रिकचतुष्कयोर्द्वादशिकपञ्चिकयोः पञ्चदशिकाष्टिकयोः सप्तिकचतुर्विंशिकयोर्द्वादशिकपञ्चविंशिकयोः पञ्चदशिकषट्त्रिंशिकयो रित्येतास्त्रयः ।

This (*viz.* that the diagonal of an oblong produces by itself, &c.,) is seen in those oblongs the sides of which are three and four, twelve and five, fifteen and eight, seven and twenty-four, twelve and thirty-five, fifteen and thirty-six (literally, the sides of which consist of three parts and four parts, &c.)

This sūtra contains the enumeration of, as we should say, five Pythagorean triangles, *i. e.*, rectangular triangles, the three sides of which can be expressed in integral numbers. (Baudhāyana enumerates six ; but the last is essentially the same with the second, 15 and 36 being  $3 \times 5$  and  $3 \times 12$ .) Baudhāyana does not give the numbers expressing the length of the diagonals of his oblongs or the hypotenuses of the rectangular triangles, and I subjoin therefore some rules from A'pastamba, which supply this want, while they show at the same time the practical use, to which the knowledge embodied in Baudhāyana's sūtra could be turned.

The vedi or altar employed in the soma sacrifices was to have the dimensions specified in the following :

त्रिंशत्पदानि प्रक्रमा वा पश्चात्तिरश्ची भवन्ति षट्त्रिंशत् प्राची चतुर्विंशतिः पुरश्चात्तिरश्चीति सौमिक्या वेदेर्विज्ञायते ।

The western side is thirty padas or prakramas long, the prāchī or east line (*i. e.*, the line drawn from the middle of the western side to the middle of the eastern side of the vedi) is thirty-six padas or prakramas long ; the eastern side twenty-four ; this is the tradition for the vedi at the soma sacrifices.

Now follow the rules for the measurement of the area of this vedi :

षट्त्रिंशत्प्रिकायामेष्टादशोपसमस्यापरस्मादन्नाद् द्वादशसु लक्षणं पञ्चदशसु लक्षणं षष्ठान्त्योरन्ता नियम्य पञ्चदशिकेन दक्षिणापायस्य शङ्कुं निहत्येवमुत्तरतस्ते श्राणी विपर्यस्यासौ पञ्चदशिकेनैवापायस्य द्वादशिके शङ्कुं निहत्येवमुत्तरतस्त्वावत्सा तदेकरज्ज्वा विहरणम् ।

Add to the length of thirty-six (*i. e.*, to a cord of the length of thirty-six either padas or prakramas) eighteen (the whole length of the cord is then 54), and make two marks on the cord, one at twelve, the other at fifteen, beginning from the western end ; tie the ends of the cord to the ends of the prīṣṭhāyā line (the prīṣṭhāyā is the same as the prāchī, the line directed exactly towards the east and west points, and going through the centre of the vedi. The fixing of the prāchī was the first thing to be done when any altar had to be measured out. The methods devised for this end will not be discussed here, as they are based on astronomical observations ; for our purpose it is sufficient to know that a line of 36 padas length



and running from the east towards the west had been drawn on the ground. On both ends of this line a pole was fixed and the ends of the cord of 54 padas length tied to these poles) and taking it by the sign at fifteen, draw it towards the south; (at the place reached by the mark, after the cord has been well stretched) fix a pole. Do the same on the northern side (*i. e.*, draw the cord towards the north as you have drawn it just now towards the south). By this process the two s'ronís, the southwest corner and the southeast corner of the vedi are fixed. After that exchange (the ends of the cord; *i. e.*, tie that end which had been fastened at the pole on the east end of the práchí to the pole on its west end and *vice versá*), and fix the two amsas ("shoulders" of the vedi, *i. e.*, the southeast corner and the northeast corner). This is done by stretching the cord towards the south having taken it by the mark at fifteen and by fixing a pole on the spot reached by the mark at twelve; and by repeating the same operation on the northern side. The result are the two amsas. This is the measurement of the vedi by means of one cord (the measurements described further on require two cords each). (See diagram 1.)

The whole process described in the preceding is founded on the knowledge that a triangle, the three sides of which are equal to 15, 36, 39, is rectangular.

The end aimed at was to draw the east and the west side of the vedi at right angles on the práchí. Accordingly, the práchí a b being 36 feet long, a cord a c b (= 54) was divided by a mark into two parts a c = 39 and b c = 15 and fastened at a and b. If then this cord was taken at c, and stretched towards the right, the angle a b c could not but be a right angle. The same applies to the angles a b d, b a e, and b a f. In fixing the two east corners, both marks on the cord had to be employed, the mark at fifteen being used for constructing the right angle, the mark at 12 giving to the east side of the vedi the prescribed length (24 padas).

त्रिकचतुष्कथेः पश्चिकाह्णयारज्जुः ।

The diagonal cord of an oblong, the side cords of which are three and four, is five.

तामिस्त्रिरभ्यस्तामिरङ्गसौ ।

With these cords increased three times (by itself; *i. e.*, multiplied by four) the two eastern corners of the vedi are fixed.

The proceeding is as follows: (See diagram 2.)

At c, at a distance of 16 padas from a, the east end of the práchí, a pole is fixed and then a cord of 32 feet length tied to the poles at a and c. The cord is marked at a distance of 12 padas from a, and then taken by the mark and drawn towards the south until it reaches the position a e c. Thus

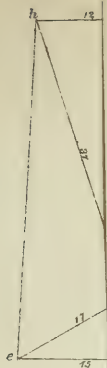


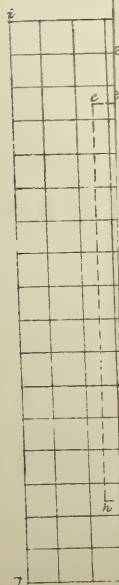
FIGURE 1.

e b, a f b = the cord of 54 padas length;

c = dakshinā sronī, d uttarā sronī,

FIGURE 13.

chit before squares have been turned



a b c d, the area comprising the spokes

e f g h, the fellow of the wheel.





Fig 4

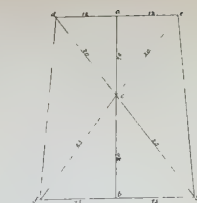


Fig 2

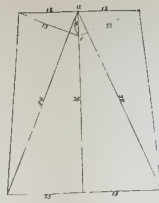


Fig 3

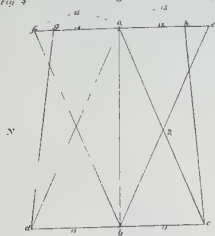


Fig 10

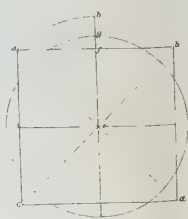


Fig 11

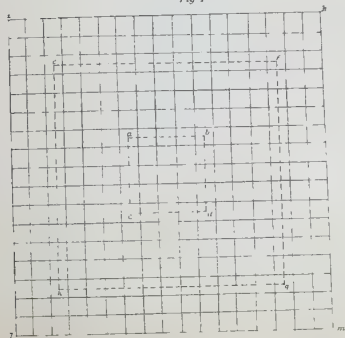


Fig 13

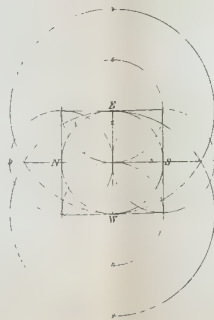


Fig 9

## EXPLANATION TO FIGURE 1.

$ab$  prāchī = 36 padas;  $acb$ ,  $adb$ ,  $aeb$ ,  $afb$  = the cord of 51 padas length;  
 $c, d, g, h$ , the four corners of the vedi, viz  $c$  = dakṣiṇā sronī,  $d$  = uttarā sronī,  
 $h$  = dakṣiṇa amśa,  $g$  = uttara amśa.

## EXPLANATION TO FIGURE 13.

The sgnikshetra of the sātarathachakrasūtri before squares have been turned into circles.

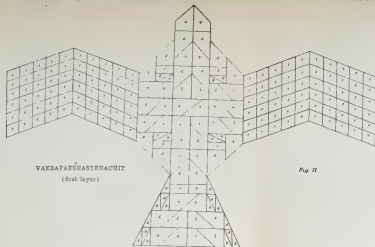
$abcd$ , the nave of the wheel;  $efgh-abcd$ , the area comprising the spokes and the spaces between the spokes;  $iklm \rightarrow fgh$ , the felloe of the wheel.





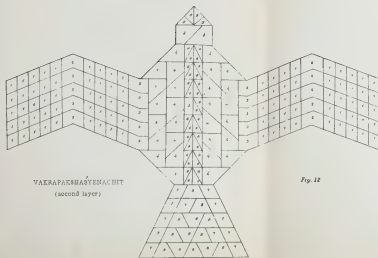






VAERAPAKSHASTANACHIT  
(first layer)

Fig. 11

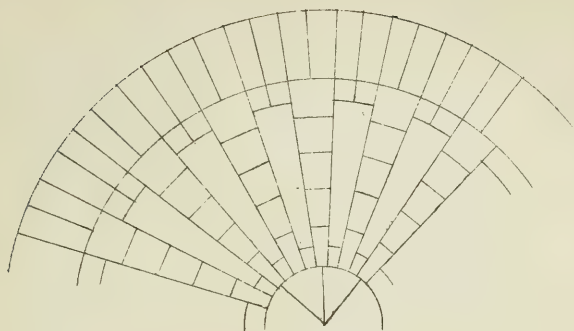


VAERAPAKSHASTANACHIT  
(second layer)

Fig. 12



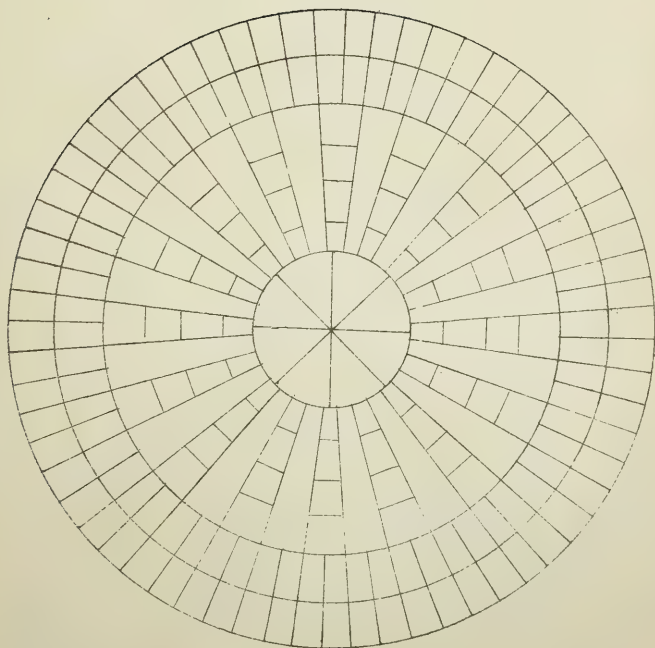




*Fig: 15*

SARARATHACHAKRACHIT

(second layer)



*Fig: 14*

SARARATHACHAKRACHIT

(first layer)









ŠMAŠĀNACHIT  
(first layer)

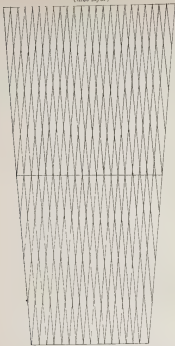


Fig. 16

ŠMAŠĀNACHIT  
(second layer)

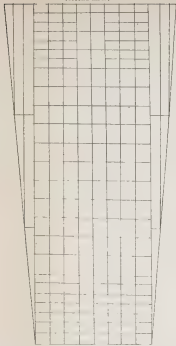


Fig. 17



Fig. 18

ŠMAŠĀNACHIT  
(side view)



a triangle is formed, the sides of which are 12, 16, 20 and this triangle is a rectangular one; a e stands at right angles on a c, and as it is just 12 padas long, e marks the place of the southeast corner of the vedi. The north east corner d is found in the same way.

चतुरभ्यस्तामिः श्रेणी ।

With the same cords increased four times (*i. e.*, their length multiplied by five) the two western corners of the vedi are found.

In this case a cord of 40 padas length is tied to the poles at c and b, and marked at the distance of 15 padas from b. Then it is taken by the mark and drawn towards the south into the position b g c. The result is a rectangular triangle as above; g marks the place of the southwest corner. The same operation repeated on the north side gives f as the place of the northwest corner of the vedi.

Another method for the measurement of the vedi follows:

द्वादशिकपञ्चिकयोस्तयोद्दशिकाक्षण्यारज्जुस्तामिरं सौ ।

The diagonal cord of an oblong, the sides of which are twelve and five, is thirteen; with these cords the two east corners are fixed.

(See diagram III.)

A pole is fixed at the distance of five padas from the east end of the *prāchī*, a cord of twenty-five padas length fastened at a and c, marked at the distance of 12 padas from a, drawn towards the south &c., as above.

द्विरभ्यस्तामिः श्रेणी ।

With these cords increased twice (multiplied by three) the two western corners are fixed.

The requisite rectangular triangle is here formed by the whole *prāchī* = 36, and by a cord of 54, divided by a mark into two pieces of 15 and 39.

Another method follows:

पञ्चदशिकाष्टिकयोः सप्तदशिकाक्षण्यारज्जुस्तामिः श्रेणी ।

The diagonal cord of an oblong, the sides of which are fifteen and eight, is seventeen; with these cords the two western corners are fixed.

(See diagram 4.)

A pole b is fixed at the distance of eight padas from d, a cord of 32 padas tied to b and d, &c.

द्वादशिकपञ्चत्रिंशिकयोः सप्तत्रिंशिकाक्षण्यारज्जुस्तामिरं सौ ।

The diagonal cord of an oblong, the sides of which are twelve and thirty-five is thirty-seven; with these cords the two eastern corners are fixed.

A pole is fixed at c, thirty-five padas to the west from a; a cord of forty-nine padas tied to a and c, &c.



एतावन्ति विज्ञेयानि वेदिविहरणानि भवन्ति ।

So many "cognizable" measurements of the *vedi* exist.

That means : these are the measurements of the *vedi* effected by oblongs, of which the sides and the diagonal can be known, *i. e.*, can be expressed in integral numbers.

In this manner A'pastamba turns the Pythagorean triangles known to him to practical use (the fourth of those which Baudhāyana enumerates is not mentioned, very likely because it was not quite convenient for the measurement of the *vedi*), but after all Baudhāyana's way of mentioning these triangles as proving his proposition about the diagonal of an oblong is more judicious. It was no practical want which could have given the impulse to such a research—for right angles could be drawn as soon as one of the "vijneya" oblongs (for instance that of 3, 4, 5) was known—but the want of some proof which might establish a firm conviction of the truth of the proposition.

The way in which the *Sūtrakāras* found the cases enumerated above, must of course be imagined as a very primitive one. Nothing in the *sūtras* would justify the assumption that they were expert in long calculations. Most likely they discovered that the square on the diagonal of an oblong, the sides of which were equal to three and four, could be divided into twenty-five small squares, sixteen of which composed the square on the longer side of the oblong, and nine of which formed the area of the square on the shorter side. Or, if we suppose a more convenient mode of trying, they might have found that twenty-five pebbles or seeds, which could be arranged in one square, could likewise be arranged in two squares of sixteen and of nine. Going on in that way they would form larger squares, always trying if the pebbles forming one of these squares could not as well be arranged in two smaller squares. So they would form a square of 36, of 49, of 64, &c. Arriving at the square formed by  $13 \times 13 = 169$  pebbles, they would find that 169 pebbles could be formed in two squares, one of 144 the other of 25. Further on 625 pebbles could again be arranged in two squares of 576 and 49, and so on. The whole thing required only time and patience, and after all the number of cases which they found is only a small one.

Having found that, in certain cases at least, it was possible to express the sides and the diagonal of an oblong in numbers, the *Sūtrakāras* naturally asked themselves if it would not be possible to do the same thing for a square. As the side and the diagonal of a square are in reality incommensurable quantities we can of course only expect an approximative value; but their approximation is a remarkably close one.

Baudhāyana :

प्रमाणं दत्तयेन वर्धयेत्तच्च चतुर्थेनात्मचतुर्लिंगेनेन । सविशेषः ।

Increase the measure by its third part and this third by its own fourth less the thirty-fourth part of that fourth; (the name of this increased measure) is savi'sha.

Āpastamba gives the rule in the same words.

Kātyāyana :

करणं तृतीयेन वर्धयेत्तच्च स्वचतुर्थेनात्मचतुस्त्रिंशदनेन सविशेष इति विशेषः।

The sūtras themselves are of an enigmatical shortness, and do not state at all what they mean by this increasing of the measure; but the commentaries leave no doubt about the real meaning; the measure is the *karani*, the side of a square and the increased measure the diagonal, the *dvikarani*. If we take 1 for the measure, and increase it as directed, we get the following expression :  $1 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3 \times 4} - \frac{1}{3 \times 4 \times 34}$  and this turned into a decimal fraction gives : 1.4142156 ..... Now the side of a square being put equal to 1, the diagonal is equal to  $\sqrt{2} = 1.414213$  .. Comparing this with the value of the savi'sha we cannot fail to be struck by the accuracy of the latter.

The question arises : how did Baudhāyana or Āpastamba or whoever may have the merit of the first investigation, find this value? Certainly they were not able to extract the square root of 2 to six places of decimals; if they had been able to do so, they would have arrived at a still greater degree of accuracy. I suppose that they arrived at their result by the following method which accounts for the exact degree of accuracy they reached.

Endeavouring to discover a square the side and diagonal of which might be expressed in integral numbers they began by assuming two as the measure of a square's side. Squaring two and doubling the result they got the square of the diagonal, in this case = eight. Then they tried to arrange eight, let us say again, eight pebbles, in a square; as we should say, they tried to extract the square root of eight. Being unsuccessful in this attempt, they tried the next number, taking three for the side of a square; but eighteen yielded a square root no more than eight had done. They proceeded in consequence to four, five, &c. Undoubtedly they arrived soon at the conclusion that they would never find exactly what they wanted, and had to be contented with an approximation. The object was now to single out a case in which the number expressing the square of the diagonal approached as closely as possible to a real square number. I subjoin a list, in which the numbers in the first column express the side of the squares which they subsequently tried, those in the second column the square of the diagonal, those in the third the nearest square number.

|     |      |      |     |      |      |
|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|
| 1.  | 2.   | 1.   | 11. | 242. | 256. |
| 2.  | 8.   | 9.   | 12. | 288. | 289. |
| 3.  | 18.  | 16.  | 13. | 338. | 324. |
| 4.  | 32.  | 36.  | 14. | 392. | 400. |
| 5.  | 50.  | 49.  | 15. | 450. | 441. |
| 6.  | 72.  | 64.  | 16. | 512. | 529. |
| 7.  | 98.  | 100. | 17. | 578. | 576. |
| 8.  | 128. | 121. | 18. | 648. | 625. |
| 9.  | 162. | 169. | 19. | 722. | 729. |
| 10. | 200. | 196. | 20. | 800. | 784. |

How far the *Sūtrakāras* went in their experiments we are of course unable to say; the list up to twenty suffices for our purposes. Three cases occur in which the number expressing the square of the diagonal of a square differs only by one from a square-number;  $8 - 9$ ;  $50 - 49$ ;  $288 - 289$ ; the last case being the most favourable, as it involves the largest numbers. The diagonal of a square, the side of which was equal to twelve, was very little shorter than seventeen ( $\sqrt{289} = 17$ ). Would it then not be possible to reduce 17 in such a way as to render the square of the reduced number equal or almost equal to 288?

Suppose they drew a square the side of which was 17 padas long, and divided it into  $17 \times 17 = 289$  small squares. If the side of the square could now be shortened by so much, that its area would contain not 289, but only 288 such small squares, then the measure of the side would be the exact measure of the diagonal of the square, the side of which is equal to 12 ( $12^2 + 12^2 = 288$ ). When the side of the square is shortened a little, the consequence is that from two sides of the square a stripe is cut off; therefore a piece of that length had to be cut off from the side that the area of the two stripes would be equal to one of the 289 small squares. Now, as the square is composed of  $17 \times 17$  squares, one of the two stripes cuts off a part of 17 small squares and the other likewise of 17, both together of 34 and since these 34 cut-off pieces are to be equal to one of the squares, the length of the piece to be cut off from the side is fixed thereby: it must be the thirty-fourth part of the side of one of the 289 small squares.

The thirty-fourth part of thirty-four small squares being cut off, one whole small square would be cut off and the area of the large square reduced exactly to 288 small squares; if it were not for one unavoidable circumstance. The two stripes which are cut off from two sides of the square, let us say the east side and the south side, intersect or overlap each other in the south-east corner and the consequence is, that from the small square in that corner not  $\frac{2}{34}$  are cut off, but only  $\frac{2}{34} - \frac{1}{34 \times 34}$ . Thence the

error in the determination of the value of the savis'esha. When the side of a square was reduced from 17 to  $16\frac{33}{34}$  the area of the square of that reduced side was not 288, but  $288 + \frac{1}{34 + 34}$ . Or putting it in a different way: taking 12 for the side of a square, dividing each of the 12 parts into 34 parts (altogether 408) and dividing the square into the corresponding small squares, we get  $408 \times 408 = 166464$ . This doubled is 332928. Then taking the savis'esha-value of  $16\frac{33}{34}$  for the diagonal and dividing the square of the diagonal into the small squares just described, we get  $577 \times 577 = 332929$  such small squares. The difference is slight enough.

The relation of  $16\frac{33}{34}$  to 12 was finally generalized into the rule: increase a measure by its third, this third by its own fourth less the thirty-fourth part of this fourth  $\left(16\frac{33}{34} = 12 + \frac{12}{3} + \frac{12}{3 \times 4} - \frac{12}{3 \times 4 \times 34}\right)$

The example of the savis'esha given by commentators is indeed  $16\frac{33}{34} : 12$ ; the case recommended itself by being the first in which the third part of a number and the fourth part of the third part were both whole numbers.

Regarding the practical use of the savis'esha, there is in Baudháyana or rather, as far as I am able to see, in all *s'ulvasútras* only one operation, for which it was absolutely necessary; this is, as we shall see later, the turning of a circle into a square, when the intention was to connect the rule for this operation with the rule for turning a square into a circle. A'pastamba employs (see further on) the savis'esha for the construction of right angles, but there were better methods for that purpose. The commentators indeed make the most extended use of the savis'esha, calculating by means of it the diagonals wherever diagonals come into question; this proceeding, however, is not only useless, but positively wrong, as in all such cases calculation cannot vie in accuracy with geometrical construction.

At the commencement of his *sútras*, Baudháyana defining the measures he is going to employ, divides the *aṅguli* into eight *yavas*, barley grains, or into thirty-four *tilas* (seeds of the sesame). I have no doubt that the second division which I have not elsewhere met, owns its origin to the savis'esha. The *aṅguli* being the measure most in use, it was convenient to have a special word for its thirty-fourth part, and to be able to say "sixteen *aṅgulis*, thirty-three *tilas*", instead of "sixteen *aṅgulis*, and thirty-three thirty-fourths of an *aṅguli*." Therefore some plant was searched for of which thirty-four seeds might be considered as equal in



length to one aṅguli; if the tilas really had that exact property, was after all a matter of little relevancy.

Having once acquired the knowledge of the Pythagorean proposition, it was easy to perform a great number of the required geometrical operations. The diagonal of a square being the side of a square of double the size, was, as we have seen, called dvikaraṇi; by forming with this dvikaraṇi and the side of the square an oblong and drawing the diagonal of this oblong, they got the trikaraṇi or the side of a square the area of which was equal to three squares of the first size.

Baudh. A'past. Kāty.

प्रमाणं त्रिगुणिकरणायामस्तस्याहणयारज्जुलिकरणी ।

Take the measure (the side of a square) for the breadth, the diagonal for the length (of an oblong); the diagonal cord is the trikaraṇi.

By continuing to form new oblongs and to draw their diagonals, squares could be constructed, equal in area to any number of squares of the first size. Often the process could be shortened by skilful combination of different karaṇis. Kātyāyana furnishes us with some examples.

पदं त्रिर्द्वयानी त्रिपदा पार्श्वमानी तस्याहणयारज्जुर्दशकरणी ।

Take a pada for the breadth, three padas for the length of an oblong; the diagonal is the das'akaraṇi (the square of the diagonal comprises ten square padas, for it combines the square of the karaṇi of one pada and of the navakaraṇi which is three padas long).

द्विपदा त्रिर्द्वयानी षट्पदा पार्श्वमानी तस्याहणयारज्जुश्चत्वारिंशत्करणी ।

Take two padas for the breadth, six padas for the length of an oblong; the diagonal is the chatvārimśat-karaṇi, the side of a square of forty square padas ( $2^2 + 6^2 = 40$ ).

On the other hand, any part of a given square could be found by similar proceedings.

Baudhāyana, after the rule for the trikaraṇi :

तृतीयकरणेतेन व्याख्याता नवमस्तु भूमेर्भागो भवतीति ।

Thereby is explained the tṛtīyakaraṇi, the side of a square the area of which is the third part of the area of a given square; it is the ninth part of the area.

A'pastamba :

तृतीयकरणेतेन व्याख्याता विभागस्तु नवधा ।

Kātyāyana :

तृतीयकरणेतेन व्याख्याता प्रमाणविभागस्तु नवधा । करणे तृतीयं नवभागो नवभाग-  
स्त्रयस्तृतीयकरणे ।

Baudhāyana's and A'pastamba's commentators disagree in the explanation of the sūtra; the methods they teach are, however, both legitimate. Dvārakānāthayajvan directs us to divide the given square into nine small squares by dividing the side into three parts, and to form with the side and the diagonal of one of these small squares an oblong; the diagonal of this oblong is the *ṭṛitīyakaraṇī*.

Kapardisvāmin proposes to find the *trikaraṇī* of the given square and to divide it into three parts; one of these parts is the *ṭṛitīyakaraṇī*; for its square is the ninth part of a square of three times the area of the given square, and therefore the third part of the given square. This explanation seems preferable, as it preserves better the connexion of the rule with the preceding rule for the *trikaraṇī*.

The fourth, fifth, &c., parts of a square were found in the same way.

A'pastamba and Kātyāyana give some special examples illustrating the manner in which the increase or decrease of the side affects the increase and decrease of the square.

A'pastamba :

अर्धपुरुषा रज्जुं सपादौ करोत्यर्धतृतीयपुरुषा षट् सपादान् ।

A cord of the length of one and a half purusha produces two square purushas and a quarter; and a cord of the length of two purushas and a half produces six square-purushas and a quarter.

Kātyāyana :

द्विः प्रमाणा चतुःकरणी त्रिः प्रमाणा नवकरणी चतुःप्रमाणा षोडशकरणी ।

A cord of double the length produces four (squares); one of three times the length produces nine, and one of four times the length produces sixteen.

A'pastamba and Kātyāyana :

अर्धप्रमाणेन पादप्रमाणं विधीयते ।

By a measure of half the length a square is produced equal to the fourth part of the original square.

A'pastamba :

तृतीयेन नवमी कला ।

Kātyāyana :

तृतीयेन नवमोऽंशः ।

By the third part the ninth part is produced.

Kātyāyana :

चतुर्थेन षोडशी कला ।

The sixteenth part is produced by the fourth part.

Next follow the rules for squares of different size.

A'pastamba :

तुल्योऽक्षतुरखयोरुक्तः समासः । नानाप्रमाणयोऽक्षतुरखयोः समासः । ऋषीयसः करणा वर्षीयसोऽष्टमुल्लिखेत् । षष्ठस्याक्षतुरखयोरुक्तः समासः ।

Baudhāyana :

नानाचतुरस्रे समस्यन्कनीयसः करणा वर्षीयसो दृध्रमुल्लिखेदृध्रस्याक्ष्यारज्जुः सम-  
स्तथाः पार्श्वमानी भवति ।

For a literal translation of this difficult sūtra and a discussion of the word “vṛidhra”, see the ‘Paṇḍit’ of June 1st, 1875, p. 17. The sense is as follows :

A'pastamba : The combining of two squares of equal size has been taught; the following is the method for combining two squares of different sizes. Cut off from the larger square an oblong with the side of the smaller square (*i. e.*, an oblong one side of which is formed by the side of the larger square, the other by that of the smaller square); the diagonal of this oblong combines both squares (is the side of a square the area of which is equal to the area of both the given squares together).

Baudhāyana :

If you wish to combine two squares of different size, cut off an oblong from the larger square with the side of the smaller one; the diagonal of that oblong is the side of both squares combined.

Kātyāyana :

समचतुरखाणामुक्तः समासो नानाप्रमाणसमासे ऋसीयसः करणा वर्षीयसोऽपच्छि-  
न्द्यात्तस्याक्ष्यारज्जुमे समस्यतीति समासः ।

The method needs no further explanation; it is in fact the same we employ for the same purpose.

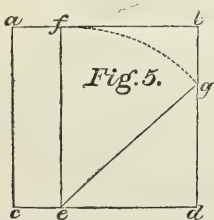
We proceed to the rule for deducting one square from another.

Baudhāyana, A'pastamba :

चतुरखाच्चतुरस्रं निर्जिहीर्षन्यावन्निर्जिहीर्षत्तस्य करणा वर्षीयसो दृध्रमुल्लिखेदृध्रस्य  
पार्श्वमानीमक्ष्येतरेत्यार्चमुपसृहरेत्या यत्र निपतेत्तदपच्छिन्द्याच्छिन्नया निरस्तम् ।

See the ‘Paṇḍit’, *loc. cit.*

If you wish to deduct one square from another, cut off from the larger one an oblong with the side of the smaller one; draw one of the sides of that oblong across to the other side; where it touches the other side, that piece cut off; by it the deduction is made.



a b c d = the larger square; cut off from it the oblong b d e f, in which e d and b f are equal to the side of the smaller square which is to be deducted. Fasten a cord e f at e, and draw it across the oblong into the position e g; then d g is the side of a square the area of which is equal to the difference of the two given squares. ( $dg^2 = eg^2 - ed^2$ ).

Kātyāyana words his rule as follows :

चतुरखाच्चतुरस्रं निर्जिहीर्षन्यावन्निर्जिहीर्षत्तावदुभयतोऽपच्छिद्य शङ्क निखाय पार्श्व-

मानीं कृत्वा पार्श्वमानीसंमितामक्षणया तत्रोपसंहरति स समासेऽपच्छेदः स क शेषं निर्हासः ।

A'pastamba illustrates the rule by an example :

उपसंहरताक्षणायां स चतुःकरणो । द्विधा चैतरा च यत्प्रथमभूते कुरुतस्तदुभयं करोति । तिर्यङ्मानी पुरुषं शेषस्त्रीन् ।

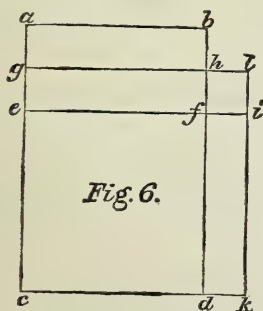
The question is about a square of four square purushas, from which a square of one square purusha is to be deducted. The diagonal (e g), which has been drawn across the oblong, is the side of a square of four purushas, and produces by itself as much as the cut-off side (g d) and the other side (e d) produce separately. The breadth of the oblong (e d) is the side of one square purusha ; the rest—the other side, d g—the side of three square purushas.

In order to combine oblongs with squares, a rule was wanted for turning oblongs into squares.

Baudhāyana :

दीर्घचतुरस्रं समचतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्तिर्यङ्मानीं करणीं कृत्वा शेषं द्वेधा विभज्य विपर्यस्तेतरत्रोपदध्यात् खण्डभावापेन तत्संपूरयेत्तस्य निर्हार उक्तः ।

In order to turn an oblong into a square, take the breadth of the oblong for the side of the square ; divide the rest of the oblong into two parts, and inverting their places join those two parts to two sides of the square. Fill the empty place with an added piece. The deduction of this has been taught.



That means: if you wish to turn the oblong a b c d into a square, cut off from the oblong the square c d e f, the side of which is equal to the breadth of the oblong ; divide a b e f, the rest of the oblong, into two parts, a b g h and g h e f ; take a b g h, and place it into the position d f i k ; fill up the empty place in the corner by the small square f h l i ; then deduct by samachaturasranirhāra the small square f h l i from the large square g l k c ; the square you get by this deduction will be equal to the oblong a b c d.

A'pastamba gives the same rule :

दीर्घचतुरस्रं समचतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्तिर्यङ्मानीपच्छिद्य शेषं विभज्योभयत उपदध्यात् । खण्डभागान्नुना संपूरयेत् । तस्य निर्हास उक्तः ।

And Kātyāyana :

दीर्घचतुरस्रं समचतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्मध्ये तिर्यगपच्छिद्यान्यतरद्विभज्येतरत्पूरयत्तादृशित एतत्रोपदध्याच्छेषभागान्नुना पूरयेत्तस्योक्तो निर्हासः ।



When one side of the oblong which had to be turned into a square, was more than double the length of the other, it was not sufficient to cut off a square once, but this had to be done several times, according to the length of the oblong, and finally all squares had to be combined into one.

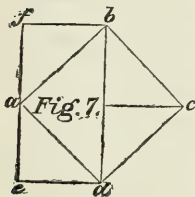
Kátyáyana has a rule to this purpose :

अतिदीर्घं चेत् तिर्यङ्गान्यापच्छिद्यापच्छिद्यैकसमासेन समस्य श्रेष्ठं यथायोगमुपसङ्गहरेत् ।

I add the rules for the reverse process, the turning of a square into an oblong.

Baudháyana :

समचतुरस्रं दीर्घचतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्तस्याक्ष्णयापच्छिद्य भागं द्वेधा विभज्य पार्श्वयोरेषदध्याद्यथायोगम् ।



If you wish to turn a square into an oblong, divide it by the diagonal; divide again one of the two halves into two parts, and join these two parts to the two sides (those two sides of the other half which form the right angle) as it fits (when joining them, join those sides which fit together).

Proceeding as directed, we turn the square  $a b c d$  into the oblong  $b d e f$ . This rule is, of course, very imperfect as it enables us to turn the square into one oblong only.

Kátyáyana has the following :

समचतुरस्रं दीर्घचतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्मध्येऽक्ष्णयापच्छिद्य विभज्येतरत्पुस्तादुत्तरतश्चोपदध्यात् ।

A'pastamba's rule helps us somewhat further :

समचतुरस्रं दीर्घचतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्वावचिकीर्षन्नावर्ती पार्श्वमानीं कृत्वा यदधिकं स्यात्तद्यथायोगमुपदध्यात् ।

In order to turn a square into an oblong, make a side as long as you wish the oblong to be (*i. e.*, cut off from the square an oblong one side of which is equal to one side of the desired oblong); then join to that the remaining portion as it fits.

Given for instance a square the side of which is equal to five, and required an oblong one side of which is equal to three. Cut off from the square an oblong the sides of which are five and three. There remains an oblong the sides of which are five and two; from this we cut off an oblong of three by two, and join it to the oblong of five by three. There remains a square of two by two, instead of which we take an oblong of 3 by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Joining this oblong to the two oblongs joined previously we get altogether an oblong of 3 by  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , the area of which is equal to the area of the square 5 by 5.

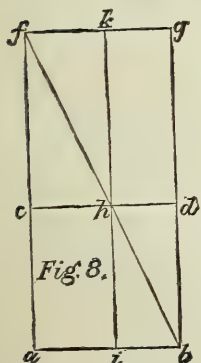
In this way the sūtra, as it appears from the commentaries, must be explained. The method taught in it was no doubt sufficient for most cases, but it cannot be called a really geometrical method.

I subjoin the description of a method for turning squares into oblongs, which is given by Baudhāyana's commentator, although it is not founded on the text of the sūtras. He, after having explained Baudhāyana's way of proceeding, continues—

अन्यस्य प्रकारः । यावद्विच्छं पार्श्वसाम्यौ प्राच्यौ वर्धयित्वा उत्तरपूर्वां कर्णरज्जुमायच्छेत्वा दीर्घचतुरस्रमध्यस्थानां समचतुरस्रतिर्यङ्मान्यां यत्र निपतति तत्र उत्तरं हित्वा दक्षिणां तिर्यङ्मानिं कुर्यात् । तदीर्घचतुरस्रं भवति ।

And there is another method. Lengthen the north side and the south side of the square towards east by as much as you want (*i. e.*, give to them the length of the oblong you wish to construct) and stretch (through the oblong formed by the two lengthened sides and the lines joining their ends) a cord in the diagonal from the north-east to the south-west corner. This diagonal cuts the east side of the square, which (side) runs through the middle of the oblong. Putting aside that part of the cut line which lies to the north of the point of intersection, take the southern part for the breadth; this is the required oblong.

For example :



Given the square a b c d and required an oblong of the same area and of the length b g. Lengthen a c and b d into a f and b g; draw f g parallel to c d; draw the diagonal f b, which cuts c d at h; draw i k parallel to a f and b g; then b g i k is the desired oblong.

This method is purely geometrical and perfectly satisfactory; for a b f = b f g, and b d h = b h i and c f h = f h k; therefore a c h i = d g h k, and consequently a b c d = b g k i. Q. E. D.

In this place now we have to mention the rules which are given at the beginning of the sūtras, the rules, as they call it, for making a square, in reality for drawing one line at right angles upon another. Their right place is here, after the general propositions about the diagonal of squares and oblongs, upon which they are founded.

Baudhāyana :

प्रमाणान् द्विगुणां रज्जुमुभयतः पार्श्वं कृत्वा मध्ये लक्षणं करोति । स प्राचर्यः अपरस्मिन्नर्थे चतुर्भागेन लक्षणं करोति । तत्र्यञ्जनम् । अर्धेऽसार्थम् । शृष्ट्यान्तयोः पार्श्वौ प्रतिमुच्य न्यञ्जेन दक्षिणापायम्यार्धेनार्धेन आण्ड्रसाभिर्हरेत् ।

Make two ties at the ends of a cord the length of which is double

the measure (of the side of the required square) and a mark at its middle. This piece of the cord (*i. e.*, its half) gives us the *prāchī* (of the required square; the *prāchī* of a square has the same length as its side). Then make a mark at the western half of the cord less the fourth part (of the half. If we wish, for instance, to make a square the side of which is twelve *padas* long, we take a cord twenty-four *padas* long; stretching this cord on the ground from the west towards the east, we find its middle by a measurement beginning from the western end, and having fixed the point which lies at the distance of twelve *padas* from both ends, we measure three *padas* back, towards the west, and make at the point we arrive at a mark; this mark divides the cord into two parts of 15 and 9 *padas* length). The name of this mark is *nyañchhana*. Then another mark is to be made at the half (of the western half of the cord), in order to fix by it the four corners of the square. (This second sign is at a distance of 18 *padas* from the eastern end of the cord.) Having fastened the two ties at the ends of the *prishṭhyá* line, we take the cord at the *nyañchhana* mark and stretch it towards the south; the four corners of the square are then fixed by the half (of the cord).

The same method is known to A'pastamba :

आयामं वाभ्यस्यागन्तुचतुर्थमायामसात्तण्यारज्जुस्त्रिर्ध्वानी शेषः ।

Or the length of the *prāchī* of the desired square, is to be doubled; the length and the fourth part of the added piece form the diagonal cord; the rest, *i. e.* three quarters of the added piece form the breadth (the shorter side of the oblong).

And the *S'ulvapariśiṣṭa* :

प्रमाणमभ्यस्यागन्तुचतुर्थं लक्षणं करोति तन्निरञ्जनमत्तण्यया त्रिर्ध्वानी शेषः ।

These rules make use of one of the Pythagorean triangles which were, as we have seen above, known to the *Sūtrakāras*, *viz.* of that one the sides of which are equal to three, four, and five. It recommended itself by the ease with which the three sides can be expressed in terms of each other, 3 + 5 being the double of 4, and 3 being equal to half the sum of 3 and 5, minus one quarter of half that sum.

Of course any other oblong with measurable sides and diagonal could be employed for the same purpose, and so we find in A'pastamba a rule for *chaturasrakaraṇa* abstracted from the *dīrghachaturasra*, of which the sides are five and twelve and the diagonal thirteen.

यावदायामं प्रमाणं तदर्धमभ्यस्यापरस्मिन् क्षुतीये षड्भागाने लक्षणं करोति । शृङ्गान्त्योरनौ नियम्य लक्षणेन दक्षिणापायम्य निमित्तं करोति । एवमुत्तरतः । विपर्ययेतरतः स समाधिः ।

Take a measure equal to the length (of the side and *prāchī* of the desired square) and increase it by its half. Make a mark at the western third less its sixth part. Fasten the ends of the cord, &c.

Increase 12 by 6; result 18; make a mark at a third, (reckoning from 18; that would be at 12) less the sixth part of that third (*i. e.*, a sixth part before the third) *i. e.*, at 13. Thus we get a rectangular triangle of 5, 12, 13.

The same rule in the *S'ulvapariśiṣṭa* :

प्रमाणार्धं वाभ्यस्याभ्यासपष्ठे लक्षणं करोति तन्निरञ्जनमन्त्रया तिर्यङ्ग्यानी शेषः ।

Here, as in many other places, the *pariśiṣṭa* is much clearer and more practical in the wording of its rules than the more ancient *sūtras*. The mark is, according to its expression, to be made not at the western third less its sixth part, but simply at a sixth of the added piece (6 is added to 12; the mark is made at 13).

Another method for *chaturasrakarapa*, taught by *A'pastamba* only, makes use of the above-mentioned *saviś'esha*.

इष्टान्तयोर्मध्ये च शङ्कुं निहत्यार्धं तद्विशेषमभ्यस्य लक्षणं कृत्वार्धमागमयेदन्तयोः पाशौ कृत्वा मध्यमे सविशेषं प्रतिमुच्य पूर्वस्मिन्नितरं लक्षणेन दक्षिणमङ्गसमायच्छेदुन्मुच्य पूर्वस्मादपरस्मिन्प्रतिमुच्य लक्षणेनैव दक्षिणमङ्गं शोणिसमायच्छेदेवमुत्तरौ शोण्यौ सौ ।

Fix poles on both ends and the middle of the *prishṭhyā* line, add to a cord of half the length (of the *prishṭhyā*) its *viś'esha*, *i. e.*, its third plus the fourth part of the third minus the thirty-fourth part of that fourth part, and add moreover a piece of the length of half the *prishṭhyā*, after having made a mark (to separate the two parts of the cord). Then tie the *saviś'esha* part of the cord to the middle pole, the other part to the eastern pole, and fix the south-east corner of the square by stretching the cord (towards the south), having taken it at the mark. Untie the end of the cord from the eastern pole, &c.

This method is of course inferior to those described above and certainly unnecessary; *Baudhāyana* does not mention it.

I subjoin the remaining methods for *chaturasrakarapa*, which do not presuppose the knowledge of the Pythagorean theorem.

*Apastamba* :

प्रमाणान्नौमङ्गं रज्जुमुभयतः पाशां करोति । मध्ये लक्षणमर्धमध्ययोश्च । इष्टायाङ्गं रज्जुमायम्य पाशयोर्लक्षणेष्विति शङ्कुनिहत्युपान्तयोः पाशौ प्रतिमुच्य मध्यमेन लक्षणेन दक्षिणापयम्य निमित्तं करोति मध्यमे पाशौ प्रतिमुच्योपर्युपरिनिमित्तं मध्यमेन लक्षणेन दक्षिणापयम्य शङ्कुं निहन्ति तस्मिन्पाशं प्रतिमुच्य पूर्वस्मिन्नितरं मध्यमेन लक्षणेन दक्षिणमङ्गसमायच्छेदुन्मुच्य पूर्वस्मादपरस्मिन्प्रतिमुच्य मध्यमेनैव लक्षणेन दक्षिणमङ्गं शोणिसमायच्छेदेवमुत्तरौ शोण्यौ सौ ।

Take a cord of the length of the measure (of the side of the required square), and make ties at both its ends, a mark at its middle and at the middle points of its halves. Stretch the cord on the *prishṭhyā* line, and fix poles on the points marked by the two ties of the cord and by the three



marks (five poles altogether). Fasten the ties at the second and fourth poles (reckoning from the east), stretch the cord towards the south having taken it by the middle mark, and make at the point, touched by the mark, a mark on the ground. Then fastening both ties at the middle pole, stretch the cord over the mark on the ground towards the south, having taken it by the middle mark, and fix a pole (at the spot reached by the stretched, doubled up, cord). Then fastening one tie at this pole and the other tie at the pole standing at the eastern end of the *práchi*, fix the south-east corner of the square by stretching the cord, having taken it by the middle mark. Then untying the rope from the eastern pole and fastening it at the western pole, fix the south-west corner, &c. ; in the same way the north-east and north-west corner are found.

In this procedure the first step is to find the middle of the southern and of the northern sides of the required square by drawing a line at right angles through the middle point of the *práchi*. The method employed here for drawing a line at right angles on another is the simplest of all known to the *S'ulvasútras*, and essentially the same we make use of when describing intersecting arcs from two points equally distant to the right and left from some given point. In the later portions of the *sútras* this method is enjoined for the measurement of the *agni* (instead of cords canes of a certain length had to be employed there), and the followers of the White Yajur Veda had adopted it for the same purpose (see *Indische Studien*, XIII., p. 233, ff).

The second part of the procedure—to find the four corners of the square after having found the middle points of the sides—was of course easy and does not afford any special interest.

To Baudháyana the same method is known, but he restricts it in his *paribháša-sútras* to the construction of oblongs; clearly without sufficient reason, since the method refers only to the construction of right angles, and the length of the sides is of no importance. A'pastamba gives no special rule at all for oblongs, and it is indeed not wanted.

I subjoin Baudháyana's rule :

दीर्घचतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्वावचिकीर्षेत्तावत्वां भूमौ द्वौ शङ्कु निहन्त्यात् । द्वौ द्वावकर्म-के-  
भितः समौ । यावती तिर्यङ्वाणी तावतीऽ रज्जुमुभयतः पाशौ कृत्वा मध्ये लक्षणं करोति ।  
पूर्वेषामन्यथोः पाशौ प्रतिमुच्य लक्षणेन दक्षिणायम्य लक्षणे लक्षणं करोति । मध्यमे  
पाशौ प्रतिमुच्य लक्षणस्योपरिष्ठादक्षिणापायम्य लक्षणे शङ्कुं निहन्त्यात् । सोऽस एतेना-  
त्तरोऽसौ व्याख्यातस्तथा श्रेणी ।

He who wishes to make an oblong is to fix two poles on an area of the length which he intends to give to the oblong (*i. e.*, at the two ends of the *práchi* of that area). On both sides, *i. e.*, on the west and east sides

of both these poles two other poles are to be fixed at equal distances. Then taking a cord of the length one intends to give to the side line (breadth) of the oblong, one makes ties at both its ends and a mark at its middle. Then one fastens the two ties at those two of the three eastern poles, which stand at the outside, stretches the cord towards the south holding it by the mark, and makes on this mark (*i. e.*, on the spot where the mark touches the ground after the cord has been stretched) a mark. Then fastening both ties at the middle pole one stretches the cord over the mark (on the ground) towards the south, and fixes a pole on the mark (*i. e.*, on the spot touched by the mark on the cord). That is the south-east corner of the oblong; thereby are explained likewise the north-east corner and the two western corners.

In the last place I give a method of *chaturās'rakaraṇa*, which is found in *Baudhāyana* only, but there in the first place. It seems to be the most ancient of all the methods enumerated.

चतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्वावृत्तिकीर्षत्तावतीं रज्जुमुभयतः पाशं कृत्वा मध्ये लक्षणं करोति ।  
 लेखामाचिह्न्य तस्या मध्ये शङ्कुं निहन्यात्तस्मिन्पाशे प्रतिमुच्य लक्षणेन मण्डलं परिलिखेत् ।  
 विष्कम्भान्तयोः शङ्कुं निहन्यात् । पूर्वस्मिन्पाशं प्रतिमुच्य पाशेन मण्डलं परिलिखेत् । एव-  
 मपरस्मिन्लेखे यत्र समेयातां तेन द्वितीयं विष्कम्भमायच्छेत् । विष्कम्भान्तयोः शङ्कुं निहन्यात् ।  
 पूर्वस्मिन्पाशे प्रतिमुच्य लक्षणेन मण्डलं परिलिखेत् । एवं दक्षिणत एवं पश्चादेवमुत्तरत-  
 लेषां येऽन्याः सः सर्गास्तच्चतुरस्रं संपद्यते ।

If you wish to make a square, take a cord of the length which you desire to give to the side of the square, make a tie at both its ends and a mark at its middle; then having drawn the *prāchī* line, fix a pole in its middle, and having fastened at that pole the two ties of the cord, describe with the mark a circle round it. Then fix poles at both ends of the diameter (formed by the *prāchī*), and having fastened one tie at the eastern pole (the pole standing at the east end of the *prāchī*), describe a circle with the other tie (*i. e.*, with the full length of the cord). In the same manner a circle is described round the pole at the west end of the *prāchī*, and another diameter is drawn joining the points in which these two circles intersect (this diameter is the line pointing to the north and south points). A pole is fixed at both ends of this diameter. Having fastened both ties at the eastern pole, describe a circle round it with the mark. The same is to be done in the south, the west, and the north (*i. e.*, circles are to be described round the three other poles); the points of intersection of these four circles which (*i. e.*, the points) are situated in the four intermediate regions (north-east, north-west, &c.,) are the four corners of the required square.

#### Diagram 9.

Passing over some rules of less importance, I proceed to those which refer to the "squaring of the circle." It certainly is a matter of some in-

terest to see the old ácháryas attempting this problem, which has since haunted so many unquiet minds. It is true the motives leading them to the investigation were vastly different from those of their followers in this arduous task. Theirs was not the disinterested love of research which distinguishes true science, nor the inordinate craving of undisciplined minds for the solution of riddles which reason tells us cannot be solved; theirs was simply the earnest desire to render their sacrifice in all its particulars acceptable to the gods, and to deserve the boons which the gods confer in return upon the faithful and conscientious worshipper.

It is true that they were not quite so successful in their endeavours as we might wish, and that their rules are primitive in the highest degree; but this tends at least to establish their high antiquity.

The rules are the following:

Baudháyana:

चतुरस्रं मण्डलं चिकीर्षन्नृत्तण्यार्धं मध्यात्प्राचीमभ्यापातयेद्यदतिशिष्यते तस्य सह  
द्वितीयेन मण्डलं परिलिखेत् ।

If you wish to turn a square into a circle, draw half of the cord stretched in the diagonal from the centre towards the *práchi* line (the line passing through the centre of the square and running exactly from the west towards the east); describe the circle together with the third part of that piece of the cord which will lie outside the square.

See diagram 10.

A cord is to be stretched from the centre *e* of the square *a b c d* towards the corner *a*; then the cord, being tied to a pole at *e*, is drawn towards the right hand side until it coincides in its position with the line *e f*; a piece of the cord, *f h*, will then of course lie outside the square. This piece is to be divided into three parts, and one of these three parts, *f g*, together with the piece *e f*, forms the radius of the circle, the area of which is to be equal to the area of the square *a b c d*.

A'pastamba gives the same rule in different words:

चतुरस्रं मण्डलं चिकीर्षन्नमध्यात्कोट्यां निपातयेत् पार्श्वतः परिक्रम्यातिशयद्वितीयेन सह  
मण्डलं परिलिखेत् । सा नित्या मण्डलम् । यावद्धीयते तावदागन्तु ।

If you wish to turn a square into a circle, stretch a cord from the centre towards one of the corners, draw it round the side and describe the circle together with the third part of the piece standing over; this line gives a circle exactly as large as the square; for as much as there is cut off from the square (*viz.* the corners of the square), quite as much is added to it (*viz.* the segments of the circle, lying outside the square).

I must remark that Kapardisvámin, A'pastamba's commentator, combines the two words "*sá nityá*" into *sánityá* (= *sá anityá*), and explains: this line gives a circle, which is not exactly equal to the square. But I am



afraid we should not be justified in giving to A'pastamba the benefit of this explanation. The words 'yāvad dhīyate, &c.' seem to indicate that he was perfectly satisfied with the accuracy of his method and not superior, in this point, to so many circle-squarers of later times. The commentator who, with the mathematical knowledge of his time, knew that the rule was an imperfect one, preferred very naturally the interpretation which was more creditable to his author.

Kātyāyana's *S'ulvaparīśiṣṭa* :

चतुरस्रं मण्डलं चिकीर्षन्मथादहं से निपात्य पार्श्वतः परिलिख्य तत्र यदतिरिक्तं भवति तस्य तृतीयेन सह मण्डलं परिलिखेत् ।

Let us now see what the result of the above rule would be by making the side of the square equal to 2.  $a c = 2$ ;  $a i = 1$ ;  $a e = \sqrt{2} = 1.414213...$ ;  $\frac{0.414213}{3} = 0.138071$ ; radius of the circle  $= 1.138071$ .

Multiplying the square of 1.138071 by  $\pi = 3.141592...$ , we find as area of the circle : 4.069008....., while the area of the square  $= 4$ .

The next thing was to find a rule for turning a circle into a square. There we have at first a rule given by Baudhāyana only :

मण्डलं चतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्विष्कम्भस्यै भागान्कृत्वा भागमेकोनविंशत्या विभज्याष्टविंशतिभागानुद्धरेद्भागस्य च षष्ठमष्टमभागानम् ।

If you wish to turn a circle into a square, divide the diameter into eight parts, and again one of these eight parts into twenty-nine parts; of these twenty-nine parts remove twenty-eight and moreover the sixth part (of the one left part) less the eighth part (of the sixth part).

The meaning is :  $\frac{7}{8} + \frac{1}{8 \cdot 29} - \frac{1}{8 \cdot 29 \cdot 6} + \frac{1}{8 \cdot 29 \cdot 6 \cdot 8}$  of the diameter of a circle is the side of a square the area of which is equal to the area of the circle.

Considering this rule closer, we find that it is nothing but the reverse of the rule for turning a square into a circle.

It is clear, however, that the steps taken according to this latter rule could not be traced back by means of a geometrical construction; for if we have a circle given to us, nothing indicates what part of the diameter is to be taken as the "atis'ayāṭritaya" (the piece f g in diagram 10).

It was therefore necessary to express the rule for turning a square into a circle in numbers. This was done by making use of the "saviś'eshā", which we have considered above. Baudhāyana assumed a i as equal to 12 aṅgulis ( $= 408$  tilas), and therefore  $a e = 16$  aṅgulis, 33 tilas. Difference  $= 4$  aṅg. 33 til.  $= 169$  til.; the third part of this difference  $= 56\frac{1}{3}$  til. Ra-



diameter of the circle =  $e f (= a i) + g f = 408 \text{ til.} + 56\frac{1}{3} \text{ til.} = 464\frac{1}{3} \text{ til.}$  In other words: if half the side of a square is 408 til. long, the length of the radius of a circle, which is equal in area to the square, amounts to  $464\frac{1}{3} \text{ til.}$ ; or, if the radius of a circle is  $464\frac{1}{3} \text{ til.}$ , half the side of the corresponding square is 412 til. In order to avoid the fraction, both numbers were turned into thirds, and the radius made = 1393, half the side = 1224. Finally, the diameter was taken instead of the radius, and the whole side of the square instead of half the side.

To generalize this rule, it was requisite to express 1224 in terms of 1393. One eighth of 1393 =  $174\frac{1}{8}$ ; this multiplied by 7 =  $1218\frac{7}{8}$ . Difference between  $1218\frac{7}{8}$  and 1224 =  $5\frac{1}{8}$ . Dividing 174 (Baudhāyana takes 174, instead of  $174\frac{1}{8}$ , neglecting the fraction as either insignificant or, more likely, as inconvenient) by 29 we get 6; subtracting from 6 its sixth part we get 5 and adding to this the eighth part of the sixth part of six, we get  $5\frac{1}{8}$ .

In other words:  $1224 = \frac{7}{8} + \frac{1}{8 \cdot 29} - \frac{1}{8 \cdot 29 \cdot 6} + \frac{1}{8 \cdot 29 \cdot 6 \cdot 8}$  of 1393

(due allowance made for the neglected  $\frac{1}{8}$ .)

Another simpler and less accurate rule for squaring the circle is common to the three *Sūtrakārās*.

Baudhāyana :

अपि वा पञ्चदश भागान्कृत्वा द्वावुद्धरेदेषानित्या चतुरस्रकरणी ।

Or else divide (the diameter) into fifteen parts and remove two; that (the remaining thirteen parts) is the gross side of the square.

A'pastamba :

मण्डलं चतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्विष्कम्भं पञ्चदश भागान्कृत्वा द्वावुद्धरेत्तथोदशावशिष्यन्ते सा नित्या चतुरस्रम् ।

Kātyāyana :

मण्डलं चतुरस्रं चिकीर्षन्विष्कम्भं पञ्चदश भागान्कृत्वा द्वावुद्धरेच्छेषः करणी ।

If we assume a circle with 15 for diameter, the area of the corresponding square would, according to this rule, be 169, while the area of the circle is 176. 714.....

These are the most interesting of the *paribhāsha-sūtras*. In the following I shall extract the description of three kinds of the *agnichayana*, of the *vakrapakshas'yenachiti*, as given by A'pastamba; of the *sārarathachakra-chiti* and of the *s'mas'ānachiti*. The two latter are described by Baudhāyana only. I select these three *chitis*, because the first of them was, as it appears, most in use, and because some particular skill was required for the construction of the *agnikshetra* of the two latter *chitis*.

The vakrapaksha s'yena itself could be constructed in different forms. Two forms are described by Baudhāyana, two by A'pastamba. And as two different prastāras were necessary for each chiti, we have altogether eight different prastāras for the vakrapaksha s'yena, each of them consisting of two hundred bricks. The following extract contains A'pastamba's rules for the first kind of the vakrapaksha s'yena.

(Description and diagrams of all the other kinds will be given in the 'Paṇḍit'. A sketch of one prastāra of the second kind of the s'yenachiti is to be found in Burnell's Catalogue; it is, as we are informed there, taken from an agni actually constructed and used. There is, however, an error in the reference to the sūtra according to which it is said to be constructed, this sūtra not being Baudhāyana's, but A'pastamba's, paṭala VI.)

श्वेनचित्तं चिन्वीन सुवर्गकाम इति विज्ञायते ।

He who wishes for heaven, may construct the altar shaped like a falcon; this is the tradition.

वक्रपक्षो व्यस्तपुच्छो भवति ।

His wings are bent and his tail spread out.

पश्चात्प्राङ्द्वहति पुरस्तात्प्रत्यङ्द्वहति ।

On the west side the wings are to be drawn towards the east, on the east side towards the west.

एवमिव हि वयसां मध्ये पक्षनिर्णामो भवतीति विज्ञायते ।

For such is the curvature of the wings in the middle of the birds, says the tradition.

यावानग्निः सारत्त्रिप्रादेशः सप्तविधः संपद्यते प्रादेशं चतुर्थमात्मनश्चतुर्भागीयाश्चाष्टौ तासां तिस्रः शिर इतरत्पक्षयोर्विभजेत् ।

Of the whole area covered by the sevenfold agni with aratni and prādes'a take the prādes'a, the fourth part of the átman (body without head, wings, and tail) and eight quarter bricks; of those latter, six form the head of the falcon; the remainder is to be divided between the two wings.

This sūtra determines what portions of the legitimate area of the agni have to be allotted to the different parts of the falcon construction. The whole area of the saptavidha agni is seven purushas with the addition of the two aratnis on the wings and the prādes'a of the tail, altogether  $7\frac{1}{2}$  purushas. Now the fourth part of the átman (of the primitive s'yenachiti) = one purusha and the prādes'a, *i. e.*, an oblong of 120 añgulis by 12 añgulis =  $\frac{1}{10}$  square purusha and eight quarter bricks, *i. e.*, square bricks the side of which is equal to the fourth part of a purusha = 30 añgulis, so that they cover together an area of  $\frac{1}{2}$  square purusha) are given to the wings in addi-

tion to the area which they cover in the primitive agni, only they have to cede in their turn three of the eight quarter bricks, which are employed for the formation of the head. The original area of both wings together being  $2\frac{2}{3}$  purushas, their increased area amounts to  $2\frac{2}{3} + 1\frac{3}{5} - \frac{3}{16} = 3\frac{13}{16}$  square purushas, for one wing to  $1\frac{3}{8}$  square purushas.

अर्धदशमा अरत्नयोऽङ्गुलिश्च चतुर्भागेना पचावामः ।

Nine and a half aratnis ( = 238 aṅgulis) and three quarters of an aṅguli are the length of the wing.

The breadth of the wing is the same as in the primitive s'yena, *i. e.*, = one purusha = 120 aṅgulis. Dividing the area of the wing mentioned above by the breadth we get the length. Up to this, the wing has the shape of a regular oblong; the following rules show how to produce the curvature.

द्विपुरुषां रज्जुसुभयतः पाशां करोति मध्ये लक्ष्णम् ।

Make ties at both ends of a cord of two purushas length and a mark in its middle.

पक्षस्यापरयोः कोट्यारत्नौ नियम्य लक्षणेन प्राचीनमायच्छेदेवं पुरस्तात् स्थानम् ।

Having fastened the two ends of the cord at the two western corners of the oblong forming the wing, take it by the mark and stretch it towards the east; the same is to be done on the eastern side (*i. e.*, the cord is fastened at the two east corners and stretched towards the east). This is the curvature of the wings.

By stretching the cord, fastened at the west corners, a triangle is formed by the west side of the oblong and the two halves of the cord, and this triangle has to be taken away from the area of the wing. In its stead the triangle formed, when the cord is stretched from the eastern corners, is added to the wing.

एतेनोत्तरः पक्षः व्याख्यातः ।

Thereby the northern wing is explained.

The curvature is brought about in the same way.

आत्मा द्विपुरुषायामोऽर्धपुरुषव्यासः ।

The ātman is two purushas long, one and a half purushas broad.

This is not the final area of the ātman, as we shall see further on; but an oblong of the stated dimensions has to be constructed and by cutting pieces from it we get the area we want.

पुच्छेऽर्धपुरुषव्यासं पुरुषं प्रतीचीनमायच्छेत् ।

At the place of the tail stretch a purusha towards the west, with the breadth of half a purusha.

That means: construct an oblong, measuring one purusha from the east to the west, half a purusha from the north to the south.

तस्य दक्षिणतोऽन्यमुत्तरतश्च तावत्क्षया अवलिखेदयार्धपुषोऽप्यथे स्यात् ।

To the south and to the north of this oblong, construct two other oblongs like it, and dividing them by their diagonals remove their halves, so that half a purusha remains as breadth at the jointure of átman and tail.

The result is the form of the tail which we see in the diagram.

शिरस्यर्धपुरुषेण चतुरखं कृत्वा पूर्वस्याः करणा अर्धात्तावति दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्निपातायेत्

At the place of the head a square is to be made with half a purusha, and from the middle of its east side cords are to be stretched to the middle of the northern and the southern side.

The triangles cut off by these cords are to be taken away from the area of the head.

अथयान्प्रति त्रेणुः सानपच्छिन्द्यात् ।

Then the four corners of the átman are cut off in the direction towards the joining lines. This finishes the measurement of the s'yena. Its four corners are cut off by four cords connecting the ends of the lines in which the átman and the wings touch each other with the ends of the lines in which head and tail are joined to the átman.

A pastamba now proceeds to the rules for the different sorts of bricks required for the construction of the agni on the agnikshetra.

करणं पुरुषस्य षड्भायाभः षष्ठ्यासं यथायोगनतं तत्प्रथमम् ।

One class of bricks has the length of the fifth of a purusha, the breadth of a sixth, bent in such a way as to fit (the place in which they are to be employed). This is the first class.

By "nata, bent" the sūtrakára means to indicate that the sides of the brick do not form right angles. The shape of the brick is rhomboidical, the angles, which the sides form with each other, are the same which the wings of the s'yena form with the body. (See the diagrams of the two layers of this chiti 11 and 12, in which the bricks are marked with numbers.)

त द्वे प्राचीसहिते तद् द्वितीयम् ।

Two of those bricks joined with their long side form the second class.

These are the bricks used in the second layer at the point where the curvature of the wings takes place.

प्रथमस्य षड्भागमष्टमभागेन वर्धयेदयथायोगनतेन तत्तृतीयम् ।

Increase that side of the first description which has the length of the sixth of a purusha, by the eighth part of a purusha which is bent in such a way as to fit in its proper place; this is the third class.

These are the bricks employed in the second layer, at the place where átman and wings join. They consist of two parts; the one part equal to a



brick of the first class lies in the wing ; the second part, an oblong of 24 añgulis by 15 añgulis, lies in the átman.

**चतुर्भागीयार्धं तस्याश्चतुर्भागीयामात्रमद्वयं भिद्यत्तचतुर्थम् ।**

From a brick of which the area exceeds by a half the area of that brick the side of which is the fourth part of a purusha (this latter would be 30 añg. by 30 añg., the increased brick is 45 añg. by 30 añg.), and divide that part of it which is equal to the brick, the side of which is equal to the fourth part of a purusha, by its diagonal (removing half of it). This is the fourth class.

We get a trapezium, the sides of which are equal to 15 añg., 30 añg., 45 añg. and, in the language of the sūtras, to the saviś'esha of 30 ( $= \sqrt{1800}$ ); they would have put this last side equal to  $42\frac{2}{3}$  añgulis and very likely have expressed the fraction as 14 tilas.

**चतुर्भागीयार्धं पञ्चमम् ।**

Bricks which are equal to the half of those of which the side is the fourth of a purusha, form the fifth class. Oblongs of 30 añg. by 15 añg.

**तस्याद्वयभेदः षष्ठम् ।**

The division of the above bricks by the diagonal produces bricks of the sixth class.

Rectangular triangles (the sides : 30 añg., 15 añg.,  $\sqrt{1125}$ .)

**पुरुषस्य पञ्चमभागं दशभागव्यासं प्रतीचीनमायच्छेत्तस्य दक्षिणतोऽन्यमुत्तरतश्च तावद्वयं दक्षिणापरयोः कोट्यारालिखेत् तत्सप्तमम् ।**

Draw an oblong the length of which from the east to the west is the fifth part of a purusha ( $= 24$  añgulis) and the breadth the tenth part (12 añg.); to the north and the south of this oblong draw two other oblongs, and divide those by the diagonals dividing their south-western corners. This is the seventh class.

We get the rhomboidical bricks employed in the second layer on both sides of the tail. Two of their sides are  $= 24$  añg., the two others  $= \sqrt{720}$ .

**एवमन्यदुत्तरमुत्तरस्याः कोट्यारालिखेत्तदष्टमम् ।**

In the same way another description of bricks is formed; only this time the oblong on the north side has to be divided by the (other) diagonal which divides the northern (north-western) corner. This is the eighth class.

Result: the trapeziums employed in the middle of the tail in the second layer.

**चतुर्भागीयाद्वयोभयतोभेदो नवमम् ।**

The ninth description of bricks is got by dividing a square brick the side of which is equal to the fourth part of a purusha, by both diagonals (into four triangles).

Therewith the dimensions of all required bricks are detailed ; it remains to show how the area of the s'yena is to be covered with them.

उपधाने षष्टिः षष्टिः पक्षयोः प्रथमा उदीचीरुपदध्यात् ।

When placing the bricks we have to put down sixty of the first kind in each wing, turned towards the north.

पुच्छपाश्वोरष्टावष्टौ षष्ठ्यः ।

On both sides of the tail eight of the sixth description.

तिष्ठोऽग्रे तत एकां ततस्त्रिषु तत एकाम् ।

Three of them in the top (*i. e.*, in each of the two western corners of the tail), then one (to the east of the three), then again three, then again one.

पुच्छाग्रये चतुर्थ्या विशये ।

At the place where the tail is joined to the body, two bricks of the fourth description are placed, so as to lie partly in the body, partly in the tail. (They are composed of a triangle and an oblong ; the triangle belongs to the body, the oblong to the tail).

तयोः पश्चात्पश्चम्यावनीकसं॒हिते

To the west of these two, bricks of the fifth kind are placed touching each other with their faces (their short sides).

They touch each other, says one of the commentators, with their faces, like two fighting rams.

शेषे दश चतुर्थ्यः ।

Ten bricks of the fourth kind cover the remainder of the tail.

श्रेण्सेषु चाष्टौ प्राचीः प्रतीचीश्च ।

In the four corners of the átman eight bricks of the fourth description are placed, turned towards the east and towards the west.

शेषे च षड्विंशतिरष्टौ षष्ठ्यश्चतस्रः पञ्चम्यः ।

In the remainder of the átman are to be placed twenty-six of the fourth class, eight of the sixth, four of the fifth.

शिरसि चतुर्थ्या विशये ।

In the head two bricks of the fourth kind, situated partly in the átman.

तयोश्च पुरस्तात्प्राच्यावेष द्विशतः प्रस्तरः ।

To the east of those, two of the fourth kind turned towards the east. These altogether form one layer of two hundred bricks.

The rules for the second layer follow.

अपरस्मिन्प्रस्तारे पञ्च पञ्च निर्णामयोर्द्वितीयाः ।

In the second layer place five bricks of the second kind in both wings on the place of curvature.

अथयथोश्च तृतीया आत्मनमष्टभागेपेताः ।

And bricks of the third kind stretching into the átman with that part, one side of which is an eighth purusha, are to be placed on the two lines in which the wings are joined to the átman.

शेषे पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्प्रथमाः प्राचीः ।

In the remaining part of each wing forty-five bricks of the first class are to be placed, turned towards the east.

Twenty-five in the southern half of the southern wing, twenty in its northern half; twenty-five in the northern half of the northern wing, twenty in its southern half.

पुच्छस्य पार्श्वयोः पञ्च सप्तम्यः ।

Five bricks of the seventh class are to be placed on the northern side of the tail and five on its southern side.

द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्याश्चान्यतरतः प्रतिसंहितामेकैकाम् ।

At the side of the second (of the above mentioned bricks) on one side (of the tail), and at the side of the fourth on the other side, one brick of the seventh class is to be placed.

शेषे त्रयोदशष्टम्यः ।

In the remaining part of the tail thirteen bricks of the eighth class are to be placed.

आण्यस्येषु चाष्टौ चतुर्थ्या दक्षिणा उदीचीश्च ।

In the four corners of the átman place eight bricks of the fourth kind, turned towards the south and the north.

शेषे च विंशतिस्त्रिंशत्पञ्च एका पञ्चमी ।

In the remaining part of the átman twenty bricks of the fourth kind, thirty of the sixth and one of the fifth, are to be placed.

शिरसि चतुर्थ्या तयोश्च पुरस्ताच्चतस्रो नवम्यः ।

Two of the fourth kind are to be placed in the head, and to the east of those four of the ninth kind.

एष द्विशतः प्रस्तारः ।

This gives again a layer of two hundred bricks.

आन्यासं चिनुयाद्यावतः प्रस्तारांश्चिकीर्षेत् ।

By turns the layers are to be constructed as many as we may wish to make.

The third layer is equal to the first, the fourth to the second, the fifth again to the first, and so on.

Next I extract from the third paṭala of Baudháyana's *S'ulva-sútra* the rules for the construction of the sárarathachakrachit, the altar shaped like a wheel with spokes. *Vide* Diagrams 13, 14, 15.

पुरुषार्धात्पञ्चादशशेष्टकाः समचतुरखाः कारयेन्मानार्थाः ।

With the fifteenth part of half a purusha square bricks are made ; they are used for measuring (only for the measurement of the area of the sārathachakrachit, not for the construction of the agni).

A square is made equal to half a square purusha and its fifteenth part taken ; then bricks are made, equal to this fifteenth part.

तासां द्वे शते पञ्चविंशतिश्च सारत्विप्रादेशः सप्तविधः सम्यच्यते ।

Two hundred and twenty-five of these bricks constitute the sevenfold agni together with aratni and prādes'a.

The sevenfold agni with aratni and prādes'a means, as mentioned above, the agni the area of which is equal to seven and a half square purushas. As fifteen of the bricks mentioned in the first sūtra make half a square purusha, seven and a half purushas require two hundred and twenty-five.

तास्यन्याश्चतुःषष्टिमावपेत् ।

To these (two hundred and twenty-five bricks) sixty-four more are to be added.

We get thereby altogether two hundred and eighty-nine bricks.

नाभिः चतुरखं करोति ।

With these bricks a square is to be formed.

तस्य षोडशेष्टका पार्श्वमानी भवति ।

The side of the square comprises sixteen bricks.

त्रयस्त्रिंशदतिशिष्यन्ते ।

Thirty-three bricks still remain.

नाभिरन्तात्सर्वतः परिचिनुयात् ।

These are to be placed on all sides round the borders (of the square ; *i. e.*, according to the commentary, on the north side and east side of the square).

Thereby all 289 bricks are arranged in a square, the side of which is formed by seventeen bricks. It is strange that we are not directed to construct the whole square at once, but are told to form at first a square out of 256 bricks and then to place the remaining 33 bricks around it. I have to propose only the following explanation. The commentator describing the whole procedure tells us to form at first in the middle of the agnikshetra a small square with four bricks, then to increase this square into a larger one, of nine bricks, by adding five bricks, to increase this square in its turn into a larger one of sixteen, and so on. While we place the additional bricks by turns on the north and east side and on the south and west side of the initial square of four bricks, the growing square loses and regains by turns its situation right in the centre of the agnikshetra ; it loses it when it is increased for the first time, regains it when increased for the second time,



loses it again when increased for the third time, and so on. When it is increased for the fourteenth time or, to put it in another way, when 256 bricks have been laid down, the centre of the square coincides again with the centre of the agnikshetra, and it is again displaced from there when thirty-three bricks more are added on the north and east side, and the whole square is composed of 289 bricks. The whole agni was therefore slightly displaced, and for this reason perhaps Baudhāyana preferred not to call it a real chaturasra, but a figure made out of a chaturasra of 256 bricks with the addition of 33 bricks. There is reason for wonder that the displacement of the agni was not remedied in some way; it would have been a very easy matter.

नाभिः षोडश मध्याः ।

The sixteen middle bricks form the nave of the wheel.

We must remember that the bricks mentioned here are only used for measuring out the agnikshetra, and consequently understand by the sixteen middle bricks the area covered by them. In order to cut a square of the required size out of the centre of the large square, the commentator directs us to fix poles in the centre of the four bricks forming the corners of the square of twenty-five bricks situated in the middle of the large square and to join these four poles by cords; the area included by these cords is equal to that of sixteen bricks.

चतुःषष्टिररास्रतुःषष्टिर्वेदिः ।

Sixty-four bricks form the spokes of the wheel, sixty-four the vedi.

Out of the entire square of 289 bricks another square has to be cut out, containing the area for the spokes and for the void spaces between the spokes. This square would be equal to the area occupied by 144 bricks, but we have to deduct from that the 16 bricks in the centre which constitute the nave. Thus 128 bricks are divided equally between spokes and interstices. The required square is cut out by poles being fixed in the centre of the four bricks which form the corners of the square of  $13 \times 13$  bricks and by joining the four poles with cords.

नेमिः शेषाः ।

The remaining bricks form the fellow of the wheel.—One hundred and forty-four bricks having been employed for nave and spokes, one hundred and forty-five remain for the fellow. The measurement of the agnikshetra being finished therewith, the bricks used for measuring are no longer wanted. As result of the described proceeding we have three squares, the largest of which encloses the two smaller ones. The smallest, situated in the centre, is meant for the nave; the two larger ones mark the interior and exterior edges of the fellow. It remains to turn these three squares into circles.

नाभिसन्ततः परिलिखेत्

The nave is to be circumscribed at its borders with a circle, *i. e.* the square forming the nave is to be turned into a circle. This was of course executed according to the general rule which has been discussed above.

नेमिमन्तश्चान्तरतश्च परिलिख्य ।

After having likewise turned into circles the squares, marking the outer and inner edge of the fellow—

नेमिनाभोरन्तरालं द्वात्रिंशद्भा विभज्य विपर्यासं भागानुद्धरेत् ।

One divides the area lying between fellow and nave into thirty-two parts, and takes out the second, fourth, sixth, &c., parts.

That means : the second, &c., parts are excluded from the agnikshetra and not to be covered with bricks.

एवमावाप उद्धृतो भवति ।

In this manner the added part (*i. e.*, the sixty-four bricks by which the square of 289 bricks exceeded the legitimate area of the saptavidha agni) is removed again.

By following all the preceding directions we get indeed a wheel, the area of which (with exclusion of the interstices between the spokes) is equal to that of the saptavidha agni ; of course, we have to make the necessary allowance for the inevitable error introduced by the square having to be turned into a circle. It remains to retrace the steps by which Baudháyana succeeded in rendering the area of the sárarathachakra pretty well equal to that of the chaturasra s'yena.

A look at the diagram of the sárarathachakrachit shows at once that one preliminary question must first be settled, the question what the relative size of the wheel's different parts was to be. As far as we can see, there was no fixed rule regarding this matter, and wheels of various shapes might therefore have been adopted. Baudháyana does not state at the outset what the shape of his wheel will be, but from the result of his rules we may conclude his intention. The entire square—or the entire circle into which the square is turned—comprises 289 bricks, or simpler 289 parts, of which 145 form the fellow, the remaining 144 the spokes, interstices, and the nave. It appears therefore probable that Baudháyana's intention was to allot to the fellow an area equal to that of spokes, &c., together. The reason why the two parts were not made exactly equal will appear from the following.

The task was, in the first place, to draw two squares—representing the outer and the inner edge of the fellow—the area of one of which was the double of the area of the other. For this purpose Baudháyana made use of his “savis'asha,” *i. e.*, of the rule teaching that the square of  $16\frac{3}{4}$  is almost equal to double the square of 12 ; only he substituted here, in order to facilitate the operation, 17 to  $16\frac{3}{4}$ . Accordingly, he began by drawing a square the area of which amounted to seven and a half square purushas,

divided it into 289 parts, by dividing its side into 17 parts, and drew in the centre of this square another one comprising 144 such parts (by the method described above). To these two squares representing the outer and inner edges of the fellow a third one, marking the area of the nave, had to be added. For this purpose from the square of 144 parts a small square of 16 parts, amounting to the eighth part of the whole, was cut out. Lastly, of the 128 parts left for the space between nave and fellow, 64 were removed, so that 64 were left for the sixteen spokes.

Now by removing 64 parts, the agnikshetra was unduly reduced; it had to contain 289 parts, and it only contained 225. This deficiency had of course to be made up in some way, and the way how to do that was not very difficult to find. Sixty-four of two hundred and eighty-nine parts were lost in the act of cutting out the interstices of the spokes, therefore the area of the initial square had to be such that it would be equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square purushas after having been diminished by  $\frac{64}{289}$ . Accordingly, the square equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  purushas had not to be divided into 289 parts, but into 225 parts, and 64 parts had to be added moreover, so that the loss of these 64 parts reduced the agnikshetra just to the right size.

Hence Baudhâyana's rules to make bricks equal to the two hundred and twenty-fifth part of the agni, to add sixty-four such bricks, &c.

The rules now following teach how to cover the kshetra of the sâra-rathachakra with two hundred bricks.

नेमिं चतुःषष्टिं कृत्वा अवलिख्य मध्ये परिहृयेत् ।

Having divided the fellow into sixty-four parts and having drawn the separating lines, a circle is to be described in the middle (of the fellow).

ता अष्टाविंशतिशतं भवन्ति ।

Thus we get one hundred and twenty-eight (bricks placed in the fellow).

अष्टाविंशतुधा विभजेत् ।

Every spoke is to be divided into four parts. We get therefore sixty-four bricks in all spokes together.

नाभिमष्टधा विभजेत् ।

The nave is to be divided into eight parts (by radii).

एष प्रथमः प्रस्तारः ।

This is the first layer.

Again, in order to avoid the "bheda", a different division of the agnikshetra had to be adopted for the second layer.

अपरस्मिन्प्रस्तारे नाभिमन्तश्चतुर्थेवेलायां परिहृयेत् ।

In the second layer a circle is to be described in the nave at the distance of a quarter from the edge.

नेमिमन्तरतः ।

In the same manner a circle is to be described in the fellow at the distance of a quarter from its inner edge.

नेमिमन्तरतस्तुःषष्टिं कृत्वा व्यवलिखेत् ।

After having divided the felloe at its inner edge into sixty-four parts, draw the dividing lines.

अराणां पञ्चधा विभाग आपरिकर्षणयोः ।

The spokes are divided into five parts, each up to the two circles (in nemi and nábhi). That means : the area of a spoke is considered to extend into the felloe and the nave up to the two circles which had been drawn in them at the distance of a quarter from the edge, and this whole area is divided into five parts.

नेम्यामन्तरालेषु द्वे द्वे ।

Two bricks are placed in each of the interstices in the nemi (the interstices between the spokes).

नाभ्यन्तरालेष्वेकैकाम् ।

And one brick in the interstices in the nave.

यच्छेषं नाभेस्तदष्टधा विभजेत् ।

The remainder of the nave is to be divided into eight parts.

स एष षोडशकरणः सारो रथचक्रचित् ।

This is the construction in the shape of a wheel with spokes, which requires altogether sixteen different kinds of bricks.

As remarked above, the third and fifth layers are to be made equal to the first, the fourth to the second.

I lastly extract the chapter treating of the s'mas'ánachit. It is not easy to say what would be the correct definition of a s'mas'ána in the sense in which it is used in the s'ulvasútra ; it seems to be a construction on which the dead body was placed, perhaps the pile on which it was burnt. There is, however, no doubt about the form of the chiti, which will appear clear enough from the diagram. *Vide* Diagrams 16, 17, 18.

अग्निश्चानचितं चिन्वीतेति विज्ञायते । सर्वसग्निं चतुरस्रान्पञ्चदशभागान्कृत्वा ॥

“He may construct the s'mas'ánachiti”, such is the tradition. Having divided the whole agni into fifteen squares.

The area of the agni,  $7\frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2}^5$  square purushas, divided in this manner, yields fifteen squares, of one half square purusha each.

तेषामाख्यातमुपधानम् ।

The arrangement of these fifteen squares has already been taught.

As the commentator explains, the subject has been treated in a previous portion of Baudháyana's kalpasútra, from which he quotes the following :

अग्निश्चानचितं चिन्वीत यः कामयेत पिबलोकं ऋध्रुयामिति षट्प्राञ्चः पुरुषास्तयः पुरस्तात्तिथ्यै तौ द्वौ स आत्मा ।

He who wishes for prosperity in the world of the fathers, may construct the s'mas'ánachiti. Six purushas are the length of the práchí line, three the length of the eastern side, two the length of the western side.



Purusha means here not the ordinary purusha, but the measure of the side of one of the fifteen squares into which the agni has been divided. The form of the chiti is that of a trapezium (as the sūtras would call it: an oblong shorter on one side), the east side of which is equal to three reduced purushas, &c.

The area of this trapezium is consequently equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square purushas.

This area has now to be divided into two hundred parts.

विभिभागैर्भागाधैश्चासं दीर्घचतुरस्रं विहृत्य पूर्वैः करणा अधोच्छोणी प्रत्यालिख्यान्नावुद्धरेत् ।

With three of these parts construct an oblong of the breadth of one part (an oblong of which one side is equal to three times the side of one of the fifteen squares, and the other equal to one time the side), draw from the middle of the east side of this oblong lines to the two west corners, and cut off the two side pieces.

After the removal of these two pieces, there remains a praūga, an acut-angular equilateral triangle.

तस्य दशधा विभागः ।

This triangle is divided into ten parts.

For the details of this division, we must consult the commentator :

तस्य प्रउगस्य प्रउगाकारा उभयतःप्रउगाकारा इष्टका यथा भवन्ति तथा दशधा विभागः । अन्यथाविभागे करणबहुलं स्यात् । तत्रैवं विभागः । प्रउगपृथ्वनीकं समान्तराणि त्रीणि चिह्नानि कृत्वा चतुरो विभागान्कृत्वा प्रउगपार्श्वयोरपि तथा कृत्वा पृथ्वनीकप्रथमचिह्नादारभ्येतरपार्श्वप्रथमचिह्नं प्रत्यालिखेत् । एवं द्वितीयचिह्नादारभ्य पार्श्वद्वितीयम् । एवं तृतीयचिह्नादारभ्य तथा तृतीयम् । तथा तृतीयचिह्नादारभ्य इतरपार्श्वप्रथमचिह्नं प्रत्यालिखेत् । एवमितरयोः । एवं विभक्ते पृथ्वनीकस्याः प्रउगाकाराश्चतस्र इष्टकाः । ततस्त्रिषु उभयतःप्रउगाकृतयः । ततो द्वे । तत एका चुबुकान्ता । एवं षडुभयतःप्रउगाश्चतस्रः प्रउगाः । एवं दशैष्टकैकस्मिन्प्रउगे भवन्ति ।

The division of this triangle is to be made in such a way as to produce bricks of the shape of triangles and double triangles (two triangles joined with their bases). If we adopted another division, we should get different classes of bricks. (The sūtras always study the greatest shortness in their expressions and say in this case only: the division is into ten parts. Now, the commentator remarks, this can only mean: into ten triangles and double triangles; for if we divide the large triangle in any other manner, the eight parts would be of different shape, and then the sūtrakāra would have been bound to give rules for manufacturing bricks of these different shapes). The division of the triangle is effected in the following manner. We make on the "broad face", *i. e.*, the base of the triangle (the sūtrakāras compare the triangle with a face, the base—we have to imagine the

triangle turned round, so that the base is uppermost—representing the broad *i. e.*, upper part and the top the chin, chubuka) three marks at equal distances from each other (thus dividing it into four parts). Having divided the two other sides of the triangle in the same way, we begin by drawing a line from the first mark on the base to the first mark on the nearer of the two other sides. Then a line is drawn joining the second mark on the base with the second mark on the side, and a third line joining the third mark on the base with the third mark on the side. After that, a line is drawn joining the third mark on the base with the first mark on the third side of the triangle. The same is done with the other marks. By this division we get four triangular bricks standing on the base of the large triangle; over these we have three double-triangular bricks; then two double-triangles; then one double triangle in the 'chin' of the large triangle. Altogether six double triangles and four triangles. Thus we have ten bricks in one of the large triangles.

तानि विंशतिः सर्वेऽग्निः संपद्यते ।

Twenty such (large triangles as described in the last sūtra but one) form the whole agni.

One of these triangles is the half of an oblong, the area of which is equal to the tenth part of the whole agni.

The arrangement of these twenty large triangles, every one of which is subdivided into ten praugas and ubhayatahpraugas, may be seen in the sketch of the first layer of the s'mas'ânachiti, and I omit therefore the detailed description given by the commentator.

Baudhâyana proceeds to the rules for the second layer.

अपरस्मिन्प्रक्षारे प्रउगं मध्येऽनूचीनं विभजेत् ।

For the second layer we divide one triangle lengthways (bisecting the base by a perpendicular from the top).

Here again we depend on the commentary for explanation.

अग्निक्षेत्रे भागप्रमाणयासानि षड्भागप्रमाणायतानि पञ्च महाप्रउगानि शेरते । तत्र प्रत्यगयाणि त्रीणि प्रागग्रे द्वे । तेषां महाप्रउगानां प्रउगद्वयमिह विवक्षितम् । अनूचीनमिति प्रउगविशेषणम् । षड्भागायतमित्यर्थः । दक्षिणतः प्रत्यगग्रस्थितप्रउगमध्ये भागप्रमाणवृत्तनीकमध्यादारभ्यापश्चिमसूक्ष्मायादालिखेत् । एवमुत्तरस्मिन्नपि पार्श्वे स्थितं विभजेत् ।

In the whole agnikshetra (of the s'mas'ânachiti) there are five triangles, the height of which is equal to the measure of six parts (to six times the side of the fifteenth part of the agnikshetra), and the base of which is equal to one such part (the area of one such triangle is  $\frac{3}{15}$  of the agnikshetra, therefore all five = the whole agnikshetra,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square purushas). (If we divide the agni into these five triangles), the top of three among them is

turned towards the west, that of two towards the east. Two of these five triangles are meant in the sūtra (only two come really into question, as we shall see further on). By "lengthways" a modification of the triangle is to be understood; the meaning is a triangle of six parts' height. (And this triangle is to be got in the following way). On the south side of the agni a line is to be drawn through the middle of the triangle situated there, the top of which is turned towards the west; this line reaches from the middle of the base the measure of which is one part to the top of the triangle. In the same way the triangle on the north side of the agni is to be divided.

The result is the two long rectangular triangles on the north and south sides of the second layer of the s'mas'ānachiti.

**तस्य षड्धा विभागः ।**

This triangle is divided into six parts.

Commentary : प्रत्यगयं षड्भागायतं महाप्रउगार्धं तिर्यक् त्रिधा विभजेत् । तत्र पूर्वखण्डस्य पूर्वतिर्यङ्गान्यां समान्तराले द्वे चिह्ने कृत्वा प्रथमचिह्नादारभ्यार्जवेनापरतिर्यङ्गानीं प्रत्यालिखेत् । एवं द्वितीयचिह्नादारभ्य । एवं मध्यमखण्डस्य पूर्वान्तमध्यादारभ्यार्जवेनापरान्तालिखेत् । एवं विभक्ते प्रथमे खण्डे वाह्यपार्श्वत आधप्रउगकारा एकैष्टका । मध्यतो द्वे दीर्घचतुरस्रे । मध्यमखण्डस्य वाह्यत एका प्रउगार्धा अन्तरत एका दीर्घचतुरस्रा । अपरो भागः प्रउगार्धरूप एव । एवं षड्धा विभागः । एवमुत्तरतः ।

The diagram of the second layer, in which the two triangles are divided in the manner described above, renders a translation of the commentator's words unnecessary.

**ते द्वे पार्श्वयोरुपदध्यात् ।**

These two (large triangles, divided into six parts each) are to be placed on both sides (of the second layer).

In the following sūtras those bricks are described which fill the space between the two triangles.

**भागद्वितीयायामाश्वतुर्ययासाः कारयेत् ।**

Bricks are to be made as long as the third part (of the side of one of the fifteen squares which compose the agnikshetra), and as broad as the fourth part.

**तासामर्ध्यास्तिर्यग्भेदाः ।**

And other bricks equal to one half of the bricks of the first class, produced by dividing the latter by a horizontal line.

**ता अन्त्ययोरुपधाय शेषमग्निं बृहतीभिः प्राचीभिः प्रच्छादयेत् ।**

Having put bricks of the second class on the east and west end of the agni, the remaining space is to be covered with the large bricks of the first description.

Covering the agni as directed, we place at first eight ardhya bricks on the east end and eight on the west end. The space left empty between

these two rows requires  $17 \times 8 = 136$  *bṛihatī* bricks. Now, summing up all bricks employed we get (1) 136 *bṛihatyas* (2) 16 *ardhyās* (3) twelve bricks in the two triangles on the north and south side together. Sum : 164 bricks.

But we want, according to the general rule, 200 bricks, and therefore the following *sūtra*.

अर्धेष्टकाभिः सङ्ग्रां पूरयेत् ।

Finally the number is to be made full with *ardhya*-bricks.

That means : thirty-six *bṛihatyas* are taken out, and seventy-two *ardhyās* put in their places. The sketch of the layer in question shows where this had to be done.

So far the rules for the *s'mas'ānachiti* resemble those for the other *chitis*, but the following *sūtras* refer to an interesting peculiarity. I give at first a passage from a previous part of *Baudhāyana's Kalpasūtra*, quoted by the commentator.

तस्य मात्रा यदि धीवदङ्गं पुरस्ताद्भाभिदङ्गं पश्चात् । यदि नाभिदङ्गं पुरस्ताज्जानु—  
दङ्गं पश्चात् । यदि जानुदङ्गं पुरस्ताद्गुल्फदङ्गं पश्चात् । यदि गुल्फदङ्गं पुरस्तात्समं भूमेः  
पश्चात् । स एष श्लक्ष्णचिप्पिद्वलोककामस्येति ।

When its measure is such as to reach up to the neck on the east side, it reaches up to the navel on the west side ; when it reaches up to the navel on the east side, it reaches up to the knee on the west side ; when it reaches up to the knee on the east side, it reaches up to the ankle on the west side ; when it reaches up to the ankle on the east side, it is on a level with the ground on the west side. Such is the *s'mas'ānachiti* of him who desires the world of the fathers.

We see from these words that, contrary to the general rule which prescribed a perfectly horizontal surface for the *chitis*, the *s'mas'ānachit* had to be higher at its east end than at its west end. The commentator adds : *hastipriṣṭhāvach chinviteti* : the *chiti* is to be constructed so as to resemble the back of an elephant which is sloping down towards a person viewing the animal from behind. This peculiar shape of the *s'mas'ānachiti* required consequently a set of rules for preserving, notwithstanding the different height, the same cubic content of the whole mass of bricks.

ऊर्द्धप्रमाणमग्नेः पञ्चमेन वर्धयेत् ।

The height of the *agni* is to be increased by one fifth.

The height of the *agni*, when constructed for the first time and in five layers, is—as mentioned above—one *jānu* = 32 *aṅgulis* ; when constructed for the second time and in ten layers, it is the double, and it is three times as much when, in the third construction, the number of layers amounts to fifteen. A fifth of the usual height has to be added to the height of the *s'mas'ānachiti*.



तत्सर्वं वेधा विभज्य द्वयोर्भागयोश्चतुर्थेन नवमेन वा चतुर्दशेन वेष्टकाः कारयेत् ।

Divide all this—the height inclusive the added fifth part—into three parts, and make bricks with the fourth or the ninth or the fourteenth part of two of these three parts.

With the fourth for the agni of five layers, with the ninth for the agni das'achitika, with the fifteenth for the panchadas'achitika.

तामिच्छतस्त्रे वा नव वा चतुर्दश वा चित्तीरुपधाय शेषमवाञ्चमह्णयापिच्छिन्द्यादर्धमुद्धरेत् ।

Having constructed with these bricks either four or nine or fifteen layers, the remaining part of the height (amounting to one third) is to be divided in a downward direction by the diagonal and half of it to be removed.

That means : the fifth layer is to be constructed with bricks the height of which is equal to the third part of the whole height ; and then half of the whole layer is to be cut off following the direction of the diagonal of the northern and southern side. In this way the cubic content of the whole chiti comes out right. Increasing the height of the agni of five layers by its fifth part, we get  $32 + 6\frac{2}{3} = 38\frac{2}{3}$  āṅgulis. This divided by three and the quotient multiplied by two, gives  $25\frac{3}{5}$ . The fourth part of this,  $6\frac{2}{3}$  āṅgulis is the height of the bricks of each of the four first layers. The fifth layer, before being cut in two, is  $12\frac{4}{5}$  āṅgulis high ; after the removal of its half, it has this height only on its east side, the height on the west side being equal to 0. Thus its middle height is  $6\frac{2}{3}$ , and consequently the middle height of the whole chiti = 32 āṅgulis. In the same way we get as height of the agni of ten layers  $76\frac{4}{5}$  āṅgulis on the east side,  $51\frac{1}{5}$  on the west side, 64 āṅgulis as middle height. The corresponding numbers for the panchadas'achitika agni are  $115\frac{1}{5}$ ,  $76\frac{4}{5}$ , 96.

Regarding the time in which the *S'ulvasūtras* may have been composed, it is impossible to give more accurate information than we are able to give about the date of the *Kalpasūtras*. But whatever the period may have been during which *Kalpasūtras* and *S'ulvasūtras* were composed in the form we have now before us, we must keep in view that they only give a systematically arranged description of sacrificial rites, which had been practised during long preceding ages. The rules for the size of the various vedis, for the primitive shape and the variations of the agni, &c., are given by the brāhmaṇas, although we cannot expect from this class of writings explanations of the manner in which the manifold measurements and transformations had to be managed. Many of the rules, which we find now in *Baudhāyana*, *A'pastamba*, and *Katyāyana*, expressed in the same or almost the same words, must have formed the common property of all adhvaryus

long before they were embodied in the Kalpasūtras which have come down to us. Besides, the quaint and clumsy terminology often employed for the expression of very simple operations—for instance in the rules for the addition and subtraction of squares—is another proof for the high antiquity of these rules of the cord, and separates them by a wide gulf from the products of later Indian science with their abstract and refined terms.

This leads to another consideration. Clumsy and ungainly as these old sūtras undoubtedly are, they have at least the advantage of dealing with geometrical operations in really geometrical terms, and are in this point superior to the treatment of geometrical questions which we find in the *Līlāvātī* and similar works. They tell us that the diagonal of a square or of an oblong produces an area equal to double the area of the square or to the squares of the sides of the oblong—not that the square of the number of units into which the diagonal is divided is equal to double the square of the number expressing the side of the square or to the sum of the squares of the two numbers which represent the sides of the oblong.

Let us see how Bhāskara words the proposition about the rectangular triangle (instead of which the sūtras speak of the square and the oblong). We read in the chapter on kshetravyavahāra in the *Līlāvātī* the following :

— तल्लत्योर्गोपदं कर्णः ।

The square root of the sum of the squares of these (of the two shorter sides of a rectangular triangle) is the diagonal.

दोःकर्णवर्गयोर्विवरान्मूलं कोटिः ।

The square root of the difference of the squares of the diagonal and one of the short sides (called “doh”) is the other short side (koṭih), etc.

It is apparent that these rules are expressed with a view to calculation, and we find indeed that Bhāskara immediately proceeds to examples which are exercises in arithmetic, not in geometry.

कोटिस्तुष्टयं यत्र दोस्तयं यत्र का श्रुतिः ।

कोटिं दोः कर्णतः कोटिश्रुतिभ्यां च भुजं वद ॥

A geometrical truth interests the later Indian mathematicians but in so far as it furnishes them with convenient examples for their arithmetical and algebraic rules; purely geometrical constructions, as the samāsa and nirhāra of squares, described in the *S'ulvasūtras*, find no place in their writings.

It is true that the exclusively practical purpose of the *S'ulvasūtras* necessitated in some way the employment of practical, that means in this case, geometrical terms, and it might be said that the later mathematicians would have employed the same methods when they had had to deal with the same questions.

But a striking proof of the contrary is given by the commentators of the *S'ulvasūtras* who represent the later development of Indian mathematics. Trustworthy guides as they are in the greater number of cases, their tendency of sacrificing geometrical construction to numerical calculation, their excessive fondness, as it might be styled, of doing sums renders them sometimes entirely misleading. I shall illustrate this by some examples.

As mentioned above, the area of the *saptavidha agni* had, at each repetition of the construction of the altar, to be increased by one square *purusha*. In order to effect this increase, without changing the proportion of the single parts of the *agni*, *Baudhāyana* gives the following rule :

That which is different from the original form of the *agni* (*i. e.*, that area which has to be added to the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square *purushas* of the primitive *agni*) is to be divided into fifteen parts, and two of these parts are to be added to every one of the seven square *purushas* of the primitive *agni* (the one remaining part is consequently added to the remaining half *purusha*) ; with seven and a half of these increased *purushas*, the *agni* has to be constructed.

According to the commentator, we have to apply this rule in the following fashion. The one square *purusha*, which has to be added to the *saptavidha agni*, contains 14400 square *aṅgulis*. We divide 14400 by fifteen, multiply the quotient by two, and add the product to 14400 : result = 16320. These 16320 *aṅgulis* are the square content of the new increased square *purusha*, and we have therefore, in order to get the required measure of length, to extract the square root of 16320. This root indicates the length which had to be given to the cane used for measuring out the *asṭavidha agni*.

Such a proceeding is of course not countenanced by the rules of the *S'ulvasūtras* themselves. *Baudhāyana's* method was undoubtedly the following. The square *purusha* which had to be added was divided into fifteen parts, either into fifteen small oblongs, by dividing one side of the square into three, the other into five parts or into fifteen small squares ; in the latter case, the *panchadas'amakaraṇi* had to be found according to the *paribhāsha* rules. Two of these fifteenth parts were then combined into one ; if squares, by taking the *dvikaraṇi* of one of them ; if oblongs, by turning one of them into a square and then taking the *dvikaraṇi*. Lastly—following the rules for *chaturasra-samāsa*—the square containing the two fifteenth parts was added to a square *purusha*, and the side of the resulting square furnished the measure of the *purusha* which had to be employed for the *asṭavidha agni*.

Another example is furnished by the rules for the *paitrikī vedi*, the altar used at the *pitriyajna*, the area of which had to be equal to the ninth part of the *vedi* used at the *soma* sacrifices. The measures of the sides of this *vedi* have been mentioned above ; its area amounts to 972 square *padas*.

Now for constructing the paitrikī veda from the saumikī veda, Baudhāyana gives the following short rule :

महावेदेऽस्तृतीयेन समचतुरस्रज्जायास्तृतीयकरणीति नवमस्तु भूमेर्भागो भवति ।

The commentator, supplying several words, explains this sūtra in the following way : If we make a square, the area of which is equal to 972 square padas, its side will be equal to 31 padas, 2 añgulis, and 26 tilas. The third part of this ( = 10 padas, 5 añgulis, and 31 tilas) is to be taken for the side of a square, the area of which will be equal to the ninth part of the mahāveda.

For a proof we are directed to turn the 972 square padas into square tilas by multiplying 972 by 225 and then by 1056, to extract the square-root of the result, to turn the tilas again into padas by dividing the square-root by 34 and then by fifteen, and finally to divide the result by three.

In accordance with this process, the commentator translates the above sūtra in the following manner :

The side ("karani" to be supplied) of that area ("bhūmeh" to be supplied) which is made a square with the third part of the mahāveda (which has been itself turned into a square previously) is the tṛitīyakaraṇi; the ninth part (of the mahāveda) is produced (by making a square with this tṛitīyakaraṇi).—This translation is certainly wrong. In the first place, the word 'karani', which the commentator supplies, could not be missed in the text of the sūtra. In the second place, the commentator ascribes to the word 'tṛitīyakaraṇi' a meaning which it cannot possibly have. He interprets it as the line which is the third part (of the side of the mahāveda); but that line is called the navamakaraṇi, as its square is equal to the ninth part of the area of the mahāveda, and tṛitīyakaraṇi can only mean the line which produces, or the square of which is the third part (of some area).

To arrive at the right understanding of the sūtra, we must consider by what method the task of constructing the paitrikī veda could be accomplished in the shortest way. The thing was to construct a square, the area of which would be equal to the ninth part of another area which contained 972 square padas, *i. e.*, to 108 square padas. If 108 would yield an integral square-root, the matter would have been easy enough; but this not being the case, another method had to be devised. The commentator, as we have seen, proposes to construct a square of 972 padas, and to take the third part of its side; but this method besides, as shown above, not agreeing with the words of the sūtra, required several tedious preparatory constructions. The same remark applies to the direct construction of a square of 108 padas, and a shorter process could therefore not but be highly welcome. Now the third part of 972 is 324, and the square-root of 324 is exactly 18; in other words, the side of a square of 324 square padas is eighteen padas. Accordingly, instead of the navamakaraṇi of 972, the tṛitīyakaraṇi of 324 was



sought for, and we know from the paribhāsha rules that this could be easily managed. Accordingly, Baudhāyana's rule has to be translated as follows: The *trītiyakaraṇī* of that area which is made a square with the third part of the *mahāvedi* (*i. e.*, of a square of 324 *padas*) is it (*viz.* the side of a square of 108 *padas*); the result is the ninth part of the area (of the *mahāvedi*).

Thus we see that the pre-conceived opinion of the commentator about the method to be employed for the solution of the problem leads him to a perfectly mistaken interpretation of the *sūtra*.

On the other hand, it is interesting to find some terms indicating a connexion between the first rudiments of science as contained in the *S'ulvasūtras* and its later development. So for instance the term '*varga*'. It is true that we should be able to account for the meaning in which it is used by later mathematicians—*viz.* that of the square of a number—without finding earlier indications of the manner how it came to be used in that sense. The origin of the term is clearly to be sought for in the graphical representation of a square, which was divided in as many '*vargas*', or troops of small squares, as the side contained units of some measure. So the square drawn with a side of five *padas*' length could be divided into five *vargas*, each consisting of five small squares, the side of which was one *pada* long.

Nevertheless it is interesting to find this explanation of *varga* confirmed by a passage in *A'pastamba*.

यावत्प्रमाणा रज्जुस्त्रावतस्त्रावतो वर्गान्करोति ।

As many measures (units of some measure) a cord contains, so many troops or rows (of small squares) it produces (when a square is drawn on it).

But another case is more interesting still. The word '*karaṇī*' is one of the most frequent mathematical terms in treatises as the *Līlāvati*, *Vijaganīta*, &c., and there it is invariably used to denote a surd or irrational number; as the commentators explain it, that of which when the square-root is to be taken, the root does not come out exact. The square-roots of two, three, five, &c., are *karaṇīs*. How the word came by that meaning, we are not told, but we are now able to explain it from the *S'ulvasūtras*. As we have seen above, in these it always means the side of a square.

The connexion between the original and the derived meaning is clear enough. *Karaṇī* meant at first the side of any square, after that possibly the square-root of any number. Possibly I say, for in reality the mathematical meaning of *karaṇī* was restricted. It was not used to denote the square-roots of those numbers, the root of which can be exactly obtained, but only of those the root of which does not come out exact, of those in fact the root of which can be represented exactly only in a graphical way. It was not possible to find the exact square-root of eight for instance, but it

was possible to draw a square, the area of which was equal to eight—let us say—square padas, and the side of which was therefore a graphical representation of the square-root of eight.

But we have to go still a step further back. ‘Karānī’ meant originally not the side of a square, but the rajjuh karānī, the cord used for the measuring of a square. And thus we see that the same word which expressed in later times the highly abstract idea of the surd number, originally denoted a cord made of reeds which the adhvaryu stretched out between two wooden poles when he wanted to please the Immortals by the perfectly symmetrical shape of their altar.

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*Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal (Muhammadan Period).* No. III.—By H. BLOCHMANN, M. A., *Calcutta Madrasah*.

(With a plate.)

Major Raverty’s copiously annotated translation of the Ṭabaqāt i Nāḡirī furnishes in its chapters on the Mu’izzī Sultāns of Bengal a few items of local interest and raises some points for discussion. First of all, as far as chronology is concerned, the necessity of dating back a few years the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyār Khiljī\* has become clear. Major Raverty fixes upon the year 589 H., or A. D. 1193, as the year when Qutbuddīn established himself in Dihlī. Several sources give 588; some give 587, or 1191 A. D., which last date Mr. E. Thomas looks upon as “consistent with the best authorities.” The conquest of Bengal, again, is referred by Major Raverty to the year 590 H. (A. D. 1194), or one year after the occupation of Dihlī as computed by him. A MS. history of Gaur, made by Munshī Syām Prasād for Major Franklin, appears also to fix upon 590 as the year in which Bengal was conquered, because it states that the life and the reign of Lakshman Sen extended from 510 to 590. Mr. Tho-

\* The *Burhān i Qāṭi* gives the spelling ‘Khalaj’, and the Ṭahrān edition of the Farhang gives “Khalaj, a tribe in the desert near Sāwah.” Major Raverty writes ‘Khalj’, and thus follows the older Indian dictionaries as the Ibrāhīmī, Kashful-lughāt, and Madārul-afāzil; but the common Indian pronunciation of the adjective, whether right or wrong, is Khiljī. The coins of the Mālwa kings, on which ‘Khiljī’ is made to rhyme with ‘multajī’, favour the pronunciation ‘Khalajī’. But in forming adjectives of proper nouns, vowels are often changed. Thus in Arabic ‘Biḡrī’ from ‘Baḡrah’. Or forms are shortened, as ‘Kāshī’ from ‘Kāshān’. Hence ‘Khiljī’ from ‘Khalaj’ or ‘Khalj’ would not be unusual. That ‘Khiljī’, with an i, is old, may be seen from the pronunciation of the towns of Khiljīpūr, of which one belongs to Sārangpūr, the other to Rantanbhūr.

mas refers the conquest of Bengal to the year 599 H., or A. D. 1202-3, his authority being, I believe, the *Tāj ul-Maāşir*, which states that the fort of Kálinjar was conquered by Quṭbuddín in 599, and that he afterwards went to the neighbouring Mahobá, where Muhammad Bakhtyár paid his respects and offered presents from the Bengal spoils. Major Raverty disposes of this statement of the *Tāj ul-Maāşir* by saying, “but this certainly took place ten years before 599 H.”\*

Major Raverty is mistaken, however, on his own authorities, when he asserts that the conquest of Bengal took place in 590 H., or A. D. 1194. According to his translation of Muhammad Bakhtyár's biography and the Bibl. Indica text, we see—

(1) That Muhammad Bakhtyár appeared before Quṭbuddín in *Dihlí*, and was rejected by reason of his humble condition.

According to Major Raverty, Dihlí was occupied in 589; hence Muhammad Bakhtyár must have been rejected in or after 589 H.

(2) After his rejection, Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Badáon, where Hizabr gives him a fixed salary.

(3) *After some time*, Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Audh, where he obtains certain fiefs near the Bihár frontier. He now undertakes plundering expeditions, which continue, according to the printed text, *for one or two years*.†

(4) He invades Southern Bihár and takes the town of Bihár. He then goes to Dihlí, where he remains for some time at Quṭb's court.

(5) *The second year after his conquest of Bihár*, he sets out for Bengal, and takes Nadiyá.

Now, how is it possible, with these five chronological particulars, that Muhammad Bakhtyár could have left Bihár, as Major Raverty says, in 589 H., to invade Lakhnauṭí, if Quṭb occupied Dihlí in 589?§ It would, indeed, be a close computation if we allowed but five years for the above events, *i. e.*, if we fixed the conquest of Bengal as having taken place in 594, or A. D. 1198.

To continue. We further find—

\* Raverty's translation of the Ṭabaqát, p. 524.

† Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 147, l. 12. Major Raverty has left this out.

The conquest of Bihár, in the list of Mu'izzuddín Muhammad's victories, is styled the conquest of Adwand Bihár (ادوند بهار), for which the printed text has 'Awand Bihár' (اوند بهار). I dare say the word intended is قانص 'High-ground Bihár,' *i. e.*, South Bihár. Thus a parganah of Sirkár Munger in South Bihár is called سكھواره ڌنڌ Dāṇḍ Sik'hwārah. The plain of Bihár north of the Ganges was not conquered by Muhammad Bakhtyár.

§ Raverty, p. 553. In note 6 to p. 550, Major Raverty says that Muhammad Bakhtyár first presented himself to the Sultán at *Lāhor*, but the text has Dihlí (p. 549).

(6) That Muhammad Bakhtyár, after the taking of Nadiyá, selects Lakhnaúti as his capital,\* brings “the different parts of that territory under his sway, and institutes therein, in every part, the reading of the *khutbah*, and the coining of money; and through his praiseworthy endeavours, and those of his Amírs, *masjids*, colleges, and monasteries, were founded in those parts.” (Raverty, p. 559.)

(7) *After some years had passed away*, Muhammad Bakhtyár invades Tibbat.

(8) He returns discomfited, and is assassinated, immediately on his return, at Deokoṭ in 602 H.

The invasion of Tibbat may have taken place in 601, as Major Raverty says; but as Muhammad Bakhtyár had before been *for some years* engaged in settling his Lakhnaúti territory, it is clear that Nadiyá must have been taken about 594 or 595, *i. e.*, in A. D. 1198 or 1199. Thus, on the authority of the Ṭabaqát—the only authority which we possess for this period—the year (599) chosen by Mr. Thomas for the conquest of Bengal is a little too late; but the year 590, fixed upon by Major Raverty, is impossible as being too early.

The conquest of Mahobá by Quṭb and the arrival of Muhammad Bakhtyár’s presents, which according to the *Táj ul-Maáṣir* and *Īrīshṭah* took place in 599, involve therefore no contradiction as far as chronology is concerned.

We may now safely assume that the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár took place about 1198-9 A. D.

Before proceeding to the next point, I have to make a remark on the name of Quṭbuddín Aibak, of the Paralyzed Hand, though I had thought that Mr. Thomas had set this question at rest. The text of the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Ṭabaqát (p. 138)—and Major Raverty’s MSS, have clearly the same words—has the following—

بظاہر جمالی نداشت و انگشت خنصر او از دست شکستگی داشت بدان  
سبب او را ایبک شل گفتند \*

If the editor had given more diacritical marks, he would have written *shikastagíé*, with the *yá i tankir*, as in *jamálé*. The literal translation is—

Outwardly he had no comeliness, and his little finger [of one hand] possessed an infirmity. For this reason they called him *Aibak i shall* [Aibak with the paralyzed hand].

Major Raverty translates—

He possessed no outward comeliness; and the little finger [of one hand?] had a

\* It is a curious coincidence that Lakhnaúti near the Jamuná, S. W. of Saháranpúr was a Turkmán colony. *Vide* my A’in text, Vol. I, p. 525, and Atkinson’s N. W. P. Gazetteer, II, 298.



fracture, and on that account he used to be styled *Ibak i Shil*. [The powerless-finger-ed.]

In a footnote he says that the words ازدست in the printed text are not correct and spoil the sense.

But, *firstly*, 'shikastagi' is an abstract noun, and does not mean 'a fracture', but 'weakness, infirmity'; 'a fracture' would be the noun 'shikast.\* There is no evidence that his finger was actually broken; for Aibak is not called "Aibak of the broken finger." *Secondly*, the words *az dast*, which Major Raverty condemns, are absolutely necessary; for if left out, خنصر might refer to his little toe [خنصر از پا]. *Thirdly*, there is no Persian word *shil*, meaning 'soft, paralyzed', and an Arabic word *shal*, meaning 'withered'; but the Persians use the Arabic *shal*, or rather *shall*, 'having a withered hand'. *Fourthly*, Major Raverty says that *ibak* in Turkish means 'finger'; hence 'Ibak' alone cannot be the real name of Quṭbuddīn, but '*Ibak-i-shil*'. Supposing this name to be correct, the *izāfat* must be cancelled, and the words should be inverted, '*shil-ibak*.'† But in all Turkish dictionaries that I have been able to consult, *ibak* is stated to mean 'a crest', 'a comb', not 'a finger'; nor is *aibak*, or *ebak*, given with the meaning 'finger-cut,' as stated by Major Lees in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,‡ but in the sense of 'idol', and the *Shams-ullughāt* gives the etymology اكي بك, *i. e.*, میرماہ, 'Lord of the moon'.

Mr. Thomas, therefore, is quite correct in looking upon Aibak as the original name, and this is confirmed by mural testimony. It moreover agrees with Aibak's history. As he was captured *and sold*, when a child, he must have been a heathen; for Musalmāns cannot be sold, least of all to a Qāzī who administers justice. Hence Aibak's name must have been a heathenish (Turkish) name; and neither 'Quṭbuddīn', nor 'I'bak-shil' which contains a rare *Arabic* word, can possibly have been his name.

If we could attach the slightest weight to the legend on Quṭbuddīn Aibak's coinage as given by Major Raverty on p. 525 of his translation, Major Raverty would be refuted by his own remarks; for in the legend Quṭbuddīn is merely called 'Aibak', as on inscriptions and in several places of the Ṭabaqāt. I, too, have a work in my possession on the 'Coins of the Salāṭīn i Hind', a modern demi-quarto Dihlī lithograph, based on Sayyid Ahmad's *A'ṣār uṣṣanādīd*, and I dare say I have discovered

\* Cf. رنجيدگي and رنج; شست a wash, and شکستگي the state following a wash, *i. e.*, cleanness; and many others.

† This is required by the Persian idiom; for you say *shikastah-pd*, 'a man whose foot is broken'; *ranjīdah-dīl*; *shash-angusht* 'a man who has six fingers'; hence at least *shal-ibak*.

‡ J. R. A. S., Vol. III, 1868, p. 438. He has transferred to *aibak* the meaning of *shall*.

the source of Major Raverty's information. But any one that has worked for six months among Indian coins, will reject the legend as unnumismatic. The same must be said of Major Raverty's inscription on the coinage of A'ráam Sháh, Aibak's son.\*

The Turkish word آي *āi*, 'a moon', occurs also in other names of Indian history; but the oldest dictionaries give the pronunciation *ē*. Thus in Ai-tigín or E'-tigín, and Ai-litimish, the emperor "Altamsh", the shortened Indian spelling and pronunciation of whose name has been proved by metrical passages, inscriptions, and *good MSS.*, to be E'ltitimish, Iltitimish, E'ltimish, and E'litimish. I look upon Major Raverty's spelling 'I-yal-timish' as behind modern research.†

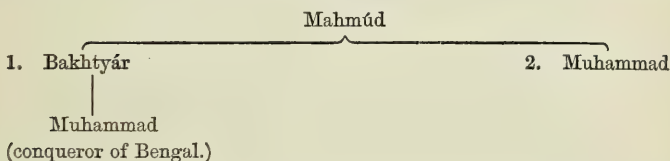
The next point which claims our attention is the name of the Muhammadan conqueror of Bengal. The only thing we knew hitherto (and I believe it is all we know now) is that the conqueror of Bengal was called

Muhammad Bakhtyár,

and that the name of his paternal uncle was

Muhammad Mahmúd.

The names of these two persons Major Raverty breaks up, by introducing an artificial *izáfat*, or sign of the genitive, into four names, *viz.* Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, and Muhammad-i-Mahmúd. This would give, if correct, the following genealogical tree—



\* It is odd that the printer's devil should have left his mark on Major Raverty's legend of A'ráam Sháh's *pseudo*-coin; the devil has *házd lá dirham*, &c., and I agree with him.

I take this opportunity to justify Abul-Fazl. Major Raverty says (p. 529)—"Abul-Fazl makes the astonishing statement that A'ráam Sháh was Quṭbuddín's *brother*!" Abul-Fazl states twice and distinctly that A'ráam Sháh was Aibak's *son*; *vide* my A'in text, pp. ৪৩. and ৪৩৩.

† Major Raverty introduces dangerous innovations in other names. I only speak of names that occur in pp. 500 to 600. On page 577, he speaks of a "Sálár [a leader, chief] Zaffir." This should be 'Sálár Zafar', where Sálár belongs to the name. "Zaffir" is *not* used in names. He calls the town of Kálpí "Kálbī"; Guhrám, "Kuh-rám"; Badáon, "Budá'un"; Sarsutí, "Sursutí"; Síwistán, "Síwastán"; Jumáda, "Jamádí"; Shaikh-ul-'A'rifín, "Shaikh-ul-'A'rifáin"; Tazkirah, "Tazkarah"; Abú Bakr, "Abú Bikt"; shajarah, "shajirah"; Siráj, "Saráj"; Dinájpur, "Dínjápúr"; Wainá-Ganga, "Wana-Gangá"; Godáwarí, "Gúdáwúrf"; Ráisín, "Rásín"; Chutiya Nágpúr, "Chhotah Nágpúr"; A'caf, "A'cif"; Jhárkhand, "Jhárkunḍah"; Karamnásá, "Karmahnásah"; Bikrámpúr, "Bikrámpúr"; Dak'hín, "Dak'han".

Major Raverty says in explanation that “in his older MSS.” the word *bin*, or son, is inserted between the words Muhammad and Bakhtyár in the heading of Chapter V, which contains the biography of the conqueror of Bengal; hence the conqueror of Bengal was Muhammad, and “the father’s name, it appears, was Bakhtyár, the son of Mahmúd.”\* It is not stated in how many MSS. this *bin* occurs; but though it occur in the heading, it never occurs in the text.† Nor does the word *bin* occur in the MSS. of the *Táj-ul-Maáshir*, in *Firishtah*, the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, *Badáoní*, and later writers, though the authors of these histories must have had very good MSS. of the *Tabaqát i Nágirí*, some of which in all probability were older than those in Major Raverty’s possession. Hence I look upon the correctness of the solitary *bin* in the heading of some of Major Raverty’s MSS. as doubtful. Further, supposing *bin* to be correct, is it not strange, nay totally un-Persian, to speak continually of Muhammad-*bin*-Bakhtyár, or Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, instead of using the single name of Muhammad. This would be Arabic usage. Thirdly, if Mahmúd were the grandfather, it would have been extraordinary on the part of the author to have left out the grandfather in the heading and in the beginning of the chapter, when Muhammad Bakhtyár’s descent is spoken of, and merely incidentally to mention it in connection with the paternal uncle. Lastly, the use of the *Izáfat*, instead of *bin* or *pisar* (son), is restricted to poetry, and does not occur in prose.‡ I see,

\* Page 539, of his translation.

† The name of Muhammad Bakhtyár occurs more than thirty times in Major Raverty’s chapters V and VI (pp. 548 to 576); but in every case Major Raverty gives Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, *i. e.*, the *Izáfat*. Hence his MSS. have no *bin* in the text. In the heading of Chapter VI, there is no *bin*, though Major Raverty puts it in; he tries even to do so in the heading to Chapter VIII, in the name of Husámuddín ‘Iwaz, and “one or two authors” get the credit of it.

‡ In fact, it is rare in poetry, and poets do not even like to use this *Izáfat*, unless it is long *ob metrum*, or unless it stand in syllables where it cannot be mistaken for what Prosodians call the *nim-fathah*. I have also met with it in the *prose* legends of coins, where *ibn* was left out to save space.

Major Raverty writes several other names in the same chapters with this impossible *Izáfat*. Thus he gives the murderer of Muhammad Bakhtyár the name of ‘Alí-i-Mardán, *i. e.*, ‘Alí, the son of Mardán. But Mardán, by itself, is no Muhammadan name, nor is Sherán by itself. We cannot write Muhammad-i-Sherán, Ahmad-i-Sherán, making Sherán the father. ‘*Alí Mardán* means ‘*Alí* (who is as valiant as) many men; Muhammad Sherán = Muhammad (who is equal to) many lions. The distinguished ‘Alí Mardán, for example, under Sháhjahán, cannot be called ‘Alí-i-Mardán, *i. e.*, ‘Alí, son of Mardán, because his father’s name was *Ganj* ‘*Alí* (I have purposely written “Ganj ‘Alí” without *Izáfat*). Would Major Raverty write the name of Jámí’s patron Mír ‘Alí-i-Sher; or Muhammad Humáyún’s name, Muhammad-i-Humáyún; or Muhammad Akbar’s name, Muhammad-i-Akbar? The form of the name of Muham-



therefore, no reason to change the name of the conqueror of Bengal, as proposed by Major Raverty.

A point of some importance is the fact prominently noticed by Major Raverty that the establishment of Muhammadan rule in Bihár and Bengal has nothing to do with the Muhammadan kingdom established at Dihlí. Muhammad Bakhtýár is an independent conqueror, though he acknowledged the suzerainty of Ghaznín, of which he was a subject. The presents which he occasionally sent to Dihlí, do not alter the case: a similar interchange took place between the kings of the Dak'hin and the later kings of Dihlí. Bihár and Bengal were conquered without help from Qutbuddín, and in all probability without his instigation or knowledge. This view entirely agrees with the way which Minháj-i-Siráj speaks of the Mu'izzí Sultáns and their co-ordinate position.

Major Raverty's identification of Muhammad Bakhtýár's jágir lands with the parganahs of Bhagwat and Bhoilí, south of Banáras and east of Chanárgarh, is very satisfactory. Bhoilí, (بهولي) I find, is mentioned in the A'in i Akbari, where it is spelt 'Bholí' (بهولي). It belonged to Sirkár Chanár (Chanádh), the chieftown of which was the well known fort of Chanár. Under Akbar, Bhoilí measured 18,975 bighahs 10 biswas, and was assessed at 1,112,656 *dáms*, of which 33,605 *dáms* were *sayurghál* or rent-free land. Regarding Bhagwat, Elliot says—"This parganah, previous to the conquest effected by the Gautams, was held by Jamí'at Khán Gaharwár, whose defence of the fort of Patítah is a favorite theme with the people. The old name of this parganah is Hanoa, which was extinct before the time of Jamí'at Khán, when it was known only as Bhagwat."\*

mad-i-Súrí, on whose name Major Raverty has built a hypothesis (Journal, A. S. Bengal, for 1875, p. 31) is doubtful for this *Izáfát*. On p. 573, two brothers are mentioned, Muhammad Sherán and Ahmad Sherán, and Major Raverty looks upon this as a proof that the *Izáfát* must be read, "as two brothers would not be so entitled." A glance at a Muhammadan school register would show that Major Raverty's opinion is against facts. Supposing a father's name is 'Alí Sherán, he would call his son Muhammad Sherán, Ahmad Sherán, Mahmúd Sherán; or if Bazl i Haq, the sons would be called Fazl i Haq, Luţf i Haq, &c.

Of course, it is different with the *takhalluq*, or *nom-de-plume*, of Persian writers. Thus we may say Minháj-i-Siráj, just as we say Muçlihuddín-i-Sa'dí. But even in such instances the *izáfát* is not *de rigueur*. But "Minháj-i-Siráj" does not mean in prose 'Minháj, the son of Siráj', but 'Minháj, who writes under the name of Siráj'. That the father's name was Siráj has nothing to do with it: many poets chose the name of the father as *takhalluq*.

How ill-placed some of Major Raverty's *Izáfats* are may be seen from the name of the Bengal Sultán Firúz Sháh (II) in note 6, on p. 582, where besides Sháh-i-Jahán is a wrong reading. Nor has he ever been called a 'Pathán'.

\* Beames, Elliot's Races of the N. W. P., II, p. 119. The name of Bhagwat, therefore, occurs already in the *Tabaqát i Nāçiri*. Neither Bhagwat nor Hanoa is given



The narrative of Muhammad Bakhtyár's expedition to Tibbat involves one or two geographical difficulties, which neither the restored text nor Major Raverty's copious notes have entirely removed. The traffic between Bengal and Tibbat in those days, and even up to the reign of Akbar, seems to have been very considerable. Minháj speaks of no less than thirty-five roads into Tibbat between the bend of the Brahmaputra and Tirhut. To one of these Major Raverty's MSS. give the (slightly doubtful) name of 'Mahamhái Pass.' The traffic consisted chiefly in gold, copper, lead, musk, yak tails, honey, borax, falcons, and hill ponies (*táng'han*). Ralph Fitch\* mentions Chichákoṭ as the principal emporium in the (now British) Dúárs.

The whole tract south of Bhútan frequently changed rulers. The Rájás of Kámruṭ, the Ahoms, the Kámatá, and after them the Koch Rájás, seem to have in turn held the Dúárs and lost them to the Bhúts.

It is difficult to say what motives Muhammad Bakhtyár had to invade Tibbat. It was perhaps, as Minháj says, ambition; but if we consider how small a part of Bengal was really in his power, his expedition to Tibbat borders on foolhardiness. He seems to have set out from Lakhnauṭi or Deokoṭ under the guidance of one 'Alí, who is said to have been a chief of the Mech tribe, and marched to Bardhankot (Varddhanakúṭi). From the way in which Minháj mentions this town, it looks as if it had lain beyond the frontier of Muhammad Bakhtyár's possessions, though there is no doubt as to its identity. The ruins of Bardhankot lie due north of Bagurá (Bogra), in Long. 89° 28', Lat. 25° 8' 25'', close to Govindganj, on the Karataya River.† According to Minháj, a large river flows in front

in the A'in. I have not found Major Raverty's Kuntilah on the maps. Its longitude and latitude, as given by him on p. 550, almost coincide with those of the town of Kuntit (كنتت), which up to the time of the Mughul (Chaghtái) Dynasty was a sort of frontier town, and is therefore occasionally mentioned by historians. But Major Raverty's Kuntilah (Lat. 25° 7'; Long. 82° 35') lies too far to the west.

The fact that some MSS. of the Ṭabaqát give Bhagwat and Bhoilí, and others Patitah and Kuntilah (?), is curious.

\* *Vide* Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1873, Pt. I, p. 240. In 1861, Major Sherwill estimated the number of hill-ponies brought for sale to the fair at Nek-Mardán, 40 miles north-west of Dinájpúr, at 3000.

† Not far from Ghorághát. Sheet 119 of the Indian Atlas shews the "Rájábáí" of the Bardhankot Rájás. *Vide* Westmacott in J. A. S. B., 1875, Pt. I, p. 188.

Major Raverty has not identified Bardhankot, and has therefore been misled to place it north of Sikkim (p. 562, note); hence it is no wonder that he finds discrepancies in Minháj's statements respecting the river and the bridge mentioned further on. But there are none. Col. Dalton's attempt at identifying the bridge with that of Sil Háko (J. A. S. B., XX, p. 291), and the river with the Brahmaputra, is now likewise disposed of. The only difficulty that is left to be solved is the identification of the Tibetan town of Karbatan (?), for which each MS. almost has a different *lectio*.

(*dar pesh*) of the town. This can only refer to the Karataya, which formed so long the boundary of ancient Muhammadan Bengal and the Kámrúp, and later of the Koch and Koch-Hájo, dominions; in fact it was the boundary between Bengal and Kámrúp at the time of the Mahábhárat. Though the river in front of Bardhankot is said to have had the name of 'Bagmatí', no other river than the Karataya can possibly be meant.\* Along the Karataya, then, Muhammad Bakhtyár marched northward, under the guidance of 'Alí the Mech, for ten days. We have to bear in mind that the Karataya in former times was connected by branches with the Tistá, (Trisrota) and that the Tistá before 1784 flowed *west* of the Karataya, joined the Atrai, and fell into the main branch of the Ganges (Padma). Thus even as late as last century, as a glance on Map V of Rennell's Atlas will show. The ten days' march, therefore, extended along the Karataya *and the Tistá*, which of all Bengal rivers extends farthest into Tibbat. There is little doubt that this was along the frontier of the territory of the Rájá of Kámrúp. Before the tenth day, they were among the mountains, and on the tenth they reached a bridge of hewn stone, consisting of twenty-odd arches. This bridge must have been in the neighbourhood of Dorzheling, or, as we spell it, Darjeeling.† 'Alí the Mech seems to have here taken leave of Muhammad Bakhtyár. Even at the present day, the boundary separating the Meches from the hill tribes, is about twelve miles due south of Darjeeling, near Pankabári. From here we have insufficient particulars regarding Muhammad Bakhtyár's march. All that is said is, that after passing the bridge the troops wended their way, unmolested apparently, stages and journeys, through defiles and passes, ascending and descending among lofty mountains. On the sixteenth day the open country of Tibbat was reached. Everywhere they had passed through populous villages. After plundering the country and defeating with heavy losses a hostile army near a fort in the neighbourhood of a town (called Karbatan?), Muhammad Bakhtyár resolved to return. Since he returns by the way he had come, the direction of his march from Darjeeling must have been northward‡; for if he had

\* Regarding the changes in the courses of the Karataya and Tistá, *vide* Buchanan, and Glazier's Rungpore Report, p. 2.

† The Muhammadans write دارجلنگ Dárjiling. Major Mainwaring tells me that the correct pronunciation is Dorzheling, درژلنگ, with a short o and a short accented e. The straight distance from Bardhankot to Darjeeling itself would be nearly 160 miles.

I find that Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the *Tuzuk i Jahángirí* (p. 115) gives Dárjiling in connexion with Pegú, in the sentence

مردم مگه که ملک ایشان متصل پیگو دارجلنگ است

"the Maghs whose country is adjacent to Pegú-Dárjiling." But I conjecture that this is a mistake for پیگو و ارخانگ *Pegú and Arkhang*, 'Pegu and Arrakan'.

‡ Major Raverty suggests the route which Turner went in 1783, through Sikkim

deviated to the west into Nepál, he would certainly have retreated southward into Tirhut. The retreat was disastrous, as the people had removed from the line of march and had burnt everything. After fifteen days of privation, Muhammad Bakhtyár issued *from the mountains into the country of Kámráp*, and reached the head of the bridge. The guards which he had left there, had deserted their post; the Hindús of Kámráp had come and destroyed the bridge, and Muhammad Bakhtyár occupied a strong temple near the bridge. He was now besieged by crowds of Kámráp Hindús. With difficulty did the thinned army cut through the besiegers and hasten to the river. Most of the Musalmáns perished; only Muhammad Bakhtyár with a few horsemen reached the other bank. There they were again assisted by Meches, the kinsmen of 'Alí, who rendered him great assistance until he reached Deokot, or Damdamah, south of Dinájpúr.

Muhammad Bakhtyár from anguish became ill and took to his bed, when 'Alí Mardán assassinated him (602 A. H.) at Deokot.\*

Major Raverty is inclined to place Deokot north of Dinájpúr; but the position is well known. Parganah Deokot still exists, and the old Muhammadan ruins at Gangarámpúr, near Damdamah, the large tanks, and the discovery there of the oldest Bengal inscriptions, fix the site of the ancient Deokot.

The additional *lectiones* of geographical names which Major Raverty gives, enable me to identify three more places mentioned in the Ṭabaqát, viz., Santosh, Masídhá, and Kangor,† of which the last was the fief of Husám-uddín 'Iwaz. Santosh, which lower down is identified with Mahíganj on the eastern bank of the Atrai River, contained, according to the Ṭabaqát, the tomb of Muhammad Sherán, the successor of

towards the Sangpú, and I agree with him, though I do not believe that Muhammad Bakhtyár reached that river.

\* Regarding the reigns of Muhammad Bakhtyár's immediate successors, I would refer Major Raverty to Mr. Thomas's "Initial Coinage of Bengal, No. II," in J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 348, and Proc., A. S. B., 1872, p. 202.

† The MSS. have *مكسده*, *مكسده*, *مكسده*, and *كنكورى*, *كنكورى*, and several other *lectiones*; vide J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 212, note ‡. The *káf* in *مكسده* must be wrong; it arose very likely from the sign of *fathah* above the initial *mim*, and the correct name is *مسده* or *مسيدها* or *مسدها*, Masídhá or Masidhâ, *Bengalice* Mosidhâ, which is mentioned as an old place in the A'in and in Buchanan's Dinajepoor. Major Raverty identifies 'Maksidah' with the "Maxadabad" of the old travellers; but Maxadabad is Maqqúdábád (*مقصود آباد*), the earlier name of Murshidábád. Maqqúdábád, however, is itself not older than the 16th century.

I prefer the text reading *بنگاون* Bangáon, a wellknown place near Deokot, to Major Raverty's 'Bekánwah'. The spelling 'Kons' for 'Kosí,' the river Kosí (Raverty, p. 578), may also be an error of the copyists, the final *yá* having been mistaken for the tail (*dáirah*) of the *sín*.



Bakhtyár Khiljí. The three places lie in *adjacent* parganahs, and lie all south-east of parganah Deokot, as shewn on Sheet 119 of the Indian Atlas. The correctness of my conjecture regarding the name of Santosh has thus been verified by Major Raverty's MSS., and its identification shews that Masidhá, which is mentioned with it, is likewise correct. The situation of these parganahs agrees with the small extent of the Lakhnaúí territory under the first Muhammadan rulers; for they lie between Deokot and the Karataya, which was the frontier. In fact Husám-uddín 'Iwaz was the first that brought *the whole territory* of Gaur under control.

The places that are still doubtful in the Bengal geography of the Ṭabaqát, are Nárankoí or Nárkotí, for which other works have 'Bársúl'; and Sanknát, which is very likely the name of a region east of the Karataya.

Major Raverty's assertion\* (pp. 582, 559) that Lakhnaúí was called by the emperor Humáyún 'Bakhtábád', and the whole district 'Jannatábád', is untenable. The Akbarnámah only mentions 'Jannatábád'.

Regarding Jájnapur and its identification with the eastern parts of the Central Provinces, Chutiya Nágpúr,† and the Tributary Mahalls in Western Orísá, Major Raverty has come to the same conclusion as I had. His identification of the frontier district Katásín or Katásín with a place of the name of Katásingh on the northern bank of the Mahánadí in the Tributary Mahall of Angul is not yet quite clear to me. I cannot find the place on the map, and the narrative of the Ṭabaqát implies a place nearer to Western Bengal. The capital of Jájnapur, which in the MSS. is called U'mardan (اورمردن) remains to be identified. Major Raverty hints at the possibility

\* His source is a MS. of the *Khuldāt-uttawdrikkh* (a modern work). I have a suspicion that 'Bakhtábád' is a copyist's error, and that the initial *b* is the Persian preposition *ba*, as in *Gaur rá mausúm ba-Jannatábád sákkht*, where بچنتا باد has been drawn together to بچنتا باد.

Major Raverty's 'Arkhnák' (p. 593) is a wrong reading for 'Arkhang' or 'Rakhang'. "Parganah Jasúdah" (p. 593)—said to have been turned by Europeans into 'Jessore'—is a copyist's error for 'Parganah Chittúah', (200 miles from Jessore) which was the frontier between Bengal and Orísá; *vide* Aín translation, Index. Besides, where does the Persian author of the *Haft Iqlím* get the Hindí ङ from? and how can he give the revenue of Bengal under Jahángír, when the book was written in 1002 (*vide* Aín translation, I, p. 508)? Again, the word بیابان, 'uncultivated tract' of Sirkár Madáran (p. 592, last line) is a mistake for پایان confines, frontier; but *páyán* does not mean 'lower parts', as translated on p. 568, note.

† Major Raverty's spelling Chhotah Nágpúr has often been shewn to be erroneous, as the correct name is Chutiya Nágpúr (چٹیا), from the old capital Chutiya, near Ráncí. The spellings Chhár-kund and Jhár-kundah involve a wrong etymology, the correct name being Jhár-khand, 'bush-district', as Bundel-khand, 'the Bundelá district', from खुंद, a district, not from कुंड, a well.



of U'mardan being Amarakantak, the highest point and watershed of the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. That rocky, wild, and inaccessible region is scarcely a fit place for the capital of what must have been a large state.\*

As the border land to the west of Jájnaġar Major Raverty mentions Garha-Katanga; and then he says (p. 587), quoting the *Ma'dan-i-Akhhbár i Ahmadí*, that "on the N. it is close to the Bháṭah territory [the Bháṭí of the *Áin i Akbarí*], and S. is close to the Dakhan." But this is an extraordinary confusion of names, partly due to the author of the *Ma'dan*, especially if he wrote Bháṭah with a long ā. He means Bhāt'h, or Bhat-ghorá, the mountainous tract south of Allahábád, whilst Bháṭí is the name of the Sundarban region along the Bay of Bengal. The Ṭabaqát is, indeed, the oldest work in which Bhatghorá is mentioned. The district was plundered by Qamaruddín Timur Khán, who had also been fighting with the aboriginal tribe of the Múásís.† In Major Raverty's quotation from the *Jámi'-utta-wárikh* (a modern compilation without value), the Bháṭí-Sundarban is placed West of Bengal;‡ and in the quotation a little further on (which like the preceding is taken from the *Áin i Akbarí*),—"In the *sarkár* of Mangír, "from the river Gang to the Koh i Sangín [the Stony Mountains], they "have drawn a wall, and account it the boundary of Bengal", a wrong *izáfat* spoils the sense: Abul Fazl says that in Sirkár Munger, from the Ganges to the mountains [Rájmahall Hills], they have drawn a stone wall, &c. He means the stone wall near Gaḍhí or Garhí (Teliágarhí).§

We now turn to the middle period of the Muhammadan history of Bengal, for the elucidation of which a few new and interesting particulars have come to hand. They throw further light on the reigns of Rájá Káns and Mahmúd Sháh I.

### Ra'ja' Ka'ns.

(A. H. 808 to 817; A. D. 1405 to 1414.)

It was mentioned before that Mr. Westmacott identified Rájá Káns with the well known, but hitherto legendary, Rájá, or Hákim, Ganesh of Dinájpur. I look upon this identification as open to doubt. 'Ganesh' is a very common name, and the god with the elephant's trunk is so generally

\* The name of Hill Gundamardan, in Long. 83° and Lat. 20° 55', in Borásambhar, has the same ending as U'mardan.

† *Vide* Ṭabaqát, Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 247; Beames, Elliot's Races of the N. W. Provinces, II, 164; J. A. S. B., 1874, Pt. I, p. 240, note.

‡ Regarding the 'Mánik,' *vide* J. A. S. B., 1874, Pt. I, p. 204.

§ Major Raverty, on p. 592, mentions the Afghán Zamíndár of Bírghúm and *Ját-nagar*—the italics, I daresay, imply a reference to Jájnaġar. The Zamíndár's family, the descendants of a real Pathán for once, are well-known; but *Ját-nagar* is a mistake of 'Rájnaġar'.

known throughout India, that even Muhammadans may be fairly assumed to be acquainted with his name. But all MSS. spell the Rájá's name *كانس* *Káns*, not *گنيس* *Ganēs*; and I am inclined to adhere to the spelling of the MSS. and read the name as *Káns* or *Kánsa*. This would indeed be the name which Krishna's enemy, the tyrant of Mathurá, bore. I do not think that the name is now in use, or has been in use in Bengal since the spread of Chaitanya's Krishna-cultus. But Rájá *Káns* lived just a hundred years before Chaitanya, and the name might not then have been so unusual as it would now be. Further, Rájá *Káns* is styled 'Rájá of Bhatúriah', and Rájá Ganes 'Rájá of Dinájpúr'. But Bhatúriah does not include Dinájpúr; for 'Parganah' Bhatúriah lies far to the south of Dinájpúr District, in Rájsháhí proper, between Amrúl and Bagurá. But the name 'Bhatúriah' is also used in a more extensive sense, and signifies Northern Rájsháhí proper. It thus formed part of Barendra, whilst Dinájpúr with the northern districts formed the old division of Nivrittí. Now the Barendra Bráhmans, as Dr. Wise tells me, say that their social classification was made by one Rájá *Káns* Náráyana of Táhírpúr in Rájsháhí; and as Táhírpúr belongs to Bhatúriah (*vide* Map VI of Rennell's Atlas), there is just a possibility that the statement of the Barendra Bráhmans may give us a clue and help us to identify the historical Rájá *Káns*.

I have no doubt that the name of the district of Rájsháhí is connected with Rájá *Káns*; for just as Mahmúdasháhí, Bárbaksháhí, and other names in the neighbourhood of Rájsháhí refer to the Bengal kings Mahmúd Sháh and Bárbak Sháh, so can Rájsháhí, *i. e.*, Rájá-sháhí, only refer to the Rájá who was 'the Sháh', *i. e.*, to a Hindú Rájá who ascended a Musalmán throne. In its shortened form, 'Rájsháhí' is certainly a most extraordinary hybrid; for the Hindí *ráj* is the same as the Persian *sháhí*.

It was remarked in the first part of these 'Contributions to Bengal Geography and History' that Rájá *Káns* did probably not issue coins in his own name. We know, however, that coins were issued during his reign, *viz.*, posthumous coins of A'zam Sháh, during whose reign Rájá *Káns* rose to influence, and coins in the name of one Báyzid Sháh. The latter issue was described by me before, and bears, as far as is now known, the years 812 and 816; the former was brought to the notice of the Society by the Hon'ble E. C. Bayley (*vide* J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 294, note). I can now give a figure of the posthumous coinage: two specimens were lately brought for the Society's cabinet,\* clearly dated 812 (*vide* Pl. XI, Fig. 1). They weigh 164·69 and 165·7 grains respectively.

\* Together with five silver coins of Muhammad Sháh, son of Rájá *Káns*, dated 818, 819, 822, 823, 826. The hitherto ascertained years of his reign were 818, 821, and 831. Mr. W. L. Martin also sent me lately a Muhammad Sháh of the same type as published by me. It was dug up near Madhúpúrah, Northern Bhágalpúr, which belonged to Bengal.

**Mahmu'd Sha'h I.**

(A. H. 846 to 864; A. D. 1442 to 1459.)

The chronology of the reign of this king, which was hitherto one of the obscurest portions of Bengal History, has been further cleared up by a small but important *trouville* of eight silver coins struck by him. The coins were found by Major W. W. Hume at Mahásthán (Mostán) Garh, seven miles north of Bagurá: four of them were sent to the Society by Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, C. S., who in the last number of the Journal gave a description of the place, and the other four were received from Mr. E. Vesey Westmacott, C. S. The eight coins have been figured on Pl. XI, Nos. 2 to 9. Five of them have years, so that the ascertained dates of Mahmúd Sháh's reign are now—846, 84\*, 852, 858, 859, 861, 862, 863, 28th Zil Hajjah 863.

Nos. 2, 3, and 9 of the coins are very rude specimens of engraving; and if the last had not been found together with the others, I would be inclined to attribute it to Mahmúd Sháh II., as the *kunyah* looks more like 'Abul Mujáhid' than like 'Abul Muzaffar'. All the coins bear numerous shroffmarks.\*

1. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 2. New variety. Silver. A. H. 84\* No mint-town. Weight, 164·97 grains.

OBVERSE—..... المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن حجت

*Margin*—ضرب سنة ٨٤٠\*

REVERSE—ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمود شاه سلطان

The legend is the same as on Col. Hyde's unique Mahmúd Sháh of 846, published by me in J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 295.

2. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 3. Obverse as reverse of No. 1; Reverse illegible, probably the same as in Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9. Weight, 165·65 grains.

3. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 4. A. H. 852. Weight, 164·41 grains.

OBVERSE—as in No. 3.

*Margin*—ضرب في ٨٥٢

REVERSE—خالد الله ملكه وسلطانه

\* The object of these marks, which are common even on early Bengal coins, was to depreciate the coins. The real commerce of the country was carried on in cowries, as no copper was issued; and it suited the bankers and money-changers, when coins bearing the new year were issued, arbitrarily to declare that the coins of the past year, and those of all previous years, were no longer *kulldár* (كلدار, from the Arabic *kull*, all), i. e., all-having, of full value. Hence they disfigured the coins, to the great loss of the public, by small circular stamps, or longitudinal notches, so that it is a wonder that so many coins have come down to us with clear dates. Coins of former years, or coins thus marked by shroffs (صراف), were often called *sandt*, pl. of *sanah*, a year. *Vide* also Buchanan (Martin's Edition), II, p. 1006.









4. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 5. Weight, 164·49 grains. A. H. 858. Struck at M a h m ú d á b á d.

OBVERSE—As in No. 3.

REVERSE—نائب غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه ٨٥٨ محمود اباد

5. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 6. Weight, 165·68 grains. Mahmúdábád?

The legend of both faces as on Col. Hyde's coin.

6. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 7. Weight, 166·2 grains. A. H. 862. The obverse contains the lozenge and square, and the empty spaces of the corners are filled with little crosses, as on Col. Hyde's coin. The reverse contains nine scollops along the margin.

Obverse and reverse as in coin No. 5, but no mint town.

7. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 8. Weight, 164·28 grains. A. H. 862. The obverse and reverse have each ten scollops along the margin. Legend as in coin No. 5. The year is expressedly في سنة ٨٦٢.

8. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 9. Weight, 164·77 grains. Legend as in proceeding, but no year.

The Mint town of M a h m ú d á b á d on coin No. 5 is new. If it does not refer to some place within the extensive walls of Gaur, it may have reference to Sirkár Mahmúdábád (Western Farídpúr and Northern Nadiyá).

General Cunningham has sent me a rubbing of the following inscription belonging to Mahmúd's reign. The rubbing is taken from inside the Kotwálí Gate, in Gaur, and refers in all probability to the bridge of five arches near it.

بناء هذه القنطرة في زمن سلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود  
شاه السلطان في الخامس من الصفر ختمه الله بالخير والظفر سنة اثنى و ستين  
و ثمانماية \*

The building of this bridge (took place) in the time of the just king, Náçirud-dunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king. On the 5th day of Çafar (may God allow the month to end with success and victory!) 862 [23rd December, 1457].

The inscription measures 1½ ft. by 13 in.\* The usual phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!' is left out.

#### Ba'rbak Sha'h.

(A. H. 864 to 879; A. D. 1460 to 1474.)

Mr. Westmacott sent me rubbings of two new inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king. He says regarding them—"The two Bárbak Sháh

\* This is the missing inscription No. 37, alluded to on p. 19, Proceedings, A. S. B., January, 1873.

“inscriptions are taken from the tomb of the Muhammadan Pír, or saint, known by the name of Mahí Santosh, mentioned by Dr. Buchanan (*apud* “Martin’s Eastern India, II, 667) as being at Mahígánj, on the eastern bank of the Atrai, in Tháná Potnítalá, District Dinájpur. He says that the saint has communicated his name to Parganah Santosh, and that the most remarkable thing was that his name is said to be Sanskrit.

“Mr. J. P. Sneyd, who was good enough to take the rubbings for me, says that the city among the remains of which the tomb is situate, is known as Santosh, and that the tombs are said to be those of a lady, named Mahí Santosh, and her daughter.

“The larger inscription is over the inner door of the entrance to the tomb; the smaller one is outside the building. There are quantities of brick and blocks of stone all about, and the remains of a stone wall, and a brick building, said to have been the ‘cutcherry’. The local tradition I look upon as almost worthless. Doctor Buchanan and Mr. Sneyd, an interval of sixty-six years having elapsed, heard quite different stories about the name.

“I do not think the name Mahí Santosh has anything to do with the Muhammadan occupants of the tomb. Santosh is the name of the Parganah, and Mahí is clearly connected with Mahígánj, ‘the mart of Mahí,’ and I cannot but connect that with the Buddhist king of the 9th or 10th century, Mahí Pál.”

If, as Mr. Sneyd says, the ruins round about Mahígánj are called ‘Santosh’, we would have to look for the tomb of Muhammad Sherán, Bakhtyár’s successor, among them.

The name ‘Mahígánj’ cannot be very old, though ‘Mahí’ may be an allusion to Mahí Pál. All names ending with the Persian *ganj* are modern, and I cannot point to a single place ending in *ganj* that existed, or had received that name, before the 15th and 16th centuries.

The two inscriptions, as is so often the case, have nothing to do with the tomb. In all probability, the tomb is older than the inscriptions. Tombs have always been store places for inscriptions of ruined mosques of the neighbourhood. They add to the sanctity of the tomb, because their characters are generally *tughrá*, and therefore unintelligible to the common people; they are poured over with milk and oil by votaries who look upon them as powerful amulets, or by the sick who catch the dripping liquid and get cured.

The larger inscription of the two, which measures 3 ft. by 11 in., is as follows :

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني المسجد في الدنيا بني  
الله سبعين قصرا في الجنة \* بني المسجد في زمن الملك العادل

السلطان ابن السلطان ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو المجاهد باريك شاه السلطان  
ابن محمود شاه السلطان البازي خان المعظم الغ اقرار خان بواسطي (؟)  
خان معظم اشرفخان خمس ستين وثمانماية ۱۱

The Prophet (upon whom be blessings!) said, 'He who builds the mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built by God in paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the just prince, the king who is the son of a king, Rukn uddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh the king. The builder is the great Khán Ulugh Iqrár Khán, (one word unintelligible\*) the great Khán Ashraf Khán. 865 [A. D. 1460-61.]

The builder of the mosque, Ulugh Iqrár Khán, is clearly the same as the one mentioned in Mr. Westmacott's Bárbak Sháh inscription from Dinájpúr, published in J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 272, and no doubt is now left regarding the correct reading of the name. The characters of this inscription are well formed.

The smaller inscription measures 1 ft. 5 inch. by 8½ inch., and consists like the preceding of two lines. Of the first line only the beginning قال عليه السلام 'the Prophet says', is legible. Of the second line I can with some difficulty decipher the following:—

بني المسجد خان الاعظم والمعظم الغ ..... وزير شهر مشهور  
باربك اباد مكن ست و سبعين ثمانماية ۱۱

The Mosque was built by the great and exalted Khán Ulugh....., Vazír of the town known as Bárbakábád Makan, 876 [A. D. 1471-72].

The inscription, incomplete as it is, is so far valuable as it is the latest of Bárbak Sháh's reign hitherto discovered. I am not quite sure about the correctness of the word 'Makan' (مكن): there is a long stroke between the *mím* and the *káf*, and the reading *Maskan* (مسكن) is possible. Nor can I say with certainty that Bárbakábád is another name for Santosh†; but the name is so far of interest as it explains the name of Sirkár Bárbakábád. This Sirkár was assessed in Todar Mall's Rentroll at 17,451,532 dáms, or Rs. 436,288, and had to furnish 50 horse and 7000 foot. Its 38 Mahalls were the following:—

\* The doubtful word *bawásti* is legible enough, but I do not understand the meaning. It must be a word expressing relationship. Could it be نواسه for نواسه, daughter's son?

The date is clear in one of Mr. Westmacott's rubbings.

† Parganah Santosh does not occur in Todar Mall's rentroll. In the later rentrolls, however the name again appears.



- |                                                             |                                                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Amrúl (امروں)                                            | 20. 21. Sherpúr and Bahrámpúr<br>(شیرپورو بہرام پور) |
| 2. Baldah Bárbakábád (باربك آباد<br>بلدہ)                   | 22. Táhírpúr (طاہرپور)                               |
| 3. Básdaul (باسدول)                                         | 23. Qázíhatti (قاضي ہٹی)                             |
| 4. Púlarhár (پولارہار)                                      | 24. Kardahá (کردہا)                                  |
| 5. Pustaul (پستول)                                          | 25. Gururhát (گورہات)                                |
| 6. Barbariá (بربریا)                                        | 26. Guhás (گھاس)                                     |
| 7. Bangáon (بنگاون)                                         | 27. Ganj Jagdal (گنج مشہور بے جگدل)                  |
| 8. Páltápúr (پالٹاپور)                                      | 28. Gobindpúr (گوبندپور)                             |
| 9. Chhañdíábázú (چھندیابازو)                                | 29. Kálígái Gúthiá (کالی گائی گوتھیا)                |
| 10. Chaurá (چورا)                                           | 30. Kharál (کھرال)                                   |
| 11. & 12. Jhásindh and Chau-<br>gaon (جھاسند و چوگاؤں)      | 31. Koḍánagar (کوڈانگر)                              |
| 13. Chandlái (چنڈلائی)                                      | 32. Kálígái (کالی گائی)                              |
| 14. Chináso (چناسو)                                         | 33. Lashkarpúr (لشکرپور)                             |
| 15. Havelí Sik'h Shahr (سیکھ شہر<br>حویلی)                  | 34. Málanchípúr (مالنچیپور)                          |
| 16. Dhármin (دھارمن)                                        | 35. Masidha (مسدھا)                                  |
| 17. Dáúdópúr (داؤدپور)                                      | 36. Man Samáli (من سمالی)                            |
| 18. Sunkárdal, <i>urf</i> Nizámpúr<br>(سنکارڈل عرف نظامپور) | 37. Mahmúdpúr (محمودپور)                             |
| 19. Shikárpúr (شکارپور)                                     | 38. Vazírpúr (وزیرپور)                               |

Of these 38 names, four appear to have vanished entirely, *viz.*, Nos. 2, 4, 15, and 31. The others appear also in later settlements. Many of them are still to be found on sheets 119 and 120 of the Indian Atlas. Two new parganahs have appeared, *viz.*, Jahángírpúr and Fathjangpúr, which clearly point to the emperor Jahángír and his Bengal governor Ibráhím Khán Fathjang,\* and they may partly occupy the places of the four lost ones.

The Havelí Parganah of the Sirkár is called Havelí Sik'h Shahr, instead of Havelí Barbakábád; but I cannot identify the name. A small portion of Sik'h Shahr also belonged to Sirkár Ghorághát.

No. 25, Gururhát is spelt in the MSS. Guzarhát from *guzar*, a ford. It lies to both sides of the mouth of the Mahánandá.

No. 26, Guhás is spelt on the maps 'Goas', and lies south of the present course of the Podda.

No. 30, Kharál is spelt on the maps 'Kharail' or 'Kharael'.

No. 36, Man Samáli occurs in the Vth Report as Malsimani, but I have not identified it.

No. 37, Mahmúdpúr is called on the maps ‘Muhumudpoor.’\* It lies immediately north of Rámpúr Boáliyá.

Inscriptions belonging to the reign of Bárbaksháh appear to be more numerous in Sirkár Bárbakábád than in other districts;† but specimens of his coinage are rare.

### Yú'suf Sha'h.

(A. H. 879 to 886; A. D. 1474 to 1481.)

About two years ago, Dr. Wise sent me a rubbing of the following inscription, from the neighbourhood of Dháká, I believe, but I have mislaid the reference as to the exact locality. The inscription measures 2 ft. 8½ inch., by 10 inch., and consists of three lines, the first containing the usual Qorán passages in large letters, the second and third giving the historical particulars in small and close letters. At the time I received the inscription, I could decipher but little of lines 2 and 3, and I now give all that I can at present decipher.

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر اقام  
الصلوة وآتي الزكاة ولم يخش الا الله فعسي اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين \*  
قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجد في الدنيا بني الله له بيتا في الجنة \*  
بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان السلاطين ظل الله في العالمين  
خليفة الله في الارضين السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا  
والدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باريك شاه السلطان ابن  
محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه واعلي امره و شانه الملك  
.... خاقان معظم بهلوي عصر و زمان .... محمد النبي .... مؤرخا  
في التاريخ سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثمانماية \*

كسے را کہ خیرے بماند روان \* دمادم رسد رحمتش بر روان

God Almighty says, ‘Surely he builds the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and establishes the prayer, and offers the legal alms, and fears no one except God. It is they that perhaps belong to such as are guided.’ The Prophet says, ‘He who builds a mosque in the world, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.’

This mosque was built in the time of the king of kings, the shadow of God in all

\* The two dissyllabic names Ahmad and Mahmúd are continually pronounced by Bengalis in three syllables, ‘Ahamud’, ‘Mahamud’, or ‘Mohomud’, which is then confounded with Muhammad. Similarly, Bengalis pronounce ‘Rohomán’, for Rahmán; ‘Bokkos,’ for Bakhsh.

† Of the seven known at present, four belong to Bárbakábád; one to Gaur; one to Húglí; one to the 24-Parganahs. *Vide* J. A. S. B., 1860, p. 407.

worlds, the representative of God in all lands, the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shams uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárba k Sháh the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and dignity!—by the Malik . . . . . the great Lord, the hero of the period and the age . . . . . Dated in the year 885 [A. D. 1480].

God's mercy reaches every moment the soul of a man whose pious works continue after him. [From Sa'dí's Bostán.]

In conclusion I shall give a few inscriptions (the only ones that have hitherto been found) belonging to the Afghán period of Bengal History (944 to 984, H., or 1538 to 1576, A. D.).

### III.

#### THE THIRD, OR AFGHA'N, PERIOD OF THE MUHAMMADAN HISTORY OF BENGAL (1538 to 1578, A. D.).

The historical information which we possess of the Afghán period is meagre, and refers almost exclusively to matters connected with the Dihlí empire, but does not, like the history of the preceding period, conflict with mural and medallie testimony. The following is an outline of the principal events of the period.

944, 6th Zil Qa'dah, or 6th April, 1538, Gaur taken by Khawác Khán (II).

Mahmúd Sháh (III) of Bengal flees to Humáyún, who has just conquered Fort Chanár.\*

Humáyún marches to Bengal, and Sher Khán's generals leave Gaur unprotected.

Rise of the kingdom of Kúch Bihár under Bísá.

945 Humáyún for three months in Gaur. Mahmúd Sháh of Bengal dies at Khalgáon (Colgong). Humáyún leaves Gaur before the rains had ended (about September 1538).

He leaves Jahángír Qulí Beg as governor of Bengal in Gaur.

Khawác Khán operates against Mahárta, the Chero chief of Palámau.

946, 9th Çafar, or 26th June, 1539. Battle of Chaupsá.† Humáyún defeated by Sher Khán, who celebrates his *julús*, assumes the name of Fari'duddi'n Abul Muzaffar Sher Sha'h, and issues coins.

Jahángír Qulí Khán defeated by Jalál Khán and Hájí Khán Batní, and soon after killed.

Khizr Khán appointed by Sher Sháh governor of Bengal.

\* The siege of Chanár is said to have commenced on the 15th Sha'bán 944, or 8th January, 1538. According to the *Tárikh i Sher Sháhi* (Dowson, IV, 359), Gaur fell *after* the taking of Chanár. If the siege lasted six months, the 15th Sha'bán, 944 is too late a date. The year 945 commenced on 30th May, 1538.

† The river between Chaupsá and Baksar, on the right bank of which Sher Khán had encamped, is called Thorá Nadi.

948 Khizr Khán deposed by Sher Sháh at Gaur. Bengal divided into districts, each under an Amír, under the *aminship* of Qází Fazílat.  
952, 12th Rabí' I, or 3rd June 1545. Sher Sháh dies, and is buried at Sahasráram, South Bihár. He is succeeded by his younger son Jalál Khán, who assumes the title of **Jala'luddi'n Abul Muzaffar Isla'm Sha'h**.

Qází Fazílat, Amín of Bengal, deposed.

Muhammad Khán Súr appointed governor of Bengal and North Bihár.

Miyán Sulaimán Kararání appointed governor of South Bihár.

960 Islám Sháh dies. He is succeeded by Mubáriz Khán, son of Nizám Khán, under the title of Abul Muzaffar Muhammad 'Adil Sháh, *urf* 'Adlí.

Muhammad Khán Súr Gauriah (*i. e.*, governor of Bengal) refuses to acknowledge him, and makes himself king of Bengal.

960 to 962, **Shamsuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sha'h**, king of Bengal. He invades Jaunpúr, and marches on Kálpí.

962 Battle of Chhapparghattah, east of Kálpí, on the Jamuná, between 'Adlí and Muhammad Sháh of Bengal. Muhammad Sháh defeated and killed. The Bengal troops retire to Jhosí, on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite Iláhábád, where Khizr Khán, son of Muhammad Sháh, celebrates his *julús* and assumes the title of Bahádur Sháh.

962 to 968, **Bahá'dur Sha'h**, king of Bengal and North Bihár.

Nara Náráyan, Rájá of Koch Bihár.

Miyán Sulaimán Kararání still holds South Bihár.

[963 Accession of Akbar.]

964 Battle near Súra jgarh, west of Munger. 'Adlí defeated and killed by Bahádur Sháh, assisted by Sulaimán Kararání.

968 Bahádur Sháh dies. He is succeeded by his brother, who assumes the title of Jalál Sháh.

968 to 971, **Ghiya'suddi'n Abul Muzaffar Jala'l Sha'h**, king of Bengal.

Sulaimán Kararání still holds South Bihár.

971 Jalál Sháh of Bengal dies. He is succeeded by his son whose name is unknown. The son is killed, and the government is usurped by one Ghiyásuddín.

971 Sulaimán Khán of South Bihár sends his elder brother Táj Khán Kararání to Gaur. He kills the usurper Ghiyás, and establishes himself in Gaur.

971 to 972, Táj Khán Kararání, governor of Bengal on the part of his brother. Dies in 972.

971 to 980, **Sulaima'n Kha'n Karara'ni'** rules over Bengal and Bihár



under the title of *Hazrat i A'la*. He removed, after Táj Khán's death, the capital from Gaur to T á ṇ ḍ á. He acknowledges Akbar's suzerainty.

975 Sulaimán conquers Orísá. Mukund Deo, last king of Orísá, defeated and killed. Kálá Pahár takes Púrí.

980 Sulaimán dies.

980 Ba'yazi'd, son of Sulaimán, king of Bengal, Bihár, and Orísá. Báyzazid is murdered by Hánsú, his cousin.

980 to 984, Da'u'd Sha'h, second son of Sulaimán i Kararání, king of Bengal, Bihár, and Orísá. Khán Jahán Afghán appointed governor of Orísá. Qutlú Khán Lohání appointed governor of Púrí.

Bál Gosáín, Rájá of Kúch Bihár.

982 Akbar conquers Bihár. Dáúd Sháh flees to Orísá. 20th Zí Qa'dah (3rd March, 1575), battle of Tukaroí, or Mughulmárá, north of Jalesar (Jellalore) in Orísá. Dáúd defeated by Mun'im Khán Khánkhánán and Todar Mall. Peace of Kaṭak. Dáúd cedes Bengal and Bihár, and is acknowledged by Akbar king of Orísá.

983 Mun'im Khán at Gaur. He dies with the greater part of his army.

Husain Qulí Khánjahán, Akbar's governor of Bengal and Bihár.

Dáúd Sháh invades Bengal.

984, 15th Rabí' II, or 12th July, 1576. Dáúd Sháh defeated by Husain Qulí Khánjahán in the battle of A'gmahall (Rájmahall). Dáúd is captured and beheaded.

The Afgháns withdraw to Orísá.

As in the preceding period I shall take the kings singly, and make a few remarks on the chronology and coinage of their reigns.

## XXV. Fari'duddi'n Abul Muzaffar Sher Sha'h.

(944 to 952, H., or 1538 to 1545, A. D.)

Several of Sher Sháh's rupees, published by Marsden and Thomas, contain the new mint town of Sharífábád. As in the case of the mint-towns of Mahmúdábád, Fathábád, and others mentioned in this and former 'Contributions', Sharífábád may refer to the whole Sirkár, or to the royal camp in the Sirkár, and not to any particular town. There is in fact, as far as we know, no town of Sharífábád. Sher Sháh's Sharífábád refers in all probability to Bharkúndah or Western Birbhúm and the Santal Parganahs (*vide* J. A. S. B., 1873, Pt. I, p. 223).

Fort Rohtás, which plays so prominent a part in Sher Sháh's history, is not known, as Mr. Thomas states (Chronicles, p. 397, note) under the name of Shergarh. There is indeed, a small fort of the name of

Shergarh near Rohtás, about 18 miles N. W. of it; but the Shergarh of Sher Sháh's coinage stands for Kanauj.\*

Sher Khán's first governor of Bengal, Khizr Khán, gave no satisfaction. He married a daughter of the late Mahmúd Sháh (III) of Bengal, and affected regal pomp and independence. His successor, Qází Fazílat, was an A'grah man, and seems as "Amín of Bengal" to have kept the divisional officers in check; for they gave him the nickname of Qází Fazíhat, or 'Mr. Justice Turpitude'.

Sher Sháh† lies buried in Sahasráram in Bihár. A view of the tomb will be found in Buchanan (*apud* Martin), Vol. I. I hope in a short time to publish the inscriptions.

An incidental remark in the Persian Dictionary entitled *Bahár-i-'Ajam*, informs us that Sher Sháh wore his hair, *more gentis*, in curls. As the drying of the curls after the morning bath took some time, Sher Sháh transacted public business in the *ghusul-khánah*, the bath and dressing-room. The custom, with some modifications, was retained by the Chaghtái emperors, during whose reigns the morning and even the evening audience-rooms were called *ghusul-khánah*.‡

## XXVI. Jala'luddín Abul Muzaffar Islám Sha'h.

(952 to 960 H., or A. D. 1545 to 1553.)

The name of this king appears to have been frequently pronounced with the *imálah*, *i. e.*, Islém Sháh (اسلام شاه). Thus the name is often spelt by Badáoní, and occurs even in the Hindí orthography of Islám Sháh's coinage.§ It is this form which has given rise to the further corruption to Salém Sháh and Salím Sháh.

I have followed Mr. Thomas in referring Islám Sháh's death to the year 960, in spite of the almost unanimous assertion of the historians that he died a year later on 26th Zil Hajjah 961, or 21st November 1554.|| But Islám Sháh's coinage goes, in uninterrupted series, only as far as 960. Suppose Islám Sháh had died on 26th Zil Hajjah, 961. He was succeeded by his son Fírúz Sháh, who after three days—one source says after several months—was murdered by Mubáriz Khán 'Adlí, *i. e.*, on the 29th Zil Hajjah, so that 'Adlí could only have celebrated his *julús* in Muharram, 962. His

\* It lies close to ancient Kanauj. *Vide* Badáoní II, 94, l. 3.

† The pronunciation 'Shír Sháh' is Iranian, and therefore not applicable to India. I have elsewhere shewn that the Muhammadans of India follow the Túrání pronunciation of Persian. We may be quite sure that Sher Sháh pronounced his name 'shér,' and not 'shír'.

‡ *Vide* J. A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I, p. 66 note. This corresponds to our "levée".

§ इस्लेम. Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 412.

|| *Vide* Dowson IV, 505, and Badáoní.

coinage, however, gives 961;\* and further, 'Adli had reigned *for some time*, when Humáyún, in Zil Hajjah, 961, entered India, and people said that if Islám Sháh had been alive, he would have opposed the Mughuls.† Islám Sháh, therefore, must have died in 960; the day of the month (26th Zil Hajjah) is very likely correct.

Islám Sháh's coinage seems to bear witness to his superstitious character. The spirit of the age, and his remarkable escapes from assassinations, perhaps inclined the king to trust to amulets. Many of his coins have the 'Seal of Solomon' and mysterious numbers, which Mr. Thomas passes over in silence, though they puzzled Marsden. What the number 477 on his coins was intended to mean, is difficult to say; it may stand for the well-known *áyat-ullah*, 'God's sign', the letters of which when added give 477. I have no doubt that it resembles the famous numbers 66 (الله); 786 (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم); 2468 (بدوح), and others, which we find used in the heading of letters, on amulets, tombs, and even mosque-inscriptions.‡

Islám Sháh, too, lies, buried at Sahasráam.

## XXVII. Shamsuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sha'h (II).

(960 to 962 H., or A. D. 1553 to 1555.)

His real name is Muhammad Khán Súr. He seems to have been appointed governor of Bengal, in supersession of Qází Fazílat, soon after Islám Sháh's accession and to have acknowledged him as king of Bengal up to, or nearly up to, his death in 960. In 960, however, Muhammad Khán's son rebelled, as will be seen from the following curious inscription.

*The Jalál Sháh Inscription from a mosque near Sherpúr Murchah, dated 960 H., or A. D. 1553.*

A rubbing of this valuable inscription was received from Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., who found it "at a little mosque just to the north of Sherpúr, in Bagurá." It measures 16 inch. by 9 inch.; but to both sides of the inscription are two ornaments, the upper one forming a *mimbar*, with the Musulmán creed in it; and the lower one being a little square with the words *yá allah*, 'O God', in it. The little square is surrounded by the phrase *yá fattáh*, 'O Opener', four times repeated, the alifs of the four *yá's* forming the sides of the little square. The inscription is—

\* Marsden, PL. XXXVI, No. DCCXLVIII.

† Badáoní, I, 459.

‡ Vide J. A. S. B., 1871, Pt. I., p. 257.

Mr. Thomas ('Chronicles', p. 413, in Islám Sháh's coin No. 363) gives a wrong reading, which is repeated on p. 416, No. 366. For *alhámi-aldín-ildannán*, read *alhámi lidín-ildayyán*.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ..... (broken) ..... بني... السلطان  
ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر جلال شاه سلطان ابن محمد شاه غازي  
خلد الله ملكه باني خير ..... دعاخان ابن ... في شهر سنة ستون وتسع مئة //

The Prophet (God bless him!) said,..... [this mosque was built during the reign] of the king, the son of a king, Ghiyās uddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Jalāl Shāh, the king, son of Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī,—may God perpetuate his kingdom! The builder of this religious edifice is ..... during the year 960.

There is no doubt about the date, which is expressed both in words and in numbers.

History says nothing of Jalāl Khān's rebellion or the course it ran; all we know is that Jalāl Khān nine years later was acknowledged king of Bengal. The following passage from Badāonī (I, 430) is rather curious, because the name of Jalāl Shāh is transferred to the father, who on, or before, 'Adlī's accession refused allegiance, made himself king of Bengal under the name of Muḥammad Shāh, and even aspired to the throne of Dihlī.

In the meantime Hīmūn heard that Muḥammad Khān Sūr, the governor of Bengal, had made himself king under the title of Jalāluddīn, and had come with an army resembling swarms of locusts and ants, from Bengal to Jaunpūr, and was marching upon Kālpī and Agrah. \* \* \* And when Hīmūn in uninterrupted marches moved to 'Adlī, he found 'Adlī and Muḥammad Khān of Gaur near the Mauza' of Chhapparghaṭṭah, 15 kos from Kālpī, with the Jamunā between them, ready to fight each other. He of Gaur lay encamped with great pomp, much war material, with numerous horse, foot, and countless elephants, and quite confident as to 'Adlī's fate. But suddenly the scales turned: Hīmūn arrived like a shooting star, and without delay sent his choice elephants through the river, attacked the negligent Bengal army by night, and threw it into utter confusion and disorder. Most of Muḥammad Khān's Amīrs were killed, others escaped, and the helpless king of Gaur, evidently with his head in his sleeve, disappeared, and up to the present nothing is known about his fate.

As we have specimens of Muḥammad Shāh's coinage, we know that he did not call himself 'Jalāl Shāh'; but Badāonī may have heard of the rebellion of his son and confounded Jalāl Shāh with Muḥammad Shāh.

The village of Chhapparghaṭṭah (چھپرگھٹہ)—perhaps the most westerly point to which the Bengal arms ever advanced—lies east of Kālpī, on the left bank of the Jamunā, in Long. 79° 58', close to the confluence of the Sīngūr Nadī and the Jamunā. It belongs to Parganah Ghātampūr, Sirkār Korrá. Though prominently marked on maps X and XIII of Rennell's Atlas, it is not given on Sheet 69 of the 'Indian Atlas', the nearest place (if not the same) being Sultānpūr. A little further to the east, at the entrance of the Itāwah Terminal Ganges Canal into the Jamunā, lies the village of Fathābād, and nearer still to Chhapparghaṭṭah, the village of Fathpūr. Either may have been the actual site of the battle-field.\*

\* The straight distance of Chhapparghaṭṭah from Kālpī is only 11 miles. Fathpūr



Marsden gives a fine specimen of Muhammad Sháh's coinage, dated 962, which gives the full name of the king; but he makes the name of the mint town to be Arkát. I have no doubt that the correct reading is Sunárgáon.

### XXVIII. Baha'dur Sha'h (II).

(962 to 968 H., or A. D. 1555 to 1561.)

His full name is not known to me: the coins which I have seen, had their margin cut away. Badáoní (I, 433) calls him Muhammad Bahádúr. The period of his reign appears to be well ascertained; the historians give 962 to 968, and General Cunningham tells me that he has coins of 965, 967, and 968.

Parganahs Bahádurpúr and Bahádúr Sháhí in Sirkár Tándá, appear to be called after him. The Sirkár bears unmistakeable traces of financial changes made during the Afghán period; for, besides Bahádurpúr and Bahádursháhí, we have Sherpúr and Sher Sháhí, Sulaimánábád and Sulaimánsháhí, and Dáúdsháhí.

The most important event in Bahádúr Sháh's reign is his war with 'Adlí. Driven out of Ágrah, Itáwah, and Kálpí, and having lost his great general Hímún, 'Adlí retreated to Jaunpúr, Banáras, and Fort Chanár, and eventually to South Bihár, which since Islám Sháh's reign had been held by Miyán Sulaimán Kararánî. Bahádúr Sháh, who after the death of his father and the rout at Chhapparghattah, had retired to Jhosí, opposite Iláhábád, on the left bank of the Ganges, where he celebrated his *julús*, hastened to Gaur and defeated an officer of the name of Shahbáz Khán, who had declared for 'Adlí. Having firmly established himself in Bengal, he wisely left Miyán Sulaimán in possession of South Bihár, and thus found him a willing ally when he marched against 'Adlí, anxious to avenge the death of his father. The decisive battle, according to the *Tárikh i Dáúdí*, was fought "at the stream of Súra-jgarh, near Munger". The stream of Súra-jgarh is the Kiyol Nadi, and Súra-jgarh stands at the confluence of the Kiyol and the Ganges, 17 miles W. W. S. of Munger. About 4 miles west of Súra-jgarh and the Kiyol, we find on Sheet 112 of the Indian

is 15 miles. The *Tárikh i Dáúdí* (Dowson IV, 507) says that Chhapparghattah lies 11 kos from Kálpí. The *Tabaqát i Akbari* (Dowson V, 245) has 15 kos from Ágrah, which is impossible.

In Dowson V, 244, l. 20, for Sikandar Khán, ruler of Bengal, read Muhammad Khán Súr, ruler of Bengal; and for the village of Mandákar [Dowson, IV, 507, 'Marhákhhar'], read the village of Miṇḍákur, or Miṇṛákur. Miṇṛákur, the Mirha-koor of the maps, lies W. of Ágrah, towards Fathpúr Síkrí. It belonged to Sultán Salímah Begam (Bairam Khán's widow married by Akbar), who lies buried there in her garden. *Tuzuk*, p. 113.

Atlas the village of Fathpúr, which may be the site of the battle-field. 'Adlí, who had only a few men, was defeated and killed.

The battle was fought while Akbar besieged Mánkoṭ in the Siwálíks, *i. e.* in 964, and brought about the final surrender of that fort.\*

Bahádúr Sháh died in 968 at Gaur, and was succeeded by his brother Jalál Sháh.

The following inscription belongs to Bahádúr Sháh's reign—

*Inscription from the Jámí' Mosque at Rájmahall, dated 964, H., or A. D. 1557.*

A rubbing of this inscription was sent to the Society in 1873 by General Cunningham. Another copy was since then given me by Mr. W. Bourke, together with three other inscriptions from Rájmahall.† The inscription has nothing to do with the mosque, and appears to have been taken from the tomb of one Qází Ibráhím Khán, who was murdered by infidels when young. It is very illegible, and the letters are badly cut. Its length is 3 ft. 3 inch., and its breadth, 6½ inch.

قال الله تبارك وتعالى ولا تقولوا لمن يقتل في سبيل الله اموات بل احياء ولكن لا تشعرون \* وقال الله عز وجل ومن يهاجر في سبيل الله يجد في الارض مراعما كثيرا وسعة ومن يخرج من بيته مهاجرا الى الله ورسوله ثم يدركه الموت فقد وقع اجرة على الله \* .....  
..... (3 lines illegible) ... فهم از زبانهاء بلغا بتقرير آن عاجز و اقلام علماء دوران بتحرير شل قاضي عالمي المخصوص بمرتبت عاليه شان جليل البرهان سند علماء ابراهيم خان غازي بن امين الله .. كه در .....  
استقام بود و در عهد جواني اوان عديفوان مسلماني مقاتل كفار و دافع شروفساد سنة اربع و ستين و تسع مائة بتاريخ ٨ ماه سارن روز جمعه

\* There is no doubt about the date. The *Tárikh i Dáúdi* (Dowson IV, 508) places "Súrajgarh one kos, more or less, from Munger", and adds that 'Adlí was slain "after a reign of eight years in 968." Badáoní (I, 434) places the death of 'Adlí in 962. *Vide* also Dowson, V, p. 66.

† General Cunningham calls the mosque 'Jámí' Mosque'; Mr. Bourke, 'Asám Sáís kí Masjid.' The other rubbings which Mr. Bourke gave me, are (1) a beautiful rubbing from Mainá Bībí's tomb, at the Mainá Taláo, from a stone let into the wall at the west end. This inscription only contains pious formulæ; but its beautiful characters belong to the 14th century. (2) A rubbing from a mosque, south of the new cemetery in Rájmahall. The inscription is over the centre door, and belongs to the reign of Aurangzib. (3) A rubbing from a mosque in Mahatpúr, three miles east of Rájmahall, dated A. H. 1081 (Aurangzib's reign).

بوقت دو نیم پاس بتشریف شہادت و طریق ہدایت متشرف آمدند  
و بصحبت ملایان در رہبرئی مصطفوی اصل آن بارگاہ مطلوبیت ..

.....(1 or 2 lines broken).....

God who is blessed and great says [Qor. II, 149], 'Do not say that those who are killed on the way of God are dead: they live, but you do not know.' And God who is honored and glorious, says [Qor. IV, 101], 'He who fleeth on the path of God, will find on earth many (similarly) compelled and plenty of provisions. And he who leaves his house fleeing to God and His Prophet, and death overtake him, his reward becomes the duty of God.' ..... as to his understanding, the tongues of the eloquent are unfit to express it, and the pens of the learned of the age wither away in attempting a description, the exalted Qází, who exalted dignity is manifest, the illustrious witness, the proof of the learned, Ibráhím Khán Ghází, son of Amínullah, who was in ..... a teacher, who in the beginning of his youth and the beginning of his faith fought with the infidels and repelled mischief and rebellion, was admitted in 964, on the 8th day of Sáwan, a Friday, when two and a half watches had passed, to the honor of martyrdom and the road of guidance, and joined, through the society of the Mullás in the guidance of the Prophet, that throne of wishes.....

#### XXIX. Ghiya'suddi'n Abul Muzaffar Jala'l Sha'h.

(968 to 971 H.; A. D. 1561 to 1563.)

I take his full name from Mr. Westmacott's Sherpúr Inscription given above, as there is no doubt that he is the same prince. Of his coins, Mr. Thomas ('Chronicles,' p. 417) has published a fine specimen, on which he appears with the shortened name of Jaláldín.\* Mr. Thomas makes the mint-town to be Jájpur; I believe that the correct reading is Hájípúr (opposite Paṭnah). Already under Nuṣrat Sháh, Hájípúr had risen to importance as the seat of the Bengal governor of Bihár. The southern part of Bihár, with the town of Bihár as capital, was in the hands of the Afgháns. This state of things continued during the reigns of Islám Sháh and the Afghán dynasty of Gaur, South Bihár being in the hands of Miyáp Sulaimán i Kararánî. Some time after Akbar's conquest of Bihár, Hájípúr gradually sank in importance, and Paṭnah† became the seat of the Mughul (Chaghtái) government.

Jalál Sháh is said to have died in 971 at Gaur. For the events after his death, the murder of his son, and the short-lived government of the usurper Ghiyáṣuddín, we have no other source but the modern *Riyáz ussaláṭín*, the author of which has not mentioned the source of his information. He has, however, been occasionally found possessed of special and correct information, and we may follow Stewart in accepting his statement.

With Jalál Sháh and his son ended the Súr dynasty.

\* Just as 'Jamáldín' in the Sâtgaon inscription of 936, published by me in J. A. S. B., 1870, Pt. I, p. 298.

† Sher Sháh built the Fort of Paṭnah. In Todar Mall's rentroll, Paṭnah belongs to Sirkár Bihár.

**XXX. Hazrat i A'la Miya'n Sulaima'n.**

(972 to 980, H., or A. D. 1564 to 1572.)

The principal facts of the vigorous reign of Miyán Sulaimán are known from the *Tárikh i Dáúdí* (Dowson, IV, 509) and the *Akbarnámah*.

His piety made a certain impression on Akbar, and Badáoní states that he used to hold every morning a devotional meeting in company with one hundred and fifty Shaikhs and 'Ulamás, after which he used to transact state business.

His redoubtable general Rájú, better known as Kálá Pahár, is up to this time remembered by the people of Orísá.

According to the *Akbarnámah* and *Badáoní*, his death took place in 980. This must have been in the beginning of the year; for Dáúd's coinage commences likewise with 980. The *Riyáz* and Stewart have 981.

The following two inscriptions from the extreme ends of his dominions, Sunárgáoṇ and Bihár, are of value.

1.—*The Sulaimán Sháh Inscription of Sunárgáoṇ, dated 976 H., or A. D. 1569.*

General Cunningham took a rubbing of this inscription from a stone at the old Masjid near the Rikábí Bázár, Sunárgáoṇ. The stone measures 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., and consists of three lines. The characters are clumsy and indistinct.

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال النبي  
عليه السلام من بني مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله له سبعين قصورا في  
الجنة \* هذه المساجد مع ما من المقام في عهد سلطان الزمان حضرت  
اعلي ميان سليمان . . . . . المكرم المعظم المظفر الملك عبد الله ميان  
بن امين خان فقير ميان في التاريخ من شهر ذي القعدة سنة ست و  
سبعين و تسعمائة ا

God Almighty says, 'The mosques belong to God, worship no one else with him.' The Prophet, on whom be peace, says, 'He who builds a mosque in the world will have seventy castles built for him by God in paradise.' These mosques together with what there is of other buildings [were built] during the reign of the king of the age, his august Majesty,\* Miyán Sulaimán....[by] the generous, exalted, victorious Malik 'Abdullah Miyán, son of Amír Khán Faqír Miyán, during the month of Zil Qa'dah 976 [April, 1569].

2.—*The Sulaimán Sháh Inscription at Bihár, A. H. 977, or A. D. 1569-70.*

The following inscription is taken from above the door leading to the minor tomb of the shrine of Sharafuddín in the town of Bihár.

\* *Hazrat i A'la*. Sulaimán claimed this title; *vide* *Áin Translation*, Vol. I, p. 337, and Index. The *Tárikh i Dáúdí* also calls him *Miyán Sulaimán*.



در شرف جهان قطب اقطاب \* ..... قبله حاجات ارباب  
 برین در هر که آید نیک باید \* ز حق حاجت که خواهد نیک یابد  
 ادیم خلوتش سبز زمین است \* ازان رو خازن دنیا و دیس است  
 بعد شاه عادل مظهر نور \* که ظلم و کفر گشت از هیبتش دور  
 کجا اعلام عالی او بیفراخت \* شریعت مصطفی معمور می ساخت  
 سلیمان جهان ثانی سلیمان \* جمال او کمال از عدل و احسان  
 نه صد هفت و هفتادش فرزند بود \* نبوشت از .... خسو ابن داؤد

1. The door of honor of the world, and the pole of poles....., the cynosure of devotees;

2. He who comes to this door, will indeed obtain from God his desires; for he who wishes, finds.

3. The leather carpet of his retiring room is the green ground; and for this reason he is the treasurer of the world and the faith.

4. In the reign of the just king, in whom heavenly light is revealed, through whose terror oppression and heresy disappeared,

5. Wherever he raised his exalted standards, he established the law of Muçtafa,

6. Sulaimán, of the world, a second Sulaimán, whose beauty lies in the perfection of his justice and bounty.

7. When 900 had been exceeded by 77 years, Hassú, the son of Dáúd, wrote it.

At the side of this inscription, the poetry and prosody of which is as wretched as those of the Bihár inscriptions formerly published, stands the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorán.

### XXXI. Ba'yazid Sha'h (II).

(980 H., or A. D. 1572.)

Regarding the death of Sulaimán and the accession of Báyzid Sháh, Badáoní (II, 163) says—

“In this year (980) Sulaimán i Kararání, the ruler of Bengal, who styled himself *Hazrat i A'la*, died. He had conquered the town of Katak-Banáras, ‘the mine of unbelief’, and had made Jagannáth [Púr] a *dár-ul Islám*. He ruled from Kámrup to Orísá, and now went to God.

“His son Báyzid took his place; but after five or six months the Afgháns killed him, and his younger brother Dáúd seized on the kingdom.”

The *Sawánih i Akbari* has the following—

Sulaimán during his lifetime had constantly sent presents to the emperor Akbar, and had thus secured himself against an invasion. When he died, the Afgháns thought it proper to make his eldest son Báyzid his successor. He, in his youthful folly, read the *khuṭbah* in his own [not in Akbar's] name, and neglected all the forms of politeness which his father had always strictly observed. Even the chief nobles of his father were ill-treated by him, and commenced to hate him. Hánsú [هانسو] also, son of his uncle 'Imád [brother of Táji Khán and Sulaimán], who was his son-in-law, got offended with him, and was instigated to seize the kingdom, till at last he killed Báyzid.

But Lodí, who was 'the soul' of the kingdom, with the consent of the nobles, raised Dáúd, the younger son of Sulaimán, to the throne and killed Hánsú. But Gújar Khán raised in Bihár Báyzid's son to the throne, and Lodí went with a large army to seize on Bihár. On account of carelessness on the part of Mun'im Khán Khánkhánán, and by means of flattering promises, Lodí succeeded in bringing Gújar over to his views.\*

As Sulaimán died in 980, and Dáúd Sháh's coinage begins also in 980, Báyzid Sháh's short reign falls in the same year. No specimen of his coinage has hitherto been found.

### XXXII. .... Abul Muzaffar Da'u'd Sha'h.

(980 to 984 H.; A. D. 1573 to 1576.)

The facts of Dáúd Sháh's reign are well known from the histories of Akbar's reign. His full name appears on the margin of his coinage, of which specimens are numerous; but all rupees that I have seen, had the margin cut away.

His defeat on the 15th Rabí' II, 984 [12th July, 1576] elicited the curious *tárikh* (metre *Sarí'*†)—*ملك سليمان از داود رفت*

Solomon's kingdom slipped from David's hand.

With Dáúd Khán the Kararání dynasty came to an end. The Afgháns under the Lohánís subsequently fought with Akbar's officers, especially Mán Singh, in Orísá and South-Eastern Bengal, till they were finally overcome under 'Usmán Khán during Jahángír's reign in Eastern Bengal.‡

The frontiers of Bengal during the Afghán period became gradually narrower. Sunárgáoṇ is mentioned as the frontier under Sher Sháh and Sulaimán i Kararání. But this may have been more nominal than real. Chát-gáoṇ had already before Sher Sháh again fallen in the hands of the Arakanese. The Bhúyahs, *i. e.* zamindárs, of Bhaluah, Baklá, Chandradíp, Farídpúr, and the 24-Parganahs, were all but independent; and from Sunárgáoṇ over Dháká northward over Maimansingh extended the territory of Masnad i 'A'lí 'I'sá Khán, who in the Akbarnámah is called 'the chief of the Twelve Bhúyahs'. The Portuguese also became important.

In the north, the frontier receded likewise. The results of the conquest of Kámatá and Kámrúp by Husain Sháh vanished with the establishment of the great kingdom of Kúch Bihár, when the Karataya became again the frontier. The Muhammadan historians do not tell us much

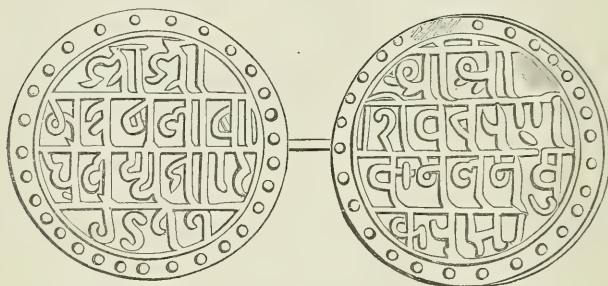
\* The remaining portion has been translated by Prof. Dowson in Elliot's *History of India*, VI, p. 39 ff.

† *Vide* my 'Prosody of the Persians', p. 59, l. 13. The second foot is *maf'ûlun*, and the *alif* in *az* cannot be left out.

‡ *Vide* Áin Translation, I, 520, 521. Prof. Dowson, IV, 513n., makes 'Usmán Khán Dáúd's younger brother. But they belong to different Afghán tribes.

regarding the rise of this kingdom. According to the *Akbarnámah*, the founder was Bísá, who must have lived in the very end of the second period of the Muhammadan history of Bengal, (*i. e.* about 944 H., or A. D. 1538), or fifty years\* before Abul Fazl wrote. His son Nara Náráyan is not mentioned; but his coins prove that he was the contemporary of 'Adlí. A specimen of his silver coinage was published in J. A. S. B., for 1856, p. 457, by Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, and bears the Sáká year 1477, or A. D. 1555. A short time ago, Capt. Williamson, Deputy Commissioner, Gáro Hills, presented the Society with the following unique silver coin, which is of the same year, but is much larger than the one published by Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, and differs in the legend of the reverse. It was picked up by a Gáro together with a Dáúdsháhí rupee.

*Silver Coin of NARA NA'RA'YANA of Kúch Bihár.* Large size. Weight, 157·49 grains. Sáká 1477 [A. D. 1555]. As. Socy., Bengal. Dotted margin.



OBVERSE—श्रीशिवचरणकमलमधुकरस्य

REVERSE—श्रीश्रीमन्नरारायणस्य शके १४७७ ॥

OBVERSE—(The coin) of the bee of the lotus of the foot of the twice illustrious Siva,

REVERSE—Of the twice illustrious Nara Náráyan. Sáká, 1477.

Nara Náráyan's son and successor was Bál Gosáin, whom the *Akbarnámah* calls Bísá's grandson. He was reigning in 986, or A. D. 1578. His brother Shukl Gosáin is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Ralph Fitch. Bál Gosáin's son is Lachmí Náráyan, who received Mán Singh in 1005 H., and was still reigning in 1027 (A. D. 1618).

\* *Vide* J. A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I, p. 52, l. 8 from below. It is quite possible that the rise of Kúch Bihár is connected with the fall of Gaur.

# JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. IV.—1875.

*Rough Notes on the Angami Nágas and their Language.*—By Captain  
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(With seven plates.)

## Introduction.

Of all the numerous tribes—Gáros, Khásias, Sintengs, Mikirs, Kacháris, Kúkís, Nágás, Singphús, and Khántis—inhabiting that vast tract of mountainous country which hems in Asám on the south, the largest numerically, as it is territorially, is the “Nágá”. Under this comprehensive term is included the whole group of cognate races, dwelling along that broad stretch of hill and upland, which, roughly speaking, is comprised between the Kopili River, on the west, and the Bori Dihing, on the east, and which lies between the parallels of 93° and 96° East Longitude. This tract extends northwards to the low hills bordering the alluvial plains of the Districts of Lakhimpúr, Síbságor, and Náogáon, and overlooks the broad waters of that noblest of all Indian Rivers, the sacred Brahmaputra. In a southerly direction, we are at present unable to state exactly to what limit it may extend. We may, however, safely say that it lies between the meridians of 25° and 27° North Latitude. Our late explorations have clearly ascertained, that the great Nágá race does undoubtedly cross over the main watershed dividing the waters which flow north into the Brahmaputra, from those flowing south into the Iráwadí; and they have also furnished very strong grounds for believing that in all probability it extends as far as the banks of the Kaiendwen (Námtonái or Ningthi) River, the great western tributary of the Iráwadí. Indeed there is room even to believe, that further explorations may, ere long, lead us to discover, that



the Kakhyen and Khyen (often pronounced Kachin and Chin) tribes, spoken of by former writers (Pemberton, Yule, Hannay, Bayfield, Griffiths, and others) are but offshoots of this one great race. Yule tells us that "the hills west of Kalé are occupied by the Khyens, a race extending southward throughout the long range of the Yúmá-doung to the latitude of "Prome", and that "Colonel Hannay *identifies* the Khyens with the Nágás of the Asám mountains." Again Dalton in his work on the Ethnology of Bengal tells us that "Karens are sometimes called Kakhyens", and that "Latham thinks that word for word Khyen is Karen", whilst Dr. Mason tells us "that it is a Burmese word signifying aboriginal". Finally we have Major Fryer informing us in his late interesting paper "On the Khyen people of the Sandoway District"\*, that the Khyengs have a tradition that they came down many years ago from the sources of the Kaiendwen River. It will thus be seen that the question regarding the identity of these tribes is at present a difficult one to decide, and I consider that its final solution can be satisfactorily undertaken only when we have completed the explorations upon which we have been so busily engaged for the last six years. We have already succeeded in completing the survey of about 8000 square miles of a country, about which we previously knew scarcely anything at all, a *terra incognita* in fact, the greater portion of which had been unseen by European eyes until visited by those enterprising pioneers, our survey officers, who armed with the Theodolite and Plane-table very soon cleared away the huge blots which had for so long been permitted to disfigure our N. E. Frontier Maps. Thus it is obvious that any theory propounded at the present stage of our knowledge must be more or less based upon conjecture, a dangerous field of controversy which I wish to avoid, especially as a few more seasons of such work as we have done of late, must clear up the mystery in which this question has so long been shrouded.

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## CHAPTER I.

### Geography and History.

Of all the tribes—and they are almost as numerous as the hills they inhabit—into which the Nágá group is divided, the most powerful and warlike, as it is also the most enterprising, intelligent, and civilized, so to say, is the "turbulent Angámi". This great division of the Nágá race occupies for the most part a charming country of fine, open, rolling hill and valley, bounded by lofty mountains, some of whose summits tower up to nine, ten, and even twelve thousand feet above the sea level. Their villages are generally placed on the more tabular hills of about 5000 feet elevation, and enjoy

\* Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, for 1875, Pt. I, p. 39.

a healthy, bracing climate, subject to neither extreme heat, nor cold. This noble tract of country is blessed with a most fertile soil, well cultivated, drained and manured, and the hill sides are often covered, I might almost say for miles, with a succession of fine terraces of rich rice; and the hill tops are dotted over, as far as the eye can reach, with numerous large villages, whose comparatively enormous population might even claim for them the right of being called towns. Thus Kohima for instance contains no less than 865 houses, or say a population of over 4000 souls.

The Angámis proper, or "Western Angámis", as they have also been aptly termed, in order to distinguish them from the Eastern clans, to whom they are closely allied, hold 46 villages, all lying to the west of the Sijjo or Doiáng River. Towards the north they extend up to the range of hills on which the Nidzúkhrú mountain forms a prominent landmark, and on the west to the low range of hills on which Samagúting, Sitekema, and Nidzúmá stand, whilst towards the south they are cut off from Manipur by the lofty Barráil, whose forest-clad heights make a splendid background to the lovely panorama in front. The 46 villages above-mentioned, contain a total of 6,367 houses, and cover a tract of about 30 miles in length, by about 20 in breadth, and are thus spread over an area of about 600 square miles. Now if we allow an average of 5 souls to each house, we here obtain a population of 31,835 souls, or roughly, in round numbers, say about 30,000 souls—figures which I believe a regular census would prove to be very near the mark indeed. And from these figures we may assume that we have here got a population of at least 50 to the square mile, which for a hill country, I need hardly add, is a very large average. This can be easily seen by a reference to the last Census Report of Bengal (1872), in which we find that even the Khásia Hills have only 23 souls to the square mile, the Chittagong Hill Tracts only 10, whilst Hill Tiparah comes last of all with only 9.

I may here explain that the total area of all "Nágá Land" *theoretically* under the political control of our Government is about 8,500 square miles, and I have roughly estimated the population in that area to be at least 300,000 souls.

It has been generally believed that the term "Nágá" is derived from the Bengali word "nángtá", or the Hindustani word "nangá", meaning "naked", and the specific name "Angámi" has also been credited with the same source. Another theory suggests the Kachári word "Nágá", a "young man" and hence a "warrior", whilst a third theory would derive it from "nág" a snake. However, be this as it may, the term is quite foreign to the people themselves: they have no generic term applicable to the whole race, but use specific names for each particular group of villages; thus the men of Mezoma, Khonomá, Kohima, Jotsoma, and their

allies call themselves *Tengimás*, whilst others if asked who they are would reply simply that they were men of such a village, and seem to be quite ignorant of any distinctive tribal name connecting them to any particular group of villages,—a strange fact, which I think is in a great measure accounted for by the state of constant war, and consequent isolation, in which they live. The *Kacháris*, I may add, speak of the *Nágás* generally as the *Magamsá*, and of the *Angámi Nágás* in particular as the *Dawánsá*.

I have long endeavoured to gain some satisfactory information regarding the origin of these interesting tribes, but I regret to say that this is a question upon which I have hitherto failed to throw much light. In my wanderings to and fro, I have observed that there seem to be two very distinct types running through these hills; the one a fine, stalwart, cheerful, bright, light coloured race, cultivating their, generally terraced, lands, with much skill, among whom I place the *Angámi* as *facile princeps*; the other a darker, dirtier, and more squat race, among whom the sulky *Lhotá* may be pointed to as a good representative; and I have not failed to notice signs that the latter are giving way to the former, wherever they happen to come in contact. A careful comparison of the several dialects which I have long been busy collecting, will, I fancy, be one of the best guides we can obtain for the proper classification of all these tribes, but that is a matter of time, and the compilation of a vocabulary with any pretension to correctness is far from being the easy task some imagine it to be.

The *Angámis* have a tradition that they originally came from the south-east, and a fabulous legend goes on to relate how “a long time ago” when the world was young, and gods, men, and beasts dwelt in peace, a god, a man, a woman, and a tiger lived together; how the woman died, and the tiger attempted to make a meal of her; how this led to the breaking up of this happy family, and the separation of these incongruous creatures. Afterwards a quarrel arose between two brothers, the sons of their great Chief, and they then both left the cradle of their race, each taking a different path, the one “blazed” his path by cutting marks on all the “*Chomhú*” trees, the other on all the “*Chémú*” trees. Now the former always remaining white and fresh for many days, and the latter turning black almost immediately, the greater following took the former path, which led them out into the plains of *Asám*, the latter and lesser number settled in the hills, and hence the numerical superiority of the “*Tephimás*” or “*Tephrimás*” (men of *Asám*). This is the outline of a very long disconnected narrative of their exodus, and it is not very flattering to be told that another equally wild legend ascribes the genesis of the “white faces” to a white dog and a woman, extraordinarily fair, who were floated off, amid

broad waters on a raft, well provisioned for a long voyage. These creatures are believed to have landed on some distant shore, and the result was a race of white men, who bred and multiplied until they overran the land, conquering all black races that attempted to oppose their onward progress. This tale does not at first sight appear to credit us with a very noble origin, but the fact is I believe that the "white dog" has been merely introduced as a sort of *Deus ex machina*, in order to account in some way for some of our, to them, most extraordinary powers.

I find it recorded in an old letter dated thirteen years ago, that "about 300 years since, the younger brother of the then reigning Rájá of Jaintiá, became enamoured of his niece (the Rájá's daughter) and forcibly seizing her fled with some followers from Jaintiá to Dímapur, then the residence of the Kachár Rájás. Here he remained for some time protected by the Kachár Rájá; but his brother having sent out a large force to capture him, he fled to the hills in the vicinity of Dímapur, now known to us as the Angámi Hills, and being accompanied by several Kacháris, as well as his own followers, permanently established himself there, and from this colony arose the now powerful tribe of the Angámi Nágás." This account is reported to have been received "from an intelligent hill Kachári", who is said to have further stated that full confirmation of these facts might be gleaned from some of the old Jaintiá records; and as a further argument to support his story, he is also said to have pointed to the fact that the Angámi women to this day adhere to the peculiar manner of wearing the cloth tied above each shoulder, adopted by the Jaintiá women alone of all the other tribes on this frontier. For my own part I have never succeeded in obtaining any confirmation of this strange story, and am hence sceptical of its truth. However, I have deemed it right to give it *quan. val.*, in the hope that some future investigator may possibly be able to pick up a clue to the story in fields where I have not had the opportunity of searching, namely amid the archives of Jaintiápur.

Our first actual acquaintance with the Angámis appears to have commenced as early as 1831-32, when Captains Jenkins, Pemberton, and Gordon were deputed to explore a route through their country, with a view to opening out direct communication between Asám and Manipur. On this occasion, although they were accompanied by a comparatively large force, amounting to no less than 700 muskets, they were opposed with a most determined resistance at every village they passed through, and so bitter was the opposition made, that in many instances the villagers set fire to their own villages, so as to destroy such provisions as they were unable to remove rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy. From the date of that eventful journey until 1867, that is to say, for a period of over forty years, the political history of our relations with this



tribe has been one long, sickening story of open insults and defiance, bold outrages, and cold-blooded murders on the one side, and long-suffering forbearance, forgiveness, concession, and unlooked-for favours on the other, varied now and again with tours innumerable, deputations and expeditions, the interesting details of which go far to make up one of the most important chapters of the yet unwritten history of a province, rich in such stores, but which it would be out of place, if not impossible, to allude to within the limits of this paper.

With regard, however, to the effect of punitive military expeditions when unaccompanied with, or followed by, other measures of a more lasting nature, such as the actual occupation of the country, whether it be to exercise absolute authority or mere political control, I may here briefly draw attention to the Nágá expedition of 1850, when a force of over 500 men, with 2 three-pounder guns and 2 mortars, and European Officers in proportion, was thrown into the Nágá Hills, to avenge a long series of raids, which had finally culminated in the murder of Bhog Chand, the native officer in command of our outpost at Samagúting. This Force entered the hills in November 1850, and although they very soon drove the Nágás out of their stockades, a portion of the Force remained in the hills until March 1851, when our Government, loath to increase its responsibilities, determined to abstain, entirely and unreservedly, from all further interference, with the affairs of the Nágás, and withdrew our troops. In the remaining nine months of that year no fewer than 22 raids were made on our frontier, in which 55 persons were killed, 10 wounded, and 113 were carried off into a captivity from which very few indeed ever returned. In 1853, the Government consented to the appointment of a European Officer to the charge of North Kachár. A station was taken up at Asálú, which was then formed into a separate subdivision, subordinate to Nágáon, and stringent orders were issued, forbidding any interference with the Hill Tribes: the Dhansirí was accepted as the extreme limit of our jurisdiction, and the Angámis were henceforth to be treated as altogether beyond our pale. These measures had the effect, as might easily have been anticipated, of simply temporising with the evils which they were meant to eradicate, and hence we can scarcely be surprised to find that raid followed raid, with a monotonous regularity, which all our frontier posts were completely helpless to prevent. Thus between the years 1852 and 1862 we hear of twenty-four such atrocities being committed within the vaunted line of our outposts, and some of them were accompanied with a tigerish brutality, so intensely fiendish, that it is almost incredible that such acts could have been perpetrated by human beings, savages though they were. In 1862, three distinct attacks were made upon our subjects within the short space of twenty-four days. In the first of these, at Borpothar, a Sepoy

was cut down in broad daylight, within a few paces of a Masonry Guard House, filled with an armed detachment of his companions. In the second, six out of seven elephant-hunters were cruelly massacred; and in the third, a village almost within hail, and certainly within sight, of the Guard House above-mentioned, was attacked and plundered at about 9 A. M., eight persons being killed on the spot, and two children carried off, one of whom the Nágás subsequently cut to pieces on their retreat, on finding themselves pursued. At this juncture, we find our local officers frankly declaring that our relations with the Nágás could not possibly be on a worse footing than they were then, and that the non-interference policy, which sounds so excellent in theory, had utterly failed in practice, and urging therefore that it was necessary to adopt more vigorous measures. Yet notwithstanding much correspondence that passed upon the subject, when all kinds of schemes, possible and impossible, were discussed and re-discussed, nothing more appears to have been done until 1865. In this year, a recurrence of fresh forays led the officer in charge of North Kachár to represent that the safety of his sub-division was in jeopardy, and it was then that the Government were at last moved into giving their consent to the deputation of an European officer who was to effect a permanent lodgment in the country; and Samagúting (or more properly Chimukedimá) was again occupied by us in December 1867. Since the date of this measure being carried into effect, our chief object here, namely, the protection of our lowland subjects, has been most completely attained, and I think I may safely say, that the prestige of our Government was never held in higher esteem by our turbulent highlanders than it is at the present moment. This result is due, in a great measure, to the invariable success, attending our numerous exploration expeditions during the last six years, and the complete collapse of every attempt that has been made to prevent our progress, or subvert our authority, during that time. Still, notwithstanding these very satisfactory results, I grieve to say that intestine feuds with all the horrors that accompany their progress are as rife now as ever they were, and it requires no great foresight to predict the possibility—I may even say the *probability*—of our sooner or later being compelled to take another stride in that inevitable march of progress, in that noble mission of peace, which seems to be our predestined lot wherever the Anglo-Saxon sets foot. Much, very much has already been done by our most just and patient Government, to induce these savages to amend their ways, to convert their “spears into ploughshares”, and to live in peace and harmony with all men. But it cannot of course be expected that the predatory habits, and head-taking customs of long generations of anarchy and bloodshed will be abandoned in a day, and we have hence got much earnest work before us, ere we can look forward to the completion of our task. The snake has been

scotched, not killed. And the further measures which it may yet be found necessary to take with regard to the management of the tribes inhabiting this frontier, form an anxious problem of the future into which it is needless my attempting to pry. We must simply watch the "signs of the times" and move with them, being content to know that a powerful Government is in the meanwhile ready to act as circumstances arise, and as the dictates of a true policy direct, confident that the wisdom with which so vast and heterogeneous a mass of nations has been governed elsewhere throughout the length and breadth of India, will also guide us safely through the shoals with which our administration is beset here, finally landing us in that safe haven, a well-governed peaceful country, to which we have every reason to look forward most hopefully.

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## CHAPTER II.

### Government, Religion, and Manners.

From what I have stated, it will doubtless have already been gathered that the Angámi have no regular settled form of government. With them might is right, and this is the only form of law—or rather the absence of all law—heretofore recognised among them. Every man follows the dictates of his own will, a form of the purest democracy which it is very difficult indeed to conceive as existing even for a single day; and yet that it does exist here, is an undeniable fact. In every village we find a number of headmen or chiefs, termed *Peúmás*, who generally manage to arbitrate between litigants. The Nágas being a simple race, their quarrels are generally of a description easily settled, especially as owing to the fearful effects following a feud once started, they are chary of drawing first blood, and yet at times the most petty quarrel develops into a most serious feud. The actual authority exercised by these *Peúmás*, who are men noted for their personal prowess in war, skill in diplomacy, powers of oratory, or wealth in cattle and land, is, however, all but nominal, and thus their orders are obeyed so far only, as they may happen to be in accord with the wishes of the community at large, and even then, the minority will not hold themselves bound in any way by the wishes or acts of the majority. The Nágá *Peúmá* is, in fact, simply *primus inter pares*, and often that only *pro tem*. The title, if such it may be called, is indeed really one of pure courtesy, and depends entirely upon the wealth, standing, and personal qualities of the individual himself. Theoretically, with the Angámi, every man is his own master, and avenges his own quarrel. Blood once shed can never be expiated, except by the death of the murderer, or some of his near relatives, and although years may pass away, vengeance will assuredly be taken some

day. One marked peculiarity in their intestine feuds is, that we very seldom find the whole of one village at war with the whole of another village, but almost invariably clan is pitted against clan. Thus I have often seen a village split up into two hostile camps, one clan at deadly feud with another, whilst a third lives between them in a state of neutrality, and at perfect peace with both.

On the subject of religion and a future state, the Angámi appears to have no definite ideas. Some have told me that they believe that if they have (according to *their* lights be it remembered) led good and worthy lives upon this earth, and abstained from all coarse food, and especially have abstained from eating flesh, after death their spirits would fly away into the realms above, and there become stars, but that otherwise their bodies would have to pass through seven stages of spirit-life, and eventually become transformed into bees; others again, on my questioning them, have replied with a puzzled and surprised air, as if they had never given the matter a thought before, that "after death we are buried in the earth and our bodies rot there, and there is an end; who knows more?" Still from the fact that they invariably bury the deceased's best clothes, his spear and *dáo*, together with much grain, liquor, and a fowl, with the body, I think we may safely infer, that they certainly have some vague idea of a life hereafter, the thought of which, however, does not trouble them much. It is at quitting the actual pleasure of living, which he has experienced, that a Nágá shudders, and not the problematical torments to be met in a hell hereafter, of which he knows nothing. And as to religion, such as it is, it may be put down as simply the result of that great characteristic, common to all savages, "fear". All his religious rites and ceremonies, his prayers, incantations, and sacrifices, are due to a trembling belief that he can thus avert some impending evil. But he is utterly unable to appreciate our feeling of awe, reverence, and affection towards an Omnipotent God. I have known a Chief, on the occasion of the death of his favourite son from an attack of fever contracted whilst out shooting Gúral\* in the neighbourhood of his village, don his full war-costume, rush out to the spot, and there commence yelling out his war-cry, hurling defiance at the deity who he supposed had struck down his son, bidding him come out and show himself, impiously cursing him for his cowardice in not disclosing himself. Intense superstition is of course only the natural corollary to this kind of belief in a god in every hill and valley, a devil in every grove and stream. Undertakings of any importance, such as the starting of a war-party, the commencing of a journey, the first sowing out, or gathering in, of the crops, &c., are never begun without the previous consultation of certain omens, by which they pretend to be able to foretell, whether a successful termination

\* A species of wild goat.



may be anticipated or not. Among the most common forms of consulting the oracle, one is that of cutting slices off a piece of stick and watching which side of these bits turn uppermost as they fall to the ground; another is, to lay hold of a fowl by the neck and throttle it, and if it dies with its right leg slightly crossed over its left, it is pronounced favourable to the accomplishment of the undertaking whatever it may happen to be. I have known of a large war-party turning back immediately, because a deer crossed their path,—a most unlucky omen. A tiger calling out in the jungles in front is a very lucky sign, whilst if heard in rear, it is just the contrary. In like manner there are several birds whose song if issuing from the left hand side is lucky, but if from the right the reverse.

They have several very curious ways of taking an oath. One of the commonest, as it is one of the most sacred, is for the two parties to lay hold of a dog or fowl, one by its head, the other by its tail, or feet, whilst the poor beast or bird is severed in two with one stroke of a *dáo*, emblematic of the perjurer's fate. Another is to lay hold of the barrel of a gun, or spear-head, or tooth of a tiger and solemnly declare, "If I do not faithfully perform this my promise, may I fall by this weapon" or animal, as the case may be; whilst a third, and one generally voluntarily offered after defeat, is to snatch up a handful of grass and earth, and after placing it on the head, to shove it into the mouth, chewing it and pretending to eat it, one of the most disagreeable and literal renderings of the metaphorical term "eating dirt" I have ever witnessed. A fourth is, to stand in the centre of a circle of rope, or cane, and there repeat a certain formula, to the effect that, if they break their vow, which they then repeat, they pray the gods may cause them to rot away as the rope rots, &c.

One among their many strange customs is that of "*kénnié*", corrupted by the Asamese into "*génná*," a description of *tabú* singularly similar to that in vogue among the savages inhabiting the Pacific Islands. This *tabú* is declared upon every conceivable occasion, thus at the birth of a child, or on the death of any individual, the house is *tabúed*, generally for the space of five days, and no one is allowed to go in or out except the people of the house. Again, any accidental death, or fire in the village, puts the whole village under the ban. In like manner before commencing either to sow or to reap, an universal *tabú* has to be undergone, and is accompanied by propitiatory offerings to their several deities, and no man dare commence work before. If their crops have been suffering from the attacks of wild animals, a "*kénnié*" is the remedy,—in fact there is no end to the reasons on which a "*kénnié*" must or may be declared, and as it consists of a general holiday when no work is done, this Angami sabbath appears to be rather a popular institution.

If a man has the misfortune to kill another by accident, he is com-

pelled to abandon home and retire into voluntary banishment to some neighbouring village for the space of three years.

They have a singularly expressive manner of emphasising messages. For instance, I remember a challenge being conveyed by means of a piece of charred wood, a chilli, and a bullet, tied together. This declaration of war was handed on from village to village until it reached the village for which it was intended, where it was no sooner read, than it was at once despatched to me by a special messenger, who in turn brought with him a spear, a cloth, a fowl, and some eggs, the latter articles signifying their subordination and friendship to me at whose hands they now begged for protection. It is perhaps scarcely necessary for me to explain that the piece of burnt wood signified the nature of the punishment threatened (*i. e.* the village consigned to flames), the bullet descriptive of the kind of weapon with which the foe was coming armed, and the chilli the smarting, stinging, and generally painful nature of the punishment about to be inflicted. And only the other day a piece of wood, with a twisted bark collar at one end and a rope at the other, used for tying up dogs with on the line of march, was brought in to me with another prayer for protection. The explanation in this case is of course obvious, namely, that a dog's treatment was in store for the unfortunate recipients of this truculent message. Two sticks cross-wise, or a fresh cut bough, or a handful of grass across a path, declares it to be closed. But of such signs and emblems the number is legion, and I therefore need only remark that it is curious to observe how the "green bough" is here, too, as almost every where, an emblem of peace.

The Angámis invariably build their villages on the very summits of high tabular hills, or saddle-back spurs, running off from the main ranges, and owing to the almost constant state of war existing, most of them are very strongly fortified. Stiff stockades, deep ditches bristling with panjies, and massive stone walls, often loop-holed for musketry, are their usual defences. In war-time, the hill sides and approaches are escarped and thickly studded over with panjies. These panjies, I may here explain, are sharp-pointed bamboo skewers or stakes, varying from six inches to three and four feet in length, some of them as thin as a pencil, others as thick round as a good-sized cane, and although very insignificant things to look at, they give a nasty and most painful wound, often causing complete lameness in a few hours. Deep pit-falls and small holes covered over with a light layer of earth and leaves, concealing the panjies within, are also skilfully placed along the paths by which an enemy is expected to approach, and a tumble into one of the former is not a thing to be despised, as I have had good reason to know. The approaches to the villages are often up through tortuous, narrow, covered ways, or lanes, with high banks on either side,

lined with an overhanging tangled mass of prickly creepers and brushwood, sometimes through a steep ravine and along the bed of an old torrent, in either case admitting of the passage of only one man at a time. These paths lead up to gates, or rather door-ways, closed by strong, thick and heavy wooden doors, hewn out of one piece of solid wood. The doors are fastened from the inside and admit of being easily barricaded, and thus rendered impregnable against all attack. These doors again are often overlooked and protected by raised look-outs, on which, whenever the clan is at feud, a careful watch is kept up night and day; not unfrequently the only approach to one of these outer gates is up a notched pole from fifteen to twenty feet high. The several clans, of which there are from two to eight in every village, are frequently divided off by deep lanes and stone walls, and whenever an attack is imminent, the several roads leading up to the village are studded over with stout pegs, driven deep into the ground, which very effectually prevents anything like a rush. On the higher ranges, the roads connecting the several villages, as well as the paths leading down to their cultivation are made with considerable skill, the more precipitous hills being turned with easy gradients, instead of the road being taken up one side of the hill and down the other as is usually the case among hill-men.

Their houses are built with a ground-floor, the slopes of the hills being dug down to a rough level, no mat covers the bare ground. They are generally placed in irregular lines, facing inwards, and are constructed after a pattern I have never seen anywhere except in these hills. These houses have high gable ends whose eaves almost touch the ground on either side, this I believe to be a precaution against high winds. The gable in front, which, in the case of men of wealth or position, is often decorated with broad, handsome weather boards, is from 15 to 30 feet high, and the roof slopes off in rear, as well as towards the sides, the gable at the back being only about from 10 to 15 feet in height. In width the houses vary from about 20 to 40 feet, and in length from about 30 to 60 feet. In many of the villages each house is surrounded by a stone wall, marking off the "compound" so to say, wherein the cattle are tethered for the night. Half the space under the front gable, is often walled in with boards as a loose stall, and bamboo baskets are tied up under the eaves of the house to give shelter to their poultry. Pig-styes also, in the corner of a compound, are not uncommon. The house itself is divided off into from two to three compartments according to the wealth or taste of its owner. In the front room, the grain is stored away in huge baskets made of bamboo from 5 to 10 feet high and about 5 feet in diameter. In the inner room, there is a large open fire-place, and around it are placed thick, broad planks, for sitting and sleeping upon, and the back room of all generally



contains the liquor tub, the most important piece of furniture in the house in the Nágá's estimation. In this they brew their "dzú", a kind of fermented beer, made of rice and other ingredients, composed of herbs found wild in the jungle. This liquor is the Angámi Nágá's greatest solace, for strange to say never indulging in either opium, or tobacco (as many of his neighbours do), he may be seen sipping this "dzú", either through a reed (after the manner of a sherry cobler), or with a wooden or bamboo spoon out of bamboo or mithan horn drinking cups, from morn to night.

Close to their villages, on either side of the road, as well as within, sometimes not a couple of yards from their houses, they bury their dead, raising over them large mounds, square, round, and oblong in shape, the sides being built up with large stones; sometimes an upright stone, or an effigy cleverly carved in wood, is added. In the latter case this grotesque caricature of the "human form divine" lying below, is decked out in a complete suit of all the clothes and ornaments worn by the deceased including a set of imitation weapons, the originals being always deposited in the grave with the body. In one instance I remember coming across a grave by the road side several miles away from any village, and on enquiry, learning, that it had been purposely placed there, exactly half way between the village in which the deceased had been born, and that in which he had died, and had passed the latter portion of his life. This was done, I was told, so as to enable his spirit to revisit either.

Huge monoliths, or large upright stones, which have been the subject of so much remark elsewhere, and which are to be met with all over the world, exist here too, and are not only to be found as remains of the past, but their erection may be witnessed almost any day at the present time. These monuments are erected, either singly, or in rows, and are meant to perpetuate the memory, sometimes of the dead, when they are in fact nothing more nor less than simply tombstones, sometimes of the living, in which case we may look upon them much in the light of statues. Thus I remember being considerably astonished some three years ago when the villagers of Sákhaboma were pleased to raise such a monument to my humble self, a great compliment which was repeated last year by another village east of the Sijjo. These stones, which are often very large, and have sometimes to be brought from long distances, are dragged up in a kind of sledge, formed out of a forked tree on which the stone is levered, and then carefully lashed with canes and creepers, and to this the men, sometimes to the number of several hundreds, attach themselves in a long line and by means of putting rollers underneath they pull it along, until it has been brought up to the spot where it has been previously decided finally to erect it. Here a small hole is then dug to receive the lower end of the stone, and the sledge being tilted up on end, the lashings are cut adrift, and the



stone slides into position ; some leaves are then placed on the top and some liquor poured over it. This done, a general feast follows, and the ceremony is complete.

The average Angámi is a fine, hardy, athletic fellow, brave and war-like, and, among themselves, as a rule, most truthful and honest. On the other hand, he is blood-thirsty, treacherous, and revengeful to an almost incredible degree. This, however, can scarcely be wondered at when we recall what I have already related regarding revenge being considered a most holy act, which they have been taught from childhood ever to revere as one of their most sacred duties. The "blood-feud" of the Nágá is what the "vendetta" of the Corsican was, a thing to be handed down from generation to generation, an everlasting and most baneful heir-loom, involving in its relentless course the brutal murders of helpless old men and women, innocent young girls and children, until, as often happens, mere petty family quarrels, generally about land or water, being taken up by their respective clansmen, break out into bitter civil wars which devastate whole villages. This is no "word-painting" on my part, for I am here speaking of actual facts and a most deplorable state of affairs which seems to have existed from time immemorial, and is to be seen in full force up to the present day, a terrible check not only to the increase of population, but also a fatal barrier to all moral progress. I must confess it is not a little disheartening to think how long and how arduously we have striven, and yet how little we have done towards improving, civilizing, and weaning from their accursed thirst for blood, this otherwise noble race. But it is simply the old, old story, precept and example, the only means we have heretofore employed, worthy tools though they be, are perfectly powerless before the traditions of untold ages of anarchy and warfare. Thus we even find Nágás, who have acted for years as Dobháshas (Interpreters) at Samagúting, others as Policemen in Naugáon, some as Sepoys in Dibrúgarh, and not a few who have been educated under the parental care of kind missionaries, and have spent several years in the plains, where they have been taught to read and write, and have doubtless had very carefully inculcated into them the lessons of virtue and peace taught by our Christian religion, returning to their native hills not, as we should at first suppose, to render us any assistance in our good work here of endeavouring to secure peace, but rather on the contrary to indulge again and take part in all the scenes of rapine and cruelty going on around them, until at last it is difficult to say whether their evidently superficial, skin-deep education has not rather tended to enable them to out-Herod Herod in their wily plots of deep-laid treachery, or as they would call it "skilful strategy"; scratch the Dobhásha and you will find the Nágá.

In height, the Angámi as a rule is somewhat taller than the average

of hill races, and is generally well proportioned, especially as regards his legs, the large muscles of the thigh and calf being remarkably well developed. His complexion is comparatively fair, though among them, as among almost all the Indo-Chinese races, we meet with various shades of brown, from the almost ruddy and light olive to the red-Indian and dark brown types. I do not, however, ever remember seeing a black Nágá, I mean a black such as is common in Bengal, except in one instance, and then further enquiry elicited the fact that he was not a pure Nágá at all, but the son of an Asamese captive who became naturalized, and was afterwards allowed to take unto himself a daughter of the land (of his involuntary adoption). In feature also there is great variety, but high cheek bones predominate. The men of the upper ranges are really often almost handsome, and some of the women might almost be called pretty. But as regards the latter, hard work and exposure, coupled with the trials of early maternity, soon tell a tale, and I have been quite surprised and grieved to see how soon they age. In little more than six years I have seen mere children develope into comely lasses, and these latter again into sturdy matrons, whilst I have watched wives and mothers, whose youthful looks at first surprised me, change suddenly into wrinkled old women with scarcely a trace of their former good looks about them. I confess, however, that beauty of form is not the rule in these hills. Whether it is that the more or less lavish display of such charms as they possess, enables us the better to exercise a discriminating judgment upon the beauty, or want of beauty, their forms display, I cannot pretend to say, but this much I do know, that here we may seek, and seek in vain, for any of the soft contours and lovely outlines which give shape to the persons of the women of other races. At the same time I must add that I have not failed to notice that *hill women* all over India, from the fair dwellers in Kashmír to their dark sisters inhabiting the uplands of Bengal, all fall off in this particular, and are very rarely indeed, if ever, able to boast of a good figure.

As with the men, so with the women, I think they are certainly taller than the average of other hill-women, and their features more regular. They are chaste, faithful, merry, and—unlike their brothers—never to be seen idle. Their duty it is to fetch the wood, draw the water, cook the food, and brew the liquor, besides working in the fields and weaving cloths at home. It will be observed that among the characteristics of the women I have placed chastity, and it may be as well perhaps for me to explain that by this term I do not for a moment mean to say that they are exactly chaste according to our ideas, but simply that they are true to, and act up to, their own principles with regard to that virtue. The relationship between the sexes, and the exact footing on which it should stand, is, and ever has been, one of the world's most difficult problems, and the most

civilized and advanced among nations (whether ancient or modern, Christian or heathen) have found how difficult is the task of sailing between the Scylla of a Puritanical strictness which would keep the sexes almost wholly apart, and the Charybdis of a laxity to which it is difficult to put bounds. Here we have got a primitive state of society which, although it would not for a moment recognize, or even allow to exist, that plague euphemistically termed a "social evil", and although it punishes any serious breach of the marriage contract with death itself, yet never dreams of conceiving it possible that perfect continence on the part of the unmarried (or free portion of society) is to be either demanded or even desired. It may be asked, What are the consequences? I reply—Prostitution is a thing unknown here, and all the foul diseases that follow in its train, are evils to which Nágá flesh has not been born an heir. Here no Nágá Lais plies her shameful trade. A Nágá woman would scorn to barter for her person. And woe betide the mercenary lover who seeks to gain his end by other ways than those of love. Young men and maidens mix together with almost all the freedom allowed by nature's law. Incontinence on the part of the married however is rare, and an unfaithful wife is a thing almost unheard of, but then the penalty is *death*. Marriage and divorce are among the simplest of their rites, and sad to say, often follow each other within the year without comment or surprise. "Incompatibility of temper" is here quite sufficient for either the man or woman to demand a divorce, and to take it. Although strictly monogamous, both sexes can marry and remarry as often as they please. Such offspring as require the maternal aid follow the mother, and are tended and cared for by her until able to look after themselves, when they return to the father. Men may not only marry their deceased wives' sisters, but they may likewise marry their brothers' widows. On the other hand, it is altogether forbidden for cousins to intermarry. Parents may advise, but never attempt positively to control, the choice of their sons and daughters. Marriage is usually solemnized by a large feast, and the bridegroom, when he can afford it, makes a present to the bride's parents. Divorce necessitates a division of all property held in common, such as grain, household furniture, &c., and all property derived since the two became man and wife. In any division thus made, the late wife or divorcée gets one-third, whilst the man takes the remainder, and the woman then either returns to her own parents, or lives apart in a separate house until she marries again.

On the death of the father all property, excepting the house, is divided equally among all the sons alone, the youngest always receiving the house in addition to his share of the whole. Neither the widow nor daughters have any claim to aught except their clothes and ornaments, but they are generally supported by the sons until death or marriage.

The only national, offensive weapons, used by the Angámi, are the spear



and *dáo*, but of late years they have managed to become the proud possessors of a considerable quantity of fire-arms, to obtain which is just now one of the keenest desires they have; in fact, an Angámi will give almost anything he has for a gun, and if he cannot get it by fair means, will run almost any risk to get it by foul. In several cases of gun thefts, some of which have been accompanied by murder, they have certainly proved themselves wonderfully bold and dexterous. The spear is generally a very handsome one, and at close quarters, or when thrown from an ambuscade, is a formidable weapon, well calculated to inflict a most dangerous wound. At anything over thirty yards, however, it is but of little use, and is not very difficult to dodge even at two-thirds of that distance. The spear-head is of iron, varying from 18 inches to 2 feet in length, and from 2 to 3 inches in breadth. Its shaft is generally from 4 to 5 feet in length, and is usually very picturesquely ornamented with scarlet goat's hair, here and there intermingled with a peculiar pattern of black and white hair; sometimes, though rarely, the whole shaft is beautifully worked over with scarlet and yellow cane, and it is always tipped at the bottom with an iron spike of from three inches to over a foot in length, used for sticking it into the ground. A Nágá would never dream of leaving his spear against a wall. It must be always kept in a perpendicular position, either by being stuck upright into the ground or by being suspended against one of the walls of the house, so as to keep it perfectly straight. On the war-path every Angámi carries two of these spears. The *dáo* is a broad-headed kind of hand-bill, with a heavy blade about 18 inches in length and only edged on one side. This *dáo* is invariably worn at the back of the waist in a rough sort of half scabbard made of wood. The only article of defence they possess is a large shield from 5 to 6 feet high, 2 feet broad at the top and tapering down to about a foot in breadth at the bottom. This shield is made of bamboo-matting, and is covered with either the skin of some wild animal (elephant, tiger, leopard, and bear being among the most common), or a piece of cloth, generally scarlet. In the latter case, or even without the cloth, it is decorated with pieces of skin cut so as to represent human heads, and tufts of scarlet goat's hair, whilst on the inside is attached a board, so as to make it spear-proof. From each corner of the upper end of the shield spring two cane horns from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 feet in length, decorated with the long flowing tresses of human hair taken in war—probably the locks of some unfortunate woman butchered at the water hole—intermingled with goat's hair dyed scarlet; and from the centre rises a plume about 3 feet long of scarlet goat's hair, tipped at the top for about 4 inches in depth with white goat's hair, and along the top edge runs a fringe of white, downy feathers. Along the inner edge, a string of lappets, made of feathers of various



hues, white, black, blue, and scarlet, wave to and fro most gracefully, at every motion of the shield. Besides the spear, *dáo*, and shield, I must not omit to mention that, when proceeding out on a forray, they invariably take with them several bundles of “panjies”, with which they rapidly cover the path on retreat, so as to disable and retard any party that may start in pursuit.

The only implements of husbandry they use, are the *dáo* described above; an axe common to almost all the tribes on this frontier, notable for its small size; and a light hoe, especially remarkable for its extraordinarily crooked handle, which necessitates a very bent position, in order to use it. The handle of this hoe is only about from 18 inches to 2 feet in length, and the iron tip from 6 inches to a foot in length. With these very simple articles they do all their tillage, both in their terrace cultivation and in their ‘*jhúms*’. The soil of the terraced lands is extremely good; and from being kept well manured and irrigated, by means of artificial channels, along which the water is often brought from very long distances by means of aqueducts, ingeniously constructed of hollowed out trees, and sometimes bridging deep ravines, it yields a very large return. The rice for the terrace cultivation is generally sown in March, transplanted in June, and reaped in October. The rice in the *jhúms*—a system which, it is perhaps needless for me to explain, entails fresh land being taken up every three or four years—is generally sown broad cast in April and harvested in August. Besides rice, of which there are several sorts, the Nágás grow a kind of coarse *dál* or field-pea, Indian-corn, and several varieties of small grains, such as that which the Asamese call “*koni-dhán*”, not to mention various kinds of yams, chillies, ginger, garlic, pumpkins, and other vegetables, as well as cotton, which latter, however, is restricted to the lower ranges and low valleys.

With regard to domestic animals, the Angámi breeds cows (of a far superior kind to those met with in Asám), pigs, goats, dogs, and fowls, both for the purpose of food as well as for sale and barter. Roast dog is considered a great delicacy, and is supposed to be a particularly good diet for certain diseases. As may be easily understood, they are not nice feeders, and I believe there is really scarcely any single thing that walks, crawls, flies, or swims, that comes amiss to their voracious stomachs, and I have often been astounded to see the filthy carrion they can devour, not only with impunity, but with evident relish. And yet strange to say, good fresh milk is entirely repugnant to them, and they pretend that its very smell is enough to make them sick.

Finally, as regards the dress of the Angámi, I do not think that we can easily find a more picturesque costume anywhere than that of the men, but it requires to be seen to be understood, and I am afraid no amount of description can adequately represent the vivid colours, and general get-

up of a well-dressed Angámi warrior, flashing about in all his gala war-paint, as he goes bounding along, making the hills re-echo again and again with his peculiar cry, which when taken up by several hundred voices has a most extraordinarily thrilling effect, sometimes going off into deep bass-tones that would do credit to any organ accompaniment, at others running into strangely fiendish, jackal-like yells.

The Angámi's chief article of attire, and one which distinguishes him from most other Nágás, is a kilt of dark blue or black cotton cloth of home manufacture, varying from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length, according to the size of the man, and about 18 inches in width, decorated with three, and sometimes, though very rarely, with four, horizontal rows of small white cowrie-shells. This kilt passes round the hips and overlaps in front, the edge of the upper flap is ornamented with a narrow fringe, whilst the under-flap having a string attached to its lower corner is pulled up tightly between the legs, and the string, which generally has a small cowrie attached to the end of it, is then either allowed to hang loosely a few inches below the waist belt, or is tucked in at the side, and thus the most perfect decency is maintained, forming a pleasing contrast to some of their neighbours "who walk the tangled jungle in mankind's primeval pride". I do not think that any dress that I have ever seen, tends so much to show off to the very best advantage all the points of a really fine man, or so ruthlessly to expose all the weak points of a more weedy specimen as this simple cowrie-begirt kilt. Thrown over the shoulders are generally, loosely worn, from two to three cotton or bark, home-spun cloths, according to the state of the weather. Some of these cloths are of an extremely pretty pattern, as for instance the very common one of a dark blue ground, with a double border of broad scarlet and yellow stripes on two sides, and fringed at both ends. When out on the war-trail, or got up for a dance, these cloths are worn crossed over the breast and back, and tied in a knot at the shoulder.

I may here note that, like our own Scotch Highlanders, every Nágá tribe uses a peculiar pattern of cloth, and thus any individual can at once be easily identified by his tartan.

The Angámis cut their hair short in front, and either brush it off the forehead, leaving it parted in the middle, or let it hang down straight, coming to about an inch above the eyebrow, after the manner of Cromwell's Round Heads. The hair on the top and back of the head is left long, and is tied into a peculiar knot, very like the chignons worn by our ladies in England a few years ago. Round this knot rolls of snow white cotton are bound, and on high-days and holidays into the base of this top knot they insert plumes of feathers according to the taste of the wearer. The favourite feather assumed by the warrior is the tail feather—white with a

single broad bar of black at the top—of one of the numerous kinds of Toucans, or Horn Bills, that inhabit the dense forests of the Barrail mountains. So much are these tail feathers sought after on this account, that a single feather will fetch as much as from 4 to 8 annas. Some again wear a wreath or coronet of bear's hair round the head, whilst others frizzle out their own natural hair à *l'Impératrice*. In their ears they wear several kinds of ornaments, but among the handsomest is the one formed of a boar's tusk behind the lobe of the ear fixing on, and forming the sheath to, the stem of a peculiar button-like rosette worn in front of the ear. This rosette is about an inch and a half in diameter; in the centre are two emerald green beetle's wings (from the *Buprestis sternicornis*), round which are a circle of long shiny, white seeds, and on the outside of this again an encircling fringe of scarlet hair, whilst from the lower portion flows down a long scarlet streamer of goat's hair. The tusk is generally ornamented round the base with very pretty red and yellow cane-work. Another extremely becoming ear ornament is made from the blue feathers of the jay. Brass earrings are also very common; but the most curious ear ornaments of all perhaps are the huge bunches of white cotton, sometimes as big as a man's fist, which some of the Nágas wear, giving a most queer monkey-like look to an otherwise not bad looking countenance. Strings of various coloured beads made of stone, shell, and glass, decorate their throats, the blood-red cornelian of a long hexagonal shape, and a peculiar yellow stone being among the most valued. Behind and on the nape of the neck is invariably worn the white conch shell, cut and shaped so as to fit properly, and suspended by a thick collar of dark blue cotton threads. A few also wear a queer barbaric-looking collar or scarf—for I have seen it worn both ways,—made of long locks of human hair intermingled with tufts of scarlet goat's hair and dotted all round with cowrie shells, from the bottom of which is suspended an oblong piece of wood, about 6 inches in length and about 4 inches in breadth, covered with alternate rows either of cowries, or the long, shiny, white seeds already referred to as used in the ear ornament, and black and red hair, and having a broad fringe of scarlet hair all round it.

Each arm is decorated either with a broad ring of ivory, being simply a slice about 2 inches wide cut off an elephant's tusk, or with very pretty looking bracelets about 3 inches wide, made of yellow and red cane, which are sometimes embellished with cowries and hair. All these armlets are invariably worn above the elbow.

On the legs just below the knee, they wear a number of bands of very finely cut cane dyed black, whilst a few wear leggings made of very fine red and yellow cane-work, extending from below the knee to above the ankle. These are usually worked on to the leg, and are left there until they wear out, which happens I am told in about three months.

It is strange to note how fond all nations, whether civilized or savage, are of bestowing some outward sign whereby all men may at once distinguish the man of deeds from the common herd, and thus we here find that the Angámi equivalent for a V. C., or "reward of valour", is a Toucan's tail feather and hair collar, whilst the substitute for a medal, showing that the wearer has been in action, or at all events that he has formed part of an expedition, is cowrie shells on his kilt.

The dress of the women, though neat, decent, and picturesque in its way, is not nearly so showy as that of the men, and forms another noticeable instance of the female withdrawing from the contest wherever she finds the male a rival in the same field of indulgence in, and love of, personal decoration. The most important perhaps, though least seen, portion of a woman's dress is of course the petticoat, which is usually a piece of dark blue home-spun cotton cloth, about 2 feet in breadth, which passing round the hips overlaps about 6 inches. This is partially, if not entirely, covered by the folds of the next most important article of clothing, a broad cotton cloth, whose opposite corners are taken up and made to cross over the back and chest, thus covering the bosoms, and are tied in a knot over the shoulders. Finally, a second cloth is worn, either thrown loosely over the shoulders, or wrapped round the hips and tucked in at the waist. In the cold weather, they generally add an extra cloth, whilst in the warm weather, or when employed in any kind of hard work, such as tilling their fields, &c., they generally dispense with both these, and drop the corners of the other, or in other words simply strip to the waist.

Round their throats they love to load themselves with a mass of necklaces of all kinds, glass, cornelian, shell, seeds, and stone. In their ears the young girls wear a peculiar pendant formed of a circular bit of white shell, whilst the matrons generally dispense with earrings altogether. On their wrists above their elbows they wear thick heavy bracelets, or armlets, of brass, and a metal that looks like pewter. The young girls until they marry shave their heads completely, a very queer, ugly custom for which I have never succeeded in getting any adequate reason, nor can I suggest one. The married women braid or loop up their hair very much after the manner of the Irish peasantry, often adding a few foreign locks to make up for any deficiency. Brides are generally to be recognized at a glance, from their hair being allowed to fall in waving masses round the head, not being long enough to be tied up.

The accompanying admirable illustrations by Lieut. R. G. Woodthorpe, R. E., my able colleague and invaluable companion in the two last exploration expeditions into the Nágá Hills, will I trust enable my readers fully



to appreciate the leading features of some of the most interesting races that inhabit this frontier.

Plate XIX represents an Angámi Nágá of Chédémá in his war-dress, with loins girt up, and carrying two spears, ready for action.

Plate XX is an Angámi woman from Khonomá.

Plate XXI, Fig. 1 is a young unmarried lass from Jotsomá, weaving in front of her father's house.

Fig. 2 is the sledge used by the Angámis for dragging up heavy monumental stones.

Fig. 3 is the sketch of a well-to-do Angámi Nágá's house in Rezámi.

Fig. 4 are two heads (man and woman) of individuals from Themijumá (Eastern Angámis).

Fig. 5 is the sketch of an effigy over an Angámi warrior's grave at Kohima.

Fig. 6 represents the Eastern Angámi dáo.

Fig. 7 is the white shell ornament for the nape of the neck.

Fig. 8 is the Angámi ear ornament, mentioned above.

Plate XXII is the likeness of Soibang, the Chief of Bormúton (or Chopnú).

Plate XXIII is the likeness of Phemi, the wife of the Chief shown in the previous illustration.

Plate XXIV is a Hattigoriá Nágá, and

Plate XXV is Assiringia, a woman of the same race.

I may here observe that several figures have been here introduced merely for purposes of comparison and illustrate Tribes to which my notes here do not refer to at all ; I hope, however, should this paper prove of any interest, that hereafter I may be enabled gradually to furnish notes on these races also.

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Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

ANGAMI NAGA of CHEDEMA.





Photoincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

ANGAMI WOMAN of KHONOMA.







Fig. 1. UNMARRIED



ANGAMIS of THEMIJUMA.



Fig. 8. ANGAMI EAR ORNAMENT.



Photorecognized at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

Fig. 2. SLEDGE ANGAMI HOUSE in REZAMI.



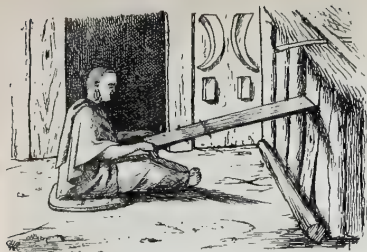


Fig. 1. UNMARRIED GIRL of JOTSAMA, WEAVING.



Fig. 6. EASTERN ANGAMI DAO



Fig. 4. EASTERN ANGAMIS of THEMJIUMA



Fig. 7. WHITE SHELL FOR NAPE OF NECK,  
(one-fourth full size)



Fig. 8. ANGAMI EAR ORNAMENT



Fig. 2. SLEDGE FOR DRAGGING STONES UPHILL.



Fig. 5. EFFIGY ON NAGA GRAVE.



Fig. 3. ANGAMI HOUSE in REZAMI







at the Surveyor General's Office





Photographed at the Asiatic Society, 1873.

SOIBANG VANGAM of CHOPNU, BORMUTAN.







Photoincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

PHEMI, WIFE of SOIBANG.



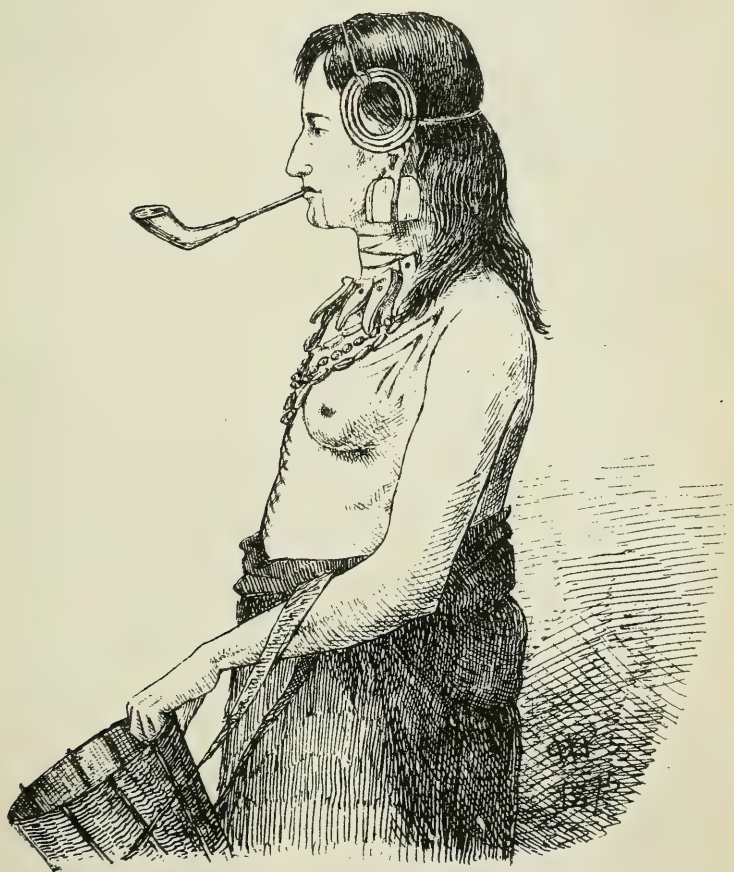


Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

HATIGORIA NAGA, MAN.







Photoincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

ASSIRINGIA NAGA, WOMAN.



## CHAPTER III.

## Geology and Natural History.

As regards the geology and physical aspect of the country occupied by the Angámis and their neighbours, I cannot do better than quote from a report from the talented pen of my friend Major Godwin-Austen who states as follows:

“The dead level portion of the Dhansiri valley comes to an end a few miles to the west of Dimápúr, and at a very short distance towards Samagúting. The surface gradually rises over the broad conglomerate deposits, swept down out of the gorges of mountain streams like the Diphú-pání. The first line of hills rise abruptly to 2000 feet with a strike with the strata north-east and south-west, dipping south-east towards the main range at about 30° on the crest, the dip increasing rapidly northwards until nearly perpendicular at the very base, probably marking a great uninclinal bend in the rocks. These consist of sandstones, very thickly bedded in the upper portion, of red and ochre colour, interstratified with thinner beds of an indurated light coloured clay, nodules of which are very numerous and conspicuous in some of the soft sandstones. In exposed sections, such as that near the new tank at Samagúting, the strata are seen to be closely faulted in direction of the strike, the up-throw never exceeding a few feet. These beds I should refer to the Siwálik series. No mammalian remains have as yet been found in the neighbourhood. Nowhere is a better and more comprehensive view obtained of the broad alluvial valley of the Dhansiri and its great forest than from Samagúting. Mile beyond mile of this dark forest stretches away and is lost in the distant haze. During the cold weather this is, usually in the early morning, covered with a dense woolly fog, which about 10 o'clock begins to roll up from the Brahmaputra against the northern slope of the Barráil, and often hangs over Samagúting and all the outer belt of hills late into the afternoon, when the increasing cold dissipates it. The sandstone ridge, on which Samagúting is situated, runs parallel with the Barráil at a distance of 15 to 16 miles, measured from crest to crest. The Barráil rises very suddenly on its northern face, and the intervening country for a breadth of 8 miles is very low, forming a miniature *dhun*. This intermediate depression continues westward for many miles: the outer range marked by the hills of Phegi and Laikek. It terminates to the eastward on the Kadiúbá spur, thrown off from the high north-east extremity of the Barráil, and this spur coincides with the great east up-throw of the Sub-Himálayan rocks composing the highest part of that range, and this I believe is a great north-north-west—south-south-east dislocation in the mountain mass, marked by the course and gorge of the Zúbjá. This dislocation is, I think, also intimately connected with the change in direc-



tion of the main axis of elevation, which has thrown the line of main watershed away to the south-east from its normal south-west—north-east direction, which it assumes at Asálú. The dip of these tertiary rocks of the Barráil is steadily to the south-eastward throughout the whole distance, but it gradually changes round to due west, the beds on the highest part, Japvo, turning up at an angle of  $35^{\circ}$  west. These higher beds are fine slightly micaceous, ochre grey sandstones, very massive and weathering pinkish grey. From this the elevated out-crop of these sandstones tends to south, and is continuous south of the Barak in that direction right away into Manipur, conforming with the change in the strike of all the ridges, the parallelism of which is such a conspicuous feature of the physical geography. To the north-north-west the great change in this mountain system is marked by the broad re-entering arm of the Dhansiri, and the sudden appearance of the granitic series in force in the Mikir and Bengmá Nágá Hills, seen in the bed of the Nambor, and which becomes the principal feature eastward as far as the Gáro Hills. Extensive and thick-bedded deposits of clay and conglomerate are seen in the Samagúting *dhun*, forming broad plateau-capped spurs. I had no time to examine these closely. They appeared to be nearly horizontal, and may belong to the highest beds of the Siwálik formation or the remains of deposits formed prior to the cutting through of the Diphú-pání gorge. Analogous deposits to the last occur in the North-West and Panjáb Himálaya. At the base of the Barráil, proceeding to the depression at the sources of the Zullo and Sijjo, the Sub-Himálayan rocks pass downwards into thin-bedded sandy shales, with a steady westerly underlie. Whether the lowest beds represent nummulitic or even cretaceous rocks, it is impossible to say. The thickness is very great, at least 3000 feet; they rest on an older series of rocks with a totally different lithological aspect. There is uncomformability not always apparent, for they partake of a general westerly dip. The strong bedded younger rocks are but little disturbed, and on the east of the Sijjo come in again at Telligo, nearly horizontal, with a slight dip to east on the main ridge towards Kopamedza, marking an anticlinal axis; their horizon is however lower. The older beds on the contrary are much crushed, and change their dip and strike very frequently, the result of prior disturbance. They are composed of clay slates and very dark blue, friable shales, alternating with others of pale ochrey tint. They are saliferous, and veins of milky quartz are occasionally seen. Several salt springs occur near the bottom of the Zullo valley, under Viswemah, where the Nágás evaporate the water to obtain it. A warm mineral spring also occurs here. Evidence of past glacial action is very marked on the north-east side of the Barráil, where its elevation is close under 10,000 feet. Small moraines project beyond the gorges of the lateral valley. These moraines originally consisted

of much earthy matter due to the soft sandstones out of which they are derived. This and long surface weathering has led to their being well cultivated and terraced, but the original lines of larger angular blocks are still apparent. Through these moraines the present streams have cut their channels down to the solid rock, leaving the slopes at an angle of  $45^\circ$ , out of which project great masses of the subangular sandstones. The thickness of the moraine at Kigwémá is quite 300 feet at the terminal slope, and the length of the former glacier would have been four miles to the crest of range at Japvo. At the head of the Zullo, traces of this former state of things are shown by the even height at which large transported blocks of the tertiary sandstones lie up against the sides of the ravine, resting on patches of rubble. No part of the Barráil is more beautiful than that between Kigwémá and Sopvoma, looking up the lateral glacial gorges, with their frowning steep sides running up to the crest of the Barráil, which is for the greater part a wall of grey rock and precipice. Dense forest covers the slopes, but from their steepness many parts are bare, breaking the monotony of this dark coloured mountain scenery. Where the steep rise in the slope commences, the spurs are at once more level and are terraced for rice cultivation. Not a square yard of available land has been left, and the system of irrigation canals is well laid out. I have never, even in the better cultivated parts of the Himálayas, seen terrace cultivation carried to such perfection, and it gives a peculiarly civilized appearance to the country."

The Botany of the Nágá Hills has still to be described, but this is a speciality only to be undertaken by an expert, to which title, I regret, I am unable to lay any claim whatever. I must therefore content myself with observing that oak, fir, birch, larch, apple, and apricot, are all to be found here, besides numerous other trees common to Asám. Of orchids there is a very great variety indeed. Indigenous tea is found growing all along the low northern slopes at the foot of the Barráil. Among the jungle products I may mention bees-wax, India-rubber, tea seed, and several fibres, besides red, yellow, blue, and black dyes.

As with the Botany, so with the Natural History, we require men who have devoted their lives to its study, to do the subject justice. I will therefore not attempt to do more than furnish the following list of some of the chief among the wild animals that I am personally aware are all to be found in the tract in question.

1. Elephant—*Elephas Indicus*. These animals swarm throughout the Dhansiri valley, and are found all along the low ranges of the Barráil, but are rare in the high Angámi country.
2. Rhinoceros—*Rhinoceros Indicus*. }
3. Wild Buffalo—*Bubalus Arni*. } and are only to be met with in the Dhansiri valley.

4. Mithan—*Gavæus frontalis*. These affect the forest-clad shades of the lower hills.
5. Tiger—*Felis Tigris*.
6. Leopard—*Pardus*. The black and clouded species of Leopard are also occasionally met with.
7. Hill Black Bear—*Ursus tibetanus*.
8. Indian Black Bear—*Ursus labiatus*.
9. Badger—*Arctonyx collaris*.
10. Wild Boar—*Sus Indicus*.
11. Sambar Deer—*Rusa Aristotelis*.
12. Barking Deer—*Cervulus Aureus*.
13. Gooral—*Nemorhædus goral*.
14. Civet Cat—*Viverra Zibetha*.
15. Tiger Cat—*Felis Marmorata*.
16. Common Wild Cat—*Felis Chaus*.
17. Pangolin—*Manis pentadactyla*.
18. Porcupine—*Hystrix leucura*.
19. Hoolook—*Hylobates Hoolook*.
20. Langur or Hanuman—*Presbytis Schistaceus*.
21. Common Monkey—*Inuus Rhesus*.
22. Otter—*Lutra vulgaris*.
23. Bamboo Rat—*Rhizomys badius*.
24. Common Brown Rat—*Mus decumanus*.
25. Black Rat—*Mus Rattus*.
26. Black Hill Squirrel—*Sciurus macruroides*.
27. Common Striped Squirrel—*Sciurus palmarum*.
28. Gray Flying Squirrel—*Sciuropterus fimbriatus*.
29. Brown Flying Squirrel—*Pteromys petaurista*.

Among Game Birds I would mention the following :—

1. Peacock—*Pavo assamicus* (very rare and only in the plains).
  2. Deo Derrick Pheasant—*Polyplectron tibetanum*. Very numerous in the plains, valleys, and low hills, but only where there is dense forest.
  3. Derrick Pheasant—*Gallophasis Horsfieldii*.
  4. Argus Pheasant—*Cerionis Blythii* (very rare and only on the Bar-rail Mountains at high elevations).
  5. Jungle Fowl—*Gallus Bankiva* (?)
  6. Hill Partridge—*Arboricola rufogularis*.
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## CHAPTER IV.

## Language and Grammar.

It is perhaps needless for me to state that the Angámis have no written language whatever. I have hence adopted the Roman character, and the plan I have followed for designating the long sound of all vowels has been by placing an accent immediately over the vowel; thus *á* is to be invariably pronounced like the English long *a*, as pronounced in such words as “*mast*”, “*father*”, “*ask*”, &c.; *é* like the English *a* in “*fate*”, or *e* in “*prey*”, “*convey*”, &c.; *í* in like manner as the French *i*, or English *ee*, as in “*peep*”, or *i* as it is pronounced in such words as “*fatigue*”, “*marine*”, &c.; *ó* as the *o* in notice; and finally *ú* similarly to the English long *o* in “*move*”, “*prove*”, &c., or *oo* as in “*school*”, “*tool*”, “*fool*”, &c. This system, I may also add, is the one I have followed in the spelling of all proper names.

I may here premise that laying no claims to philological lore of any kind, but on the contrary aspiring only to the humble position of a worker in the field, whose duty it is to collect and construct the bricks alone, so to say, of that science, I shall not even hazard a guess as to what great family of languages the Angámi belongs, but prefer to leave that question for abler pens to decide. I may, however, say that in common with the tongues spoken by most, if not all, other nations in a similar state of civilization, or rather barbarism, the Angámi is slightly, though not altogether, monosyllabic and most simple in its structure, its root words undergoing very little change except for the purpose of symphony.

The gender of nouns is denoted by different words for the different sexes, as:

“Thépvomá” (often contracted into “themma” and “ma”), a man.

“Thenúamá”, a woman.

“Apó”, father; “A’zo”, mother.

“Nopvo”, husband; “Kimá”, wife.

Also by a change of termination, when the first syllable of the word is dropped; thus “mithú”, a cow generally, whether male or female, “thúdo” a bull, “thúkr”, a cow (female); “tékhú,” a tiger generally, whether male or female, “khúpvo” a tiger (male), “khúkr” a tigress; and often by the addition of the abbreviated forms of the terms “poshi”, male, or “pokr”, female; thus “chrúshi” a male elephant, “chú-kr” a female elephant. And sometimes by the addition of the terms “thépvomá”, man, and “thenúamá”, woman; thus, “núno” a cat, whether male or female, becomes “núno thépvomá” a male cat, and “núno thenúamá” a female cat.

The plural is obtained by simply adding the termination “ko” to the



singular ; as “thépvomá” a man ; “thépvomáko” men ; “kéthé” a stick, “kéthéko” sticks. But when a numeral is used, the noun remains in the singular, as “thépvomá péngú” five men, “kéthé súrú” six sticks.

They have got a queer way of dropping the first syllable, or prefix, of certain substantives, apparently for sake of euphony, when employed in the body of a sentence ; thus, for instance, a dog is “tefoh”, but Whose dog is that ? is “Háo sópo <sup>4</sup>foh <sup>1</sup>gá” ; and again, a spear is “réngú”, but my spear is “ángú”, where it will be observed that the “té” in the former, and the “ré” in the latter example, are entirely dispensed with.

Cases are not marked by inflection, nor by the addition of any affix, except in the ablative when the particle “ki”, from, is affixed.

Adjectives appear to be invariably placed after the nouns they qualify, and have no change of termination for number, case, or gender ; as “thépvomá kévi” a good man ; “téfoh késho kénná” two bad dogs ; “chú kézá” a great elephant.

The comparative degree is formed by the positive adjective being preceded by “ki”, as “kezá” great, “ki kézá” greater ; and the superlative by adding “shwé”, “tho”, or “péré”, to the positive ; as “kézá shwé”, “kézá thó”, or “kézá péré”, extremely great or greatest.

The pronouns are as follows :

|      |       |         |             |
|------|-------|---------|-------------|
| I    | A.    | This    | Háú.        |
| Thou | No.   | These   | Háúko.      |
| He   | Po.   | That    | Lu, or Chú. |
| We   | Heko. | Those   | Lúko.       |
| Ye   | Neko. | Who ?   | Sopo ?      |
| They | Luko. | Which ? | Kiú ?       |
|      |       | What ?  | Kézipo ?    |

The adverbs are “ki ?” where ?, and “chénú” now.

The cardinal numbers are :

|    |         |    |                   |      |             |
|----|---------|----|-------------------|------|-------------|
| 1  | Po.     | 11 | Kérr-o-pokr.      | 21   | Mékú-pokr.  |
| 2  | Kenná.  | 12 | Kérr-o-kenná.     | 30   | Ser.        |
| 3  | Sé.     | 13 | Kérr-o-sé.        | 40   | Lhi-dá.     |
| 4  | Dá.     | 14 | Kérr-o-dá.        | 50   | Lhi-péngú.  |
| 5  | Péngú.  | 15 | Kérr-o-péngú.     | 60   | Lhi-súrú.   |
| 6  | Súrú.   | 16 | Kérr-o-súrú.      | 70   | Lhi-thenna. |
| 7  | Thénná. | 17 | Mékú-pemo-thenna. | 80   | Lhi-thethá. |
| 8  | Théthá. | 18 | Mékú-pemo-thetha. | 90   | Lhi-thekú.  |
| 9  | Thékú.  | 19 | Mékú-pemo-thékú.  | 100  | Kra.        |
| 10 | Kérr.   | 20 | Mékú.             | 1000 | Nie.        |

The only ordinals in use are “kerao” first, “kenó” second, and “sesao” third.

The Verbs are simple, and appear to have but three tenses, the Past, Present, and Future, thus :

Chú—To give.

*Present Tense.*

|          |            |           |              |
|----------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| I give   | A' chúéwé. | We give   | Heko chúéwe. |
| You give | Nó chúéwé. | Ye give   | Neko chúéwe. |
| He gives | Po chúewe. | They give | Luko chúéwe. |

*Past Tense.*

|          |          |           |            |
|----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| I gave   | A chúé.  | We gave   | Heko chúé. |
| You gave | No chúé. | Ye gave   | Neko chúé. |
| He gave  | Po chúé. | They gave | Luko chúé. |

*Future Tense.*

|               |           |                |             |
|---------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| I will give   | A chuto.  | We will give   | Heko chuto. |
| You will give | No chuto. | Ye will give   | Neko chuto. |
| He will give  | Po chuto. | They will give | Luko chuto. |

*Imperative.*

Give—Chúché.

They have no names for the days of the week, and their year commences in March. The names of the several months are as follows :

|          |          |           |          |
|----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| January  | Képhá.   | July      | Chá-chi. |
| February | Khréníé. | August    | Chádi.   |
| March    | Kérrá.   | September | Chéré.   |
| April    | Kéno.    | October   | Réíéh.   |
| May      | Kézi.    | November  | Théné.   |
| June     | Képsú.   | December  | Vi-phe.  |

The following phrases will perhaps best illustrate the structure of the language.

*Phrases—English and Angami.*

1. Open the door. Kikhá khrehé.
2. Shut the door. Khikhá phá lé ché.
3. Don't forget. Si motáhéché.
4. Be silent. Kémé kri bá che.
5. Don't make a noise. Méléhe.
6. Make haste. Chimhá shé, *or* chi mhái lé.
7. Come quickly. Mhái vorché.
8. Go quickly. To mhái shi ché.
9. Come here. Háki phir, *or* Háki vor.
10. Sit there. Chiki bálé, *or* Lúki bálé.
11. Who is he? Lú sopo?

12. What is this? Háú kéjipo?
13. They are liars. Luko ketichema áwé.
14. Who lives there? Sopo chinú báíá?
15. It is raining. Tir rié.
16. It will rain soon. Péchámo tir vor táté.
17. What do you want? No kéjipo cháíágá?
18. What do you say? No kéjipo púágá?
19. Is that true? Sú ketho mé?
20. Who says so? Sopo sidi púágá?
21. Don't you know? No simo mé?
22. What shall I eat? Á kéjipo chito?
23. Why do you laugh? No kidi núbágá?
24. Don't cry. Krá hé.
25. Don't strike him. Po vǎ hé.
26. Call some coolies. Kúli máko kéléché.
27. It is very hot to-day. Thá ti lé shwé.
28. There is no wind. Tirékhra moté.
29. Open your mouth. No méko shi.
30. Have you eaten your dinner? No mháché mé?
31. Ask him. Po ketso shi ché.
32. Tell him. Po ki pú shi ché.
33. What advantage is there in that? Lú nú kepo vi to-gá?
34. There is no use in that? Lu nú mhápori jilé injito.
35. What animal is this? Khúno háú kejpogá?
36. Whose house is that? Lú sopo kiro?
37. You can go now. No ché voléto.
38. My head aches. A tsú chi bá.
39. My stomach aches. A vá chi bá.
40. Where did you learn Assamese? No Téphi khwé kéji poki nú silégá?
41. Does your tooth ache? No hú chi bá mé?
42. What is the price of this? Háú po má kéji ki ro?
43. Where are you going? No kéjiki votogá?
44. Where shall you stay to-night? Chéji kéjiki po bátogá?
45. Which is the best of these three? Sé ko kejiú vigá?
46. Is anything eatable to be got there? Chi nú mhá kéchiho bá nhá?
47. Do you know where he is gone? No simé mogá po keji ki votégá?
48. Clean those things well. Lú koha shwé kémésává.
49. Is to-day a holiday with you? Thá kéníé bá mé?
50. What is the name of this village? Háú rénná zá keji po ga?
51. Of what clan are you? No sopo thinorr?

52. Do you know him? No po si mé?
53. How is he to-day? Po thá kejimhá bága?
54. He is better than he was yesterday. Ndú ki tha viwé.
55. Why does he not come? Po kidi vor mogá?
56. That is the same thing. So kémhá zo.
57. I cannot go to-morrow. A sodú tolélho.
58. Very well, go the day after to-morrow. Viwé, kénonhá volé.
59. He is a very bad man. Po thémmá kesho shwé.
60. He can speak Manipuri. Po Mákri má khwe si bawe.
61. He tells me one thing and you another. Po áki dé po pú, unki dé kékri pú.
62. Bring me some water. Dza hocho pévor ché.
63. Where is my coat? A búla kéré ki ji ro?
64. Bring my hat. A tsú re pe vorché.
65. Hold my horse. A kwir té chilé.
66. Clean my shoes. A phikwé sipevichiché.
67. Warm some water. Dza hocho péleshiché.
68. Don't make it very hot. Péle bá váhé.
69. Give me some salt. Métsá hocho áthú ché.
70. This egg is rotten. Háú po dzá showe.
71. What milk is that? Háú kézipo dzú gá?
72. Have you caught any fish to-day? Tha kho té mé?
73. Yes, I have caught one large "Máhsir". Úwé, á Tháchá kézá po télé.
74. Have you got it with you there? Kio? unzé má bá mé?
75. Yes, I have it with me. Úwé a zé ma ba we.
76. Very well, cook it and I will eat it. Oh viwé, shálé á chito.
77. Get me some fruit, I am hungry. Rosi hocho pé vor, a mér báwe.
78. What fruit would you like to eat? Rosi ki kijipo chiniébágá?
79. Blow the fire. Mi mhé shé.
80. The fire is out. Mi mhé té.
81. It is time to go. To vo vi té.
82. Don't turn to the right. Úzáthá vo tá hé.
83. No, I will turn to the left. Mo, á úvi chá voto.
84. Stop here. Háki bálé.
85. Who is there? Chiki sopo thágá?
86. Buy me ten fowls. A thévǎ kéré khrléto.
87. They won't sell any fowls now. Úko chenú thévá mápori zwé moché.
88. Why won't they sell? Kidi zwé mo gá?
89. If you will give a rupee apiece, they will sell. No ráká po-po chusiche zwéto we.



90. Who is the Chief of your village? Nérámá somá Péúgá.
91. Viponiú is our Chief. Viponiú Péúmá zo.
92. Is that bill-hook sharp? Lú zé pollă vi mé mo?
93. It is getting dark, light the candles. Tizitáiyé mi pétú shi.
94. Give him some liquor. Zúháro hochó pótchú che.
95. Awake me to-morrow at cock-crow. Sodú thévá kékhú ki á késú si ché.
96. Tell me what things I am to bring. Á ki pú si che kezi má ma se vorto.
97. You must bring rice, wood, and salt. Chiko, si, métsá, sé vorché.
98. All men must die. Pete thémmá satá che.
99. He lives alone. Po thé porebi ba.
100. I also have ten horses. A ri kwior kérr bá.
101. You are always coming late. No tisonha vor menoba.
102. Go and see. Vo di philé.
103. I did not say anything. Á mhá porí pú mo.
104. Where have you been? No kezi ki vogá?
105. Take this away. Háó sé tá.
106. That boat belongs to me. Lú á rú wé.
107. Blow the fire. Mi mhén shi-che.
108. The wind blows now. Tirekhra ié.
109. Shall he go by land or by boat? Késó nú chúto me rú nú chúto?
110. Can you swim? No dză nú tolé si mé moro.
111. He can not come to-day. Lú thá vor lel ho.
112. Take this to your Chief. Háú se vo Péúmá tsúché.

## CHAPTER V.

## Vocabulary.

| <i>English.</i>          | <i>Angami.</i> | <i>English.</i>         | <i>Angami.</i>  |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| A, an, or one, <i>a.</i> | Po             | Acquaintance, <i>n.</i> | Késimá, Urchima |
| Abandon, <i>v.</i>       | Kháshiché      | Advance, <i>v.</i>      | Ralé            |
| (let go)                 |                | Advantage, <i>n.</i>    | Mévi            |
| Abdomen, <i>n.</i>       | Váká, Vádi     | Adversary, <i>n.</i>    | Ngúmémá         |
| Above, <i>prep.</i>      | Mho            | Adult, <i>n.</i>        | Khisámá         |
| Absent, <i>a.</i>        | Tomo           | Adze, <i>n.</i>         | Kethi           |
| Abundance, <i>n.</i>     | Kia-pézé       | Afar, <i>ad.</i>        | Shachá          |
| Accept, <i>v.</i>        | Lélé           | Affection, <i>n.</i>    | Khré            |
| Accompany, <i>v.</i>     | Kézétollé      | Affray, <i>n.</i>       | Kevá            |
| Accurate, <i>a.</i>      | Potú           | After, <i>prep.</i>     | Sá              |
| Ache, <i>n.</i>          | Chi, Shi       | Afternoon, <i>n.</i>    | Thékhévá        |
| Acid, <i>a.</i>          | Kroh, Khíé     | Again, <i>ad.</i>       | Lá              |

| <i>English.</i>        | <i>Angámi.</i>       | <i>English.</i>          | <i>Angámi.</i> |
|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Aged, <i>a.</i>        | Kétchá               | Badger, <i>n.</i>        | Chomhúvho      |
| Ague, <i>n.</i>        | Kipé                 | Bag, <i>n.</i>           | Lokho          |
| Air, <i>n.</i>         | Timelhú              | Bald, <i>a.</i>          | Súpá           |
| Alike, <i>ad.</i>      | Kémhá                | Ball, <i>n.</i>          | Kémérr         |
| Alive, <i>a.</i>       | Rhi                  | Bamboo, <i>n.</i>        | Kérrá          |
| All, <i>a.</i>         | Pété                 | Bank <i>n.</i>           |                |
| Alligator, <i>n.</i>   | Rá, Khokérrá         | (of a river),            | Khé            |
| Almighty, <i>a.</i>    | Pétékiké-méchiá-shwé | Banquet, <i>n.</i>       | Lhé            |
| Alone, <i>a.</i>       | Thé, Rébi            | Bare, <i>a.</i>          | Mésá           |
| Aloud, <i>ad.</i>      | Rékré                | Bark <i>n.</i>           |                |
| Also, <i>ad.</i>       | Ri                   | (of a tree),             | Pokú, Sikú     |
| Altogether, <i>ad.</i> | Pété kézé            | Bark, <i>v.</i>          | Ré             |
| Always, <i>ad.</i>     | Tí-sonhá             | Barn, <i>n.</i>          | Télha-ki       |
| Amid, <i>prep.</i>     | Métcho-má            | Barrel, <i>n.</i> (gun), | Pú, Missipú    |
| An, <i>a</i> , one.    | Pó                   | Barter, <i>v.</i>        | Kéllí          |
| And, <i>conj.</i>      | Rí                   | Basin, <i>n.</i>         | Mékhú          |
| Anger, <i>n.</i>       | Nímo                 | Bastard, <i>n.</i>       | Tékhrono       |
| Ankle, <i>n.</i>       | Phímhí               | Bat, <i>n.</i>           | Sep-chá        |
| Annually, <i>ad.</i>   | Tichí-keprá          | Bathe, <i>v.</i>         | Zúrelúhé       |
| Ant, <i>n.</i>         | Mháché               | Battle, <i>n.</i>        | Térrh          |
| Ant-hill, <i>n.</i>    | Repá                 | Beak, <i>n.</i>          | Tá             |
| Apiece, <i>ad.</i>     | Po-po                | Beam, <i>n.</i>          | Kipér, Kiprr   |
| Armadillo, <i>n.</i>   | Tépphé               | Bear, <i>n.</i>          | Thégá          |
| Armlet, <i>n.</i>      | Kétho                | Beard, <i>n.</i>         | Támá           |
| Armpit, <i>n.</i>      | Sochă                | Beat, <i>v.</i>          | Vúché          |
| Around, <i>prep.</i>   | Pété-ki              | Beautiful, <i>a.</i>     | Ngú-kévi       |
| Arrow, <i>n.</i>       | Thillsi              | Bedstead, <i>n.</i>      | Thézi          |
| Ascend, <i>v.</i>      | Kúlé, kholé          | Bedding, <i>n.</i>       | Zikhrá         |
| Ash, <i>n.</i>         | Migé                 | Bee, <i>n.</i>           | Mékhwi         |
| Ask, <i>v.</i>         | Kétcholé             | Beef, <i>n.</i>          | Mithúchi       |
| Asleep, <i>ad.</i>     | Zhitéwé              | Before, <i>prep.</i>     | Mohtzú         |
| Aunt, <i>n.</i>        | Aná                  | Beg, <i>v.</i>           | Krohchiléché   |
| Awake, <i>v.</i>       | Chésélé              | Beggar, <i>n.</i>        | Kroh-kechimá   |
| Axe, <i>n.</i>         | Mérr, Sídúrr         | Behind, <i>prep.</i>     | Sátchá         |
| Babe, Baby, <i>n.</i>  | Nitchúnomá           | Behold, <i>v.</i>        | Pilé           |
| Bachelor, <i>n.</i>    | Khisamá.             | Belch, <i>v.</i>         | Pékhé          |
| Back, <i>n.</i>        | Nakú                 | Bellow, <i>v.</i>        | Moié           |
| Backdoor, <i>n.</i>    | Kithokikhá           | Belly, <i>n.</i>         | Vádí, Váká     |
| Bacon, <i>n.</i>       | Thévohchih           | Belly-ache, <i>n.</i>    | Vadiché        |
| Bad, <i>a.</i>         | Késho                | Below, <i>ad.</i>        | Kho, Khro      |
|                        |                      | Belt, <i>n.</i>          | Séshá          |

| <i>English.</i>                  | <i>Angami.</i> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| Bend, <i>v.</i>                  | Kérégúilé      |
| Best, <i>a.</i>                  | Kévithou       |
| Better, <i>a.</i>                | Sésá kévi      |
| Between, <i>prep.</i>            | Donú, Metchonú |
| Beware, <i>v.</i>                | Chiswéléché    |
| Big, <i>a.</i>                   | Kézá           |
| Bill-hook, <i>n.</i>             | Jé             |
| Bind, <i>v.</i>                  | Phalé          |
| Bird, <i>n.</i>                  | Pérá           |
| Birth, <i>n.</i>                 | Péno, Kepéno   |
| Birth-place, <i>n.</i>           | Képénophé      |
| Bitch (female of dog), <i>n.</i> | Phúkr          |
| Bite, <i>v.</i>                  | Méki           |
| Bitter, <i>a.</i>                | Kékhú          |
| Black, <i>a.</i>                 | Kéti           |
| Blind, <i>a.</i>                 | Mhichié        |
| Blood, <i>n.</i>                 | Thézá          |
| Blossom, <i>n.</i>               | Nipú           |
| Blow, <i>v.</i>                  | Mhélé          |
| Blue, <i>a.</i>                  | Loshi          |
| Board, <i>n.</i>                 | Mélá, Sobjá    |
| Boat, <i>n.</i>                  | Rú             |
| Boatman, <i>n.</i>               | Rú kéthumá     |
| Body, <i>n.</i>                  | Moh            |
| Boil, <i>v.</i>                  | Kérédálé       |
| Bold, <i>a.</i>                  | Kérézá         |
| Bone, <i>n.</i>                  | Ru             |
| Book, <i>n.</i>                  | Léshi          |
| Boot, <i>n.</i>                  | Phikú          |
| Borrow, <i>v.</i>                | Thépúlé        |
| Bottom, <i>n.</i>                | Khro           |
| Bough, <i>n.</i>                 | Si chié, sicho |
| Boundary, <i>n.</i>              | Thérrá         |
| Bow, <i>n.</i>                   | Thilla         |
| Bowels, <i>n.</i>                | Porá           |
| Box, <i>n.</i>                   | Kúzo           |
| Boy, <i>n.</i>                   | Nichumá        |
| Bracelet, <i>n.</i>              | Jiétsi         |
| Brains, <i>n.</i>                | Khrú           |
| Brass, <i>n.</i>                 | Méréni         |

| <i>English.</i>            | <i>Angami.</i>                        |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Breadth, <i>n.</i>         | Zá, Poza                              |
| Break, <i>v.</i>           | Bétswélé                              |
| Breast, <i>n.</i>          | Mérr                                  |
| Breath, <i>n.</i>          | Há                                    |
| Breathe, <i>v.</i>         | Ha shiché                             |
| Bridge, <i>n.</i>          | Peh                                   |
| Bring, <i>v.</i>           | Séphir, Pékhor                        |
| Broad, <i>a.</i>           | Méjá                                  |
| Broad-cloth, <i>n.</i>     | Búlá, Khwé [wá                        |
| Broken, <i>part.</i>       | Váphroá, Bétswé-                      |
| Broom, <i>n.</i>           | Nizwéro                               |
| Brother (elder), <i>n.</i> | Zoráo                                 |
| „ (younger), <i>n.</i>     | Sázéo                                 |
| Brother-in-law, <i>n.</i>  | Ami                                   |
| Brow, <i>n.</i>            | Tikhá                                 |
| Buck (deer), <i>n.</i>     | Tékhíá                                |
| Buffalo, <i>n.</i>         | Rélli                                 |
| Build, <i>v.</i>           | Siléché                               |
| Bull, <i>n.</i>            | Thúdo                                 |
| Bullet, <i>n.</i>          | Missi-shi                             |
| Bundle, <i>n.</i>          | Kérri                                 |
| Burden, <i>n.</i>          | Pé, Pwé                               |
| Burn, <i>v.</i>            | Réwá, Pétúá                           |
| Burst, <i>v.</i>           | Báphroá, Pro                          |
| Bury, <i>v.</i>            | Khrúálé                               |
| Butterfly, <i>n.</i>       | Sopro                                 |
| Button, <i>n.</i>          | Búllá-kékú                            |
| Buy, <i>v.</i>             | Khri-léche                            |
| By and by, <i>ad.</i>      | Kéná                                  |
| Bird cage, <i>n.</i>       | Pérá khoró                            |
| Calf, <i>n.</i>            | Mithúnó                               |
| Calf (of leg), <i>n.</i>   | Phitsá                                |
| Call, <i>v.</i>            | Késhi-ché                             |
| Cane, <i>n.</i>            | Thérr                                 |
| Canon, <i>n.</i>           | Sidi (Misi kedi,<br>i. e., great gun) |
| Cap, <i>n.</i>             | Tsúré                                 |
| Carry, <i>v.</i>           | Phléché                               |
| Cat, <i>n.</i>             | Núnno                                 |
| Catch, <i>v.</i>           | Télé                                  |
| Caterpillar, <i>n.</i>     | Chopé                                 |

| <i>English.</i>        | <i>Angami.</i>  | <i>English.</i>          | <i>Angami.</i>                                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Centipede, <i>n.</i>   | Zárr            | Cubit, <i>n.</i>         | Thú                                            |
| Chaff, <i>n.</i>       | Phá             | Cup, <i>n.</i>           | Téhi                                           |
| Chain, <i>n.</i>       | Théja, Kídú     | Custom, <i>n.</i>        | Ūzié                                           |
| Change, <i>v.</i>      | Kélilé          | Cut, <i>v.</i>           | Dú siché                                       |
| Charcoal, <i>n.</i>    | Mijje           | Daily, <i>ad.</i>        | Tisonhá                                        |
| Chase, <i>v.</i>       | Hová            | Dance, <i>v.</i>         | Kéhúché                                        |
| Cheap, <i>a.</i>       | Méli            | Dark, <i>a.</i>          | Zi                                             |
| Cheek, <i>n.</i>       | Jwé, Jo         | Daughter, <i>n.</i>      | Nopvú                                          |
| Chicken, <i>n.</i>     | Thévno          | Day, <i>n.</i>           | Khinbí                                         |
| Child, <i>n.</i>       | Nichúamá        | Dead, <i>a.</i>          | Sátalé, Késsá                                  |
| Chin, <i>n.</i>        | Mékho           | Deaf, <i>a.</i>          | Poniorogúwé                                    |
| Civet cat, <i>n.</i>   | Thékr           | Dear (costly), <i>a.</i> | Répéze                                         |
| Clap, <i>v.</i>        | Bídá            | Deer, <i>n.</i>          | Tékhiá                                         |
| Claw, <i>n.</i>        | Phitché         | Descend, <i>v.</i>       | Lákerlé                                        |
| Clean, <i>a.</i>       | Mésá            | Devil, <i>n.</i>         | Terho-kesho                                    |
| Cleave, <i>v.</i>      | Phrolé          | Dialect, <i>n.</i>       | Nekhwé                                         |
| Cloth, <i>n.</i>       | Khwé            | Difficult, <i>a.</i>     | Ré                                             |
| Cloud, <i>n.</i>       | Kémhú           | Dig, <i>v.</i>           | Théléché                                       |
| Cobweb, <i>n.</i>      | Séréchá         | Dirty, <i>a.</i>         | Kérhú                                          |
| Cock, <i>n.</i>        | Votzú           | Disease, <i>n.</i>       | Mháché                                         |
| Cold, <i>n.</i>        | Mékú, Sí        | Distant, <i>a.</i>       | Shá-chá                                        |
| Cold season, <i>n.</i> | Tisi            | Ditch, <i>n.</i>         | Zúrharr                                        |
| Come, <i>v.</i>        | Phirché, Vorché | Divide, <i>v.</i>        | Kezácháshiche                                  |
| Comprehend, <i>v.</i>  | Siléché         | Dog, <i>n.</i>           | Téfoh                                          |
| Conceal, <i>v.</i>     | Kéváléché       | Door, <i>n.</i>          | Ki-khá                                         |
| Cook, <i>v.</i>        | Sháléché        | Dove, <i>n.</i>          | Mokhrú                                         |
| Copper, <i>n.</i>      | Paisáji         | Drag, <i>v.</i>          | Kivorché                                       |
| Cord, <i>n.</i>        | Kérré, Kéié     | Drink, <i>v.</i>         | Králéché                                       |
| Cost, <i>n.</i>        | Pomá            | Drum, <i>n.</i>          | Kébbá                                          |
| Cotton, <i>n.</i>      | Chopsa, Chotsa  | Drunk, <i>a.</i>         | Kémézé                                         |
| Cover, <i>v.</i>       | Whéshiché       | Dry, <i>a.</i>           | Késsá                                          |
| Count, <i>v.</i>       | Phréléché       | Dry, <i>v.</i>           | Phésiché                                       |
| Cow, <i>n.</i>         | Thúkr           | Dung, <i>n.</i>          | Bo                                             |
| Cow-dung, <i>n.</i>    | Mithúbó         | Dysentery, <i>n.</i>     | Thézábo                                        |
| Coward, <i>n.</i>      | Kémithímá       | Ear, <i>n.</i>           | Nié                                            |
| Cowree, <i>n.</i>      | Késhá           | Earring, <i>n.</i>       | Rénni (for males) ;<br>Niso (for fe-<br>males) |
| Crab, <i>n.</i>        | Ségo            | Earth, <i>n.</i>         | Kizi                                           |
| Crazy, <i>a.</i>       | Kéloho, Kéniamá | Earthquake, <i>n.</i>    | Kiéki [Náthúchá                                |
| Crooked, <i>a.</i>     | Kérégwi         | East, <i>v.</i>          | Náki-kéthúchá or                               |
| Crow, <i>n.</i>        | Shijja          |                          |                                                |
| Cry, <i>v.</i>         | Králé, Roiyé    |                          |                                                |



| <i>English.</i>        | <i>Angámi.</i>             | <i>English.</i>          | <i>Angámi.</i>                 |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Eat, <i>v.</i>         | Chi                        | Five,                    | Péngú                          |
| Egg, <i>n.</i>         | Dzo, Podzo                 | Flat, <i>a.</i>          | Mézi                           |
| Eight,                 | Théthá                     | Flint, <i>a.</i>         | Jipvorú, Kétsé-<br>thégá       |
| Eighteen,              | Mékú-pomo-thé-<br>thá      | Flower, <i>n.</i>        | Ménipú <i>or</i> Nhápú         |
| Eighty,                | Lhí-théthá                 | Fly, <i>v.</i>           | Proché                         |
| Elbow, <i>n.</i>       | Búthú                      | Fog, <i>n.</i>           | Kémhú                          |
| Elephant, <i>n.</i>    | Chú, Tsú                   | Foot, <i>n.</i>          | Phi                            |
| Eleven,                | Kerr-o-pokr                | Forehead, <i>n.</i>      | Tikhá                          |
| Evening, <i>n.</i>     | Théva                      | Forest, <i>n.</i>        | Nhá, Ketsá                     |
| Eye, <i>n.</i>         | Mhi                        | Forgive, <i>v.</i>       | Khásiché                       |
| Eyebrow, <i>n.</i>     | Uké                        | Forget, <i>v.</i>        | Rékra, Motáché                 |
| Eyelash, <i>n.</i>     | Mhimá                      | Formerly, <i>ad.</i>     | Kéráki                         |
| Eyelid, <i>n.</i>      | Mhi-né                     | Fort, <i>n.</i>          | Kúdá                           |
| Fall, <i>v.</i>        | Krr                        | Fortify, <i>v.</i>       | Kúdáhúléché                    |
| False, <i>a.</i>       | Kétichi, Kéchirr           | Forty,                   | Lhidá                          |
| Far, <i>a.</i>         | Shá-chá                    | Four,                    | Dá                             |
| Fat, <i>a.</i>         | Lo                         | Fourteen,                | Kérr-o-dá                      |
| Father, <i>n.</i>      | Pú, <i>or</i> Apú          | Fowl, <i>n.</i>          | Thévá                          |
| Fault, <i>n.</i>       | Gwákemo                    | Friend, <i>n.</i>        | Aso                            |
| Feather, <i>n.</i>     | Má, Thévmá                 | Frog, <i>n.</i>          | Gwirrno                        |
| Feeble, <i>a.</i>      | Kéméné                     | Front door, <i>n.</i>    | Ki-khá                         |
| Feed, <i>v.</i>        | Váchi                      | Fruit, <i>n.</i>         | Shi, si, rosi                  |
| Female, <i>a.</i>      | Pokrr                      | Gall-bladder, <i>n.</i>  | Thésiéh                        |
| Fetch, <i>a.</i>       | Péphirché                  | Ginger, <i>n.</i>        | Kévú                           |
| Fever, <i>a.</i>       | Rokí                       | Girl, <i>n.</i>          | Reliénúmá                      |
| Few, <i>a.</i>         | Petsa, Hotcho              | Give, <i>v.</i>          | Chúché                         |
| Fifteen,               | Kérr-o-péngú               | Go, <i>v.</i>            | Totáché, Toshi                 |
| Fifty,                 | Lhí-péngú                  | Goat, <i>n.</i>          | Ténio                          |
| Fight, <i>v.</i>       | Kénné-ché, Térrh-<br>siché | God, <i>n.</i>           | Terrho-diú                     |
| Fill, <i>v.</i>        | Sú-shiché                  | Gold, <i>n.</i>          | Soná                           |
| Fin, <i>n.</i>         | Khoshitsi                  | Good, <i>a.</i>          | Kéví                           |
| Find, <i>v.</i>        | Ngú-shiché                 | Goose, <i>n.</i>         | Tophá-kedi                     |
| Finger, <i>n.</i>      | Bichino                    | Grandfather, <i>n.</i>   | Apúcháó                        |
| Fire, <i>n.</i>        | Mí                         | Grandmother, <i>n.</i>   | Achapfú, <i>or</i> Azáp-<br>vú |
| First, <i>a.</i>       | Kéráo                      | Grandson, <i>n.</i>      | Nono                           |
| Fish, <i>v.</i>        | Khoté                      | Granddaughter, <i>n.</i> | Nokimá                         |
| Fish, <i>n.</i>        | Kho                        | Grass, <i>n.</i>         | Nhá                            |
| Fish-hook, <i>n.</i>   | Khoshégwí                  | Grasshopper, <i>n.</i>   | Tékú                           |
| Fishing-rod, <i>n.</i> | Khosési                    | Grave, <i>n.</i>         | Mokhrú                         |

| <i>English.</i>             | <i>Angami.</i>   | <i>English.</i>          | <i>Angami.</i>      |
|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Great, <i>a.</i>            | Kédi, Kézá       | Hundred, <i>a.</i>       | Krá                 |
| Green (color), <i>a.</i>    | Pézié or Képézié | Hunger, <i>a.</i>        | Mérr                |
| Green (raw), <i>a.</i>      | Kérhé            | I, <i>pro.</i>           | A                   |
| Ground, <i>n.</i>           | Kézi             | Idiot, <i>n.</i>         | Kélého              |
| Gullet, <i>n.</i>           | Mezáro           | Idle, <i>a.</i>          | Kétsomá             |
| Gun, <i>n.</i>              | Missi            | Iron, <i>n.</i>          | Théjá               |
| Gunpowder, <i>n.</i>        | Bákhár           | Ivory, <i>n.</i>         | Chúhú               |
| Guts, <i>n.</i>             | Rá               | Jaw, <i>n.</i>           | Méchie              |
| Hail, <i>n.</i>             | Prr              | Join, <i>v.</i>          | Méthúshi            |
| Hair (of man), <i>n.</i>    | Tsú-thá, Thá     | Jump, <i>v.</i>          | Prúsiché            |
| Hair (of animal), <i>n.</i> | Má               | Jungle-fowl, <i>n.</i>   | Voprr               |
| Half, <i>a.</i>             | Téchá            | Jungle, <i>n.</i>        | Nhá                 |
| Halfway, <i>n.</i>          | Chákhwipo        | Keep, <i>v.</i>          | Pévéléché           |
| Hammer, <i>n.</i>           | Jivátché         | Kick, <i>v.</i>          | Phitchá-potché      |
| Hand, <i>n.</i>             | Bi, or Bhi       | Kid, <i>n.</i>           | Téniono             |
| Handsome, <i>n.</i>         | Ngú-vi           | Kidney, <i>n.</i>        | Mécha               |
| Hawk, <i>n.</i>             | Múvino           | Kill, <i>v.</i>          | Dákhrléché          |
| He, <i>pro.</i>             | Po               | Kilt, <i>n.</i>          | Ni, Méni            |
| Head, <i>n.</i>             | Tsú              | Kind, <i>a.</i>          | Mézié               |
| Hear, <i>v.</i>             | Réniélé          | King, <i>n.</i>          | Kédimá              |
| Heart, <i>n.</i>            | Mélú             | Knee, <i>n.</i>          | Khútzá              |
| Heavy, <i>a.</i>            | Meswi            | Knot, <i>n.</i>          | Pélé                |
| Heel, <i>n.</i>             | Phitso           | Knuckle, <i>n.</i>       | Bikhrr              |
| Hen, <i>n.</i>              | Vokrr            | Ladder, <i>n.</i>        | Khéá                |
| Here, <i>ad.</i>            | Háki             | Lame, <i>a.</i>          | Réhié               |
| Hide, <i>v.</i>             | Kéválé           | Language, <i>n.</i>      | Khwé, Dé            |
| Hill, <i>n.</i>             | Kizikhrú         | Leaf, <i>n.</i>          | Nié                 |
| Hip, <i>n.</i>              | Ligé             | Leather, <i>n.</i>       | Chizá               |
| Hoe, <i>n.</i>              | Kéjá             | Leg, <i>n.</i>           | Phi                 |
| Hog, <i>n.</i>              | Vokrr            | Lemon, <i>n.</i>         | Shohosi             |
| Hold, <i>v.</i>             | Téléché          | Length, <i>n.</i>        | Kéchá               |
| Honey, <i>n.</i>            | Mékhwitdza       | Leopard, <i>n.</i>       | Tékhúkhúiha         |
| Hoof, <i>n.</i>             | Mú, Pomú         | Lick, <i>v.</i>          | Méiéché             |
| Horn, <i>n.</i>             | Ká, Poká         | Lightning, <i>n.</i>     | Timepri or Timellá  |
| Horse, <i>n.</i>            | Kwirr            | Lip, <i>n.</i>           | Sho                 |
| Hot, <i>a.</i>              | Lé               | Listen, <i>v.</i>        | Réniéléché          |
| House, <i>n.</i>            | Ki               | Little, <i>a.</i>        | Kéchi, Chi          |
| How? <i>ad.</i>             | Kidi?            | Little finger, <i>n.</i> | Bichono-re-khró-cho |
| How much? <i>ad.</i>        | Kézíki?          | Liver, <i>n.</i>         | Séh                 |
| How many? <i>ad.</i>        | Kichúró?         | Long, <i>a.</i>          | Kechá               |

| <i>English.</i>              | <i>Angami.</i>                     | <i>English.</i>                        | <i>Angami.</i>             |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Lungs, <i>n.</i>             | Phiéh                              | Now, <i>ad.</i>                        | Ché                        |
| Man, <i>n.</i>               | Thépvomá, <i>or</i> Má<br>Thémmá   | Oil, <i>n.</i>                         | Gákrizú                    |
| Mangoe, <i>n.</i><br>(fruit) | Merrosi                            | Old, <i>a.</i>                         | Kétsá                      |
| Meat, <i>n.</i>              | Themo                              | Once, <i>ad.</i>                       | Zopo                       |
| Medicine, <i>n.</i>          | Dárú                               | One,                                   | Po                         |
| Mend, <i>v.</i>              | Threléché                          | Onion, <i>n.</i>                       | Khorá                      |
| Middle, <i>n.</i>            | Métso                              | Orange, <i>n.</i>                      | Chiffo                     |
| Midnight, <i>n.</i>          | Tilloki                            | Orphan, <i>n.</i>                      | Méronomá                   |
| Milk, <i>n.</i>              | Núdzú                              | Owl, <i>n.</i>                         | Bokhro                     |
| Monkey, <i>n.</i>            | Tékwi                              | Pain, <i>n.</i>                        | Chi                        |
| Month, <i>n.</i>             | Khrr                               | Peacock, <i>n.</i>                     | Rádi                       |
| Moon, <i>n.</i>              | Krr, <i>or</i> Khrr                | Pig, <i>n.</i>                         | Thevo (wild pig,<br>Mengi) |
| Mosquitoe, <i>n.</i>         | Virú                               | Pigeon, <i>n.</i>                      | Topér                      |
| Mother, <i>n.</i>            | Ázo                                | Plantain, <i>n.</i><br>(tree.)         | Tékwhési                   |
| Mountain, <i>n.</i>          | Kiji-khrú, <i>or</i> Sájé-<br>khrú | Poison, <i>n.</i>                      | Théri                      |
| Mound, <i>n.</i>             | Répú                               | Poor, <i>n.</i>                        | Mháji                      |
| Mouse, <i>n.</i>             | Zúcheno                            | Porcupine, <i>n.</i>                   | Sékrú                      |
| Moustaches, <i>n.</i>        | Támá                               | Potato, <i>n.</i>                      | Réphé                      |
| Mouth, <i>n.</i>             | Tá                                 | Pull, <i>v.</i>                        | Teshilé                    |
| Mud, <i>n.</i>               | Niébá                              | Push, <i>v.</i>                        | Neshi                      |
| Musket, <i>n.</i>            | Missi                              | Raft, <i>n.</i>                        | Gwéiá                      |
| Nail (finger), <i>n.</i>     | Bitsé                              | Rafter, <i>n.</i>                      | Terhú                      |
| Naked, <i>a.</i>             | Métho                              | Rain, <i>n.</i>                        | Tir                        |
| Navel, <i>n.</i>             | Loh                                | Rat, <i>n.</i>                         | Thézú                      |
| Near, <i>prep.</i>           | Képénoki                           | Raw, <i>a.</i>                         | Kérhi                      |
| Neck, <i>n.</i>              | Vo                                 | Red, <i>a.</i>                         | Kéméri, Loiá               |
| Needle, <i>n.</i>            | Thépré                             | Rest, <i>v.</i>                        | Rélité                     |
| Nephew, <i>n.</i>            | No, <i>or</i> Sázeono              | Return, <i>v.</i>                      | Lákérlé                    |
| Nest (bird), <i>n.</i>       | Pérrá-krú                          | Rhinoceros, <i>n.</i>                  | Kwédá                      |
| Net, <i>n.</i>               | Zú                                 | Rib, <i>n.</i>                         | Tié                        |
| New, <i>a.</i>               | Késsá                              | Rice (unhusk-<br>ed), <i>n.</i>        | Lhámá                      |
| Niece, <i>n.</i>             | No                                 | Rice (husked<br>and cooked), <i>n.</i> | Té                         |
| Night, <i>n.</i>             | Tizi                               | Rice (uncook-<br>ed), <i>n.</i>        | Chiko                      |
| Nine,                        | Thékú                              | Rich, <i>n.</i>                        | Máhni                      |
| Nineteen,                    | Mékú-pemo-thékú                    | Ring, <i>n.</i>                        | Bikhá                      |
| Ninety,                      | Lhi-thékú                          | Ripe, <i>a.</i>                        | Mé                         |
| No, <i>ad.</i>               | Mo                                 |                                        |                            |
| Nose, <i>n.</i>              | Nhitchá                            |                                        |                            |

| <i>English.</i>          | <i>Angami.</i>  | <i>English.</i>     | <i>Angami.</i> |
|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|
| River, <i>n.</i>         | Kerr            | Sly, <i>a.</i>      | Méié           |
| Road, <i>n.</i>          | Cha, Shá        | Small, <i>a.</i>    | Chi, Kéchi     |
| Root, <i>n.</i>          | Mi, Pomi        | Smell, <i>v.</i>    | Thengúsiché    |
| Rope, <i>n.</i>          | Kérré, Kéié     | Snake, <i>n.</i>    | Tinhi          |
| Rotten, <i>a.</i>        | Titá            | So, <i>ad.</i>      | Hidi.          |
| Rupee, <i>n.</i>         | Ráká            | Son, <i>n.</i>      | No, Anó        |
| Salt, <i>n.</i>          | Métsá           | Sour, <i>a.</i>     | Khié           |
| Same, <i>a.</i>          | Kémhá           | Sow, <i>v.</i>      | Vokrr          |
| Sand, <i>n.</i>          | Hochá           | Span, <i>n.</i>     | Kúpo           |
| Sap, <i>n.</i>           | Sidzú           | Spear, <i>n.</i>    | Réngú          |
| Save, <i>v.</i>          | Pévélé          | Spider, <i>n.</i>   | Siré           |
| Say, <i>v.</i>           | Pulé            | Spit, <i>v.</i>     | Métsáchiché    |
| Scratch, <i>v.</i>       | Pekhwásiché     | Spleen, <i>n.</i>   | Nútu           |
| See, <i>v.</i>           | Pwhisiché       | Square, <i>a.</i>   | Pokádá         |
| Seize, <i>v.</i>         | Téléché         | Stab, <i>v.</i>     | Phiésiché      |
| Seven,                   | Théná           | Star, <i>n.</i>     | Thémú          |
| Seventy,                 | Lhi-théna       | Steal, <i>v.</i>    | Réguléché      |
| Seventeen,               | Mékú-pémo-théná | Stick, <i>n.</i>    | Kéthé          |
| Shade, <i>n.</i>         | Tisú            | Stone, <i>n.</i>    | Kéché          |
| Shallow, <i>a.</i>       | Kélloki         | Stomach, <i>n.</i>  | Vádi, Váká     |
| Shame, <i>a.</i>         | Méngá           | Straight, <i>a.</i> | Mézi           |
| Share, <i>v.</i>         | Kézáléché       | Stream, <i>n.</i>   | Kérr           |
| Sharpen, <i>v.</i>       | Kérsiché        | Strength, <i>n.</i> | Kéméti         |
| Shave, <i>v.</i>         | Thásiché        | Strike, <i>v.</i>   | Vúsiché        |
| Shield, <i>n.</i>        | Pézhi           | Suck, <i>v.</i>     | Kéhléléché     |
| Short, <i>a.</i>         | Kétzá, Kéchi    | Sun, <i>n.</i>      | Náki           |
| Shoulder, <i>n.</i>      | Búkhé           | Swear, <i>v.</i>    | Réswéléché     |
| Shut, <i>v.</i>          | Kévásiché       | Sweep, <i>v.</i>    | Tswéáché       |
| Sick, <i>a.</i>          | Mháchi          | Sweet, <i>a.</i>    | Kémú           |
| Silver, <i>n.</i>        | Rákájé          | Tail, <i>n.</i>     | Mi             |
| Sing, <i>v.</i>          | Kéllisichiché   | Take, <i>v.</i>     | Léléché        |
| Sister, <i>n.</i>        | Alápvo          | Tall, <i>a.</i>     | Rékré          |
| Sister-in-law, <i>n.</i> | Mé, Amé         | Tear, <i>v.</i>     | Kihásiché      |
| Sit, <i>v.</i>           | Bálé            | Ten, <i>a.</i>      | Kérr           |
| Six,                     | Súru            | Testicle, <i>n.</i> | Dza            |
| Sixteen,                 | Kérr-o-súru     | They, <i>pro.</i>   | Lúko           |
| Sixty,                   | Lhi-súru        | That, <i>a.</i>     | Lú             |
| Skin, <i>n.</i>          | Jih             | Then, <i>ad.</i>    | Nhi            |
| Sky, <i>n.</i>           | Ti              | There, <i>ad.</i>   | Chinú, Lúki    |
| Sleep, <i>v.</i>         | Jiléché         | Thick, <i>a.</i>    | Méllloh, Shi   |
| Slowly, <i>ad.</i>       | Rekrihé-rekrihé | Thief, <i>n.</i>    | Kérégúma       |



| <i>English.</i>                     | <i>Angami.</i> | <i>English.</i>      | <i>Angami.</i>                 |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Thin, <i>a.</i>                     | Repvo          | Warm, <i>v.</i>      | Péléléché                      |
| This, <i>pro.</i>                   | Háo, chú       | Wash, <i>v.</i>      | Ménisiché                      |
| Thirty,                             | Sérr           | Water, <i>n.</i>     | Dza                            |
| Thirst, <i>n.</i>                   | Térrh          | Wax, <i>n.</i>       | Mekhwibo                       |
| Thorn, <i>n.</i>                    | Chohú          | We, <i>pro.</i>      | Héko                           |
| Thou, <i>pro.</i>                   | No             | West, <i>n.</i>      | Náki-keleta, Náki-<br>átchá    |
| Thousand,                           | Nié            | Wet, <i>v.</i>       | Pétséléché                     |
| Three,                              | Sé             | What, <i>pro.</i>    | Kézi                           |
| Throw, <i>v.</i>                    | Péiésiché      | When, <i>ad.</i>     | Kéziki                         |
| Thunder, <i>n.</i>                  | Prthé          | Where, <i>ad.</i>    | Kinú, Kirá                     |
| Thus, <i>ad.</i>                    | Hidi           | Which, <i>pro.</i>   | Kiú, Kézíú                     |
| Tie, <i>v.</i>                      | Pháléché       | White, <i>a.</i>     | Kekiá, Kepe <i>or</i><br>Kéchá |
| Tiger, <i>n.</i>                    | Tékhú-khúdi    | White-ant, <i>n.</i> | Mékhrr                         |
| To-day, <i>ad.</i>                  | Thá            | Who, <i>pro.</i>     | Sorú, Soporú                   |
| Toe, <i>n.</i>                      | Bhichino       | Why, <i>ad.</i>      | Kézíú                          |
| To-morrow, <i>ad.</i>               | Sodú           | Wide, <i>a.</i>      | Zá, Méiá                       |
| Tongue, <i>n.</i>                   | Méllá          | Widow, <i>n.</i>     | Sáthémipvomá                   |
| Tooth, <i>n.</i>                    | Hú             | Widower, <i>n.</i>   | Thémi, Sámimá                  |
| Torch, <i>n.</i>                    | Mitú           | Wife, <i>n.</i>      | Kimá                           |
| Touch, <i>v.</i>                    | Bésiché        | Wind, <i>n.</i>      | Tikhrá                         |
| Tree, <i>n.</i>                     | Si             | Wind-pipe, <i>n.</i> | Mézaro                         |
| Tribe, <i>n.</i>                    | Thino          | With, <i>prep.</i>   | Zé                             |
| Truth, <i>n.</i>                    | Kétho          | Within, <i>prep.</i> | Nú                             |
| Twelve,                             | Kérr-o-kéná    | Woman, <i>n.</i>     | Thénúma                        |
| Twenty,                             | Mékú           | Wood, <i>n.</i>      | Si                             |
| Two,                                | Kéná           | Wrist, <i>n.</i>     | Búché                          |
| Unbind, <i>v.</i>                   | Phishiché      | Write, <i>v.</i>     | Léshi-ruléché                  |
| Uncle (father's<br>side), <i>n.</i> | Ne, Ané        | Yam, <i>n.</i>       | Pdzá                           |
| Uncle (mother's<br>side), <i>n.</i> | Amúi           | Ye, <i>pro.</i>      | Néko                           |
| Unite, <i>v.</i>                    | Kéméthúsiché   | Year, <i>n.</i>      | Chi, Titchi                    |
| Unripe, <i>a.</i>                   | Mémo           | Yellow, <i>a.</i>    | Loihé                          |
| Vegetable, <i>n.</i>                | Gá             | Yes, <i>ad.</i>      | U, Uwé                         |
| Village, <i>n.</i>                  | Rénná          | Yesterday, <i>n.</i> | Ndú                            |
| Warm, <i>a.</i>                     | Lé             | You, <i>pro.</i>     | No                             |

*An Account of the Maiwár Bhíls.*—By T. H. HENDLEY, Surgeon, Jaipúr Agency, Rájputáná.

(With a plate.)

Much has been written on the subject of the Bhíls, but it may not be thought uninteresting to give an account of those members of the race who reside in the hilly tracts of Maiwár, as there they have perhaps best preserved their individuality. I have been able to collect a good deal of information, whilst residing amongst them as Surgeon of the Maiwár Bhíl Corps, and have in addition derived much benefit from the local knowledge of Thákur Gambhír Singh, a Ráthor Chief settled in the Tracts. Major Gunning, Commandant of the Bhíl Corps, has kindly read the bulk of my paper, and has also furnished a large number of valuable notes, without which it would have been difficult to complete the subject—to both these gentlemen my best thanks are due.

**Religion.**—In the present day, the religion of the Bhíl is one of ignorance and fear, modified more or less by contact with powerful and formed faiths; in some parts of Khándesh, for example, Muhammadanism has been the prevailing influence, in Maiwár Brahmanism. In the hilly tracts, the erection of cairns, usually on hill tops; the adoption of Shiva and his consort as symbols of the powers of terror and darkness; the construction of stone platforms on which stand blocks, smeared with red paint; the sacrifice of animals and tradition of human oblations; the use of effigies of the horse, are apparently relics of their ancient faith.

**Cairns.**—Piles of loose stones, solid or hollowed out in the centre, or mere platforms, are erected on the summits of high hills, the supposed *stháns* or seats of the gods or goddesses, usually the latter—in or on these are arranged a large number of stone or burnt clay images of the horse. I have seen a hollow cairn on the verge of a steep crag near Khairwárá, four feet in diameter and as many deep, filled with these images, each of which was about four inches in length. On the platforms the effigies are ranged in rows, often with many broken *chirághs* (clay dishes) in front of them; in these ghí or oil had been burnt, and the stones and horses were blackened with grease. Above wave on long bamboos pieces of rag, a universal custom amongst Hindus, Muhammadans, and even Christians (Roman Catholics), who often leave a shred of clothing on a pole or neighbouring bush as tribute to the guardian or deity of the shrine. It will be noted hereafter that some of these cairns or platforms are erected to the memory of the dead, but this is, perhaps, due to the supposition that the spirits of the deceased go to the hill deities.

The common explanation of the construction of cairns and horses is as follows:—Heaven is supposed to be but a short distance from earth, but the souls of the dead have to reach it by a very painful and weary journey, which can be avoided to some extent during life by ascending high hills, and there depositing images of the horse—which, in addition to reminding the gods of the work already accomplished, shall serve as chargers upon which the soul may ride a stage to bliss. The more modest make a hollow clay effigy, with an opening in the rear, into which the spirit can creep. An active Bhíl may, in this fashion, materially shorten the journey after death: both men and women follow the custom.

Sir, J. Malcolm says, "They (the Bhíls) reverence the horse and do "not mount him; all their legends" (as far as Major Gunning and I can discover, the people of the Tracts appear to have no legends) "hinge upon him, "they make mud horses which they range round the idol"; this they do in the fort at Khairwára "and promise to mount him, if he will hear their prayer". This superstitious adoration, which is quite universal amongst them, and which exists in parts of the Tracts where a living horse is almost unknown, might, perhaps, seem to favour a Turanian connexion, and be a relic of a life in which the horse was of some use to them, as it is now with the races who live on and by his swiftness (Túra, swiftness as of the horse). The custom is a common one. In a paper on 'Nooks and Corners in Bengal' (Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXI), the author notices that the villagers offer clay horses at the foot of a tree near Plassey; these people were probably Muhammadans, as Ja'far Sharif in his *Ķánún-i-Islám* mentions this as a custom amongst them. A Bhíl explanation for the ascent of hills is the desire to obtain offspring. The Rájpút adores the horse, as he does his sword, his elephant, and furniture of war, at the Dasahrá, Installation of Chiefs, &c., but much in the same sense as the Káyath his writing materials, the fencer his sticks, or the baniá his account-books; to him, therefore, we cannot look for the origin of the Bhíl custom.

*Platforms* of stone, or *stháns*, on which are placed slabs upright, generally plain, or merely named after a god and daubed with red paint, sometimes carved to represent Hanumán, quite an aboriginal deity if not the deified aborigine himself. The deity to whom the slabs are dedicated is usually Mahádeva; occasionally a regular Devángaṇ, or court of gods, is formed around the real object of worship, but this is accidental. I have neither seen nor heard of any gigantic stone monuments existing in the Bhíl country, either Menhirs or Cromlechs, as found in the Dakhin, nor should we expect to find them where pre-eminently a village system flourishes, as amongst the Bhíls: such works require a powerful and united people for their construction. The erection of a slab is perhaps as good an evidence of the existence of this Turanian custom as the presence of a huge and in-

destructible monument. The favourite deities are Mahádeva, Rúdra, the god of terror who is to be appeased with blood, and his even more awful consort Párvatí, Deví, Mátá. Malcolm says—"They reverence chiefly Mahádev, and Sícala Mátá, also Phúlbaí Mátá, in cholera and epidemic sickness—Kálíbaí Badribáí, and Gúnábáí, small-pox." In the tracts the first of all goddesses is Samúda Mátá; her *sthán* is near the village of Dhelána, about eight miles north of Khairwára. Mahádeva and Hanumán are worshipped in every village. Local deities are numerous, and are named after the hill or neighbouring village; the most-famed in the Khairwára district are\* Kániála-báppí, one of the largest páls, or villages, in the tracts, and Vájar Mátá,† at Jáwará, where are the famous silver and lead mines. The Bhíl women worship this, their Juno Lucina, for offspring; the temple is in the valley; and in the outer hall, by favour of the priest, British officers often spend the hot part of the day, when on the march. The Bhíl sipáhís salám to the image within the cell, but say it is of little use doing so, as the power of the goddess has failed since British influence became supreme; as proof they mention the desertion of the mines. Most Bhíls think the strong English Gods too much for the weak deities of their country, hence their desire to embrace Brahmanism, which comes within the scope of their understanding, raising them in the social scale, and, where there are Bráhman native officers, giving them, in their opinion, a better chance of promotion. This feeling the Bráhmans are not slow to take advantage of, and it requires great vigilance to defeat them. Such a readiness of adaptation would no doubt, as in the case of the Santáls, render them eager listeners to Christian Missionaries, but their circumstances require that the teaching should be of the simplest form, directed to them as a whole tribe rather than to individuals. Their main object is social advancement, and this they may well think would be most easily secured by reverencing the strong English Gods; their character would lead, however, to the conclusion that interest alone would not long remain the ruling motive.

Other local deities are—

Ambáo Mátá, at Limbarwára on the Gújarát border.

Thúr Mátá, at Thúr.

Bhar Mátá, at Amajrá.

Karah Mátá, at Dankiwára.

Pípláhín Mátá, on the Thúr Hill.

Bholiyá Dewat, at Bílak.

Dor Mátá, at Dailáná.

Here might be noted that the tombs of fakírs, bairágís, &c., are respected. These individuals, called Bhábhá, meet with some attention in life.

\* Named after the hill on which it stands.

† Near Ríri village in the Dúngarpur state.



One near Khairwára is noted for his possession of the virtue of perpetual chastity, which he preserves under constant temptation !

*Sacrifices.*—Long before the British power was felt in Maiwár, the Bhils sacrificed human beings. I have not been able to discover whether the victims were captives, or trained for the purpose, as amongst the Khonds, but am informed that the priests encouraged the people, and gave them every opportunity of seeing the sacrifice. Goats are now offered to Mátá or Deví, and the oblation is devoured by the worshipper. The tradition of human sacrifice exists amongst the Mínás ; a goat is still offered daily at the shrine of Ambadeví, at Amber, the ancient capital of Dhúndár, or Jaipur, as a substitute for the human victim formerly stated to have been sacrificed at the same place.

At installations at Jodhpur, buffaloes and goats are sacrificed in front of the four-armed Deví and thrown down the rock face of the fort, so again at the very ancient temple of Deví on the Chitor Hill. These are probably relics of aboriginal worship, rather than imitations of the offerings to Ká'í or Dúrgá, for they have existed from time immemorial, against the general feeling of the Rájput who is more a Vaishnavi than a Shivaít, although there are not wanting indications that the last named sect are attaining the pre-eminence. The Sirohí Mínás are much addicted to sacrifice ; the Bhíl delights in blood, and no one enjoys the Dasahrá slaughter more than he, although his greed for the flesh is no doubt a great inducement to slaying the animal.

*Priests.*—These are termed “Waties” or “Jogís”, and belong to the Jogí caste, with whom the Bhils eat and drink. Bráhmans and Bairágís are revered, but as a Ráo of Bánswára once said, “They beat them too”. A case in point was noted at Khairwára ; a fakír near that station was attacked by Bhils, his tongue torn out and face mutilated, merely because he concealed a rupee in his mouth, and the thieves were determined to have it, and disliked his hypocrisy.

*Ideas of Heaven.*—The Bhíl has a very dim idea of a future state. He believes the soul goes before his gods, and that the spirits of the dead haunt places they lived in during life. He also holds that there is a limited transmigration of souls, especially in spirits becoming evil ones. Eclipses and the motions of the heavenly bodies are deemed to be the play of their gods, and they howl with the Hindu when the moon is eclipsed. Unlike the Khonds and other wild races, they do not consider that a man-eating tiger has within him the spirit of a victim, who assists him in his raids ; this superstition I found common on the slopes of Mount Ábú amongst the Hindu religious men, especially at the shrine of the Muni Vasishṭha, the reputed originator of the hill. I was told by one of the Bráhmans that the soul of a departed brother had entered the body of a tiger, but up to the time of my visit had

contented himself with disturbing by his howls the devotions of the holy brethren.

A writer in J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII., of 1839, notices the accumulation of mud horses about Abú, which he says are thought to be placed at spots of victory. There seems to be no trace of serpent worship amongst them.

*Festivals.*—The Bhíls keep up the Holí and the Dasahrá, as they are then afforded opportunities of drinking to excess, and so indulging themselves, that at these seasons they appear more like beasts than men. Although it is stated that the Holí has always been observed amongst them, it does not appear that its origin is other than pure Hindu, as the mode of celebration does not differ from that in vogue elsewhere. It is kept up ten days, *gulál* (red powder) is thrown about, dances take place, rude jests are made, and the women attack and insult travellers until they release themselves by paying a small fine. The Bhágar Bhíls (J. A. S. B., Vol. IX., 1840) are said to keep up the Holí fire throughout the year.

There are two feasts in the year, though not at fixed times, although the cultivators hold one at the ingathering of harvest.

Fairs are attended in the Tracts, and afford opportunities for feasting. All Bhíls worship at Rakabnáth, seven miles from Khairwára, a shrine which is said to have been discovered by one of their people 900 years ago.

*Superstitions.*—Foremost amongst these is the belief in witches (*dá-kran*) and the power of the witch-finders (*bhopás*) to detect them.

Any one who is willing and has a grievance, sickness, or otherwise, has only to bribe a witch-finder sufficiently to obtain a victim, generally the wife or relative of an enemy, who is at once swung, head downwards, on a tree, where she is tortured by applications of red pepper to her eyes, nostrils, &c. Not twenty years ago, during the rains, a woman was swung in this way in the presence of British officers, who were unable to rescue her, as an impassable river lay between them. Should the unlucky woman escape death, she is turned out of the village, or, perhaps, the *bhopá* finds out under the influence of another *douceur*, that he was mistaken. The crime was a very common one, and even now cases are often reported, and where detection follows, the witch-finders are severely punished.

At the confluence of the Sôn river with the Myhí, four miles from Khairwára, I met a grey-haired man, who complained that he was turned out of the páls by the inhabitants, who said that his presence ruined their crops; he had been tried for murder, but acquitted for want of evidence, the people, however, thought that the curse of Heaven was upon him.

Bhíls are firm believers in omens; for example, a person sneezing, or a cat passing him, would make a man return home without accomplishing the work he had set out to do. A lizard also is looked upon as a harbinger of good or evil under certain conditions. They believe in Bhúts and Churails

(male and female departed spirits), &c. They wear charms or amulets on their right forearm and (women especially) on the head, to keep away the spirits. These charms are generally pieces of blue string with seven knots on them, each knot being tied on whilst the witch-finder recites some incantation; the knots are covered with metal to keep them undefiled. They are bound on during the Holí, Dasahrá, or other festivals.

**Career of a Bhi'l from birth to death.** *Birth.*—The woman is aided by her female friends, and should there be a *sage femme* amongst the people of other castes, she may be consulted in difficult cases, otherwise their trust is in Deví, who is probably as valuable as the midwives, who usually shut up the woman in a warm hut, and even in cases of hæmorrhage, apply warm cloths, and administer hot-spiced drinks. Cross births, as amongst most uncultivated people, are rare, and if they occur, are either left to the goddess, or presenting parts are hooked or amputated in accordance with the advice of the most knowing person, male or female, in the district—in this, however, there is little distinction between Hindu and Bhíl. The mother remains impure twenty days, an intermenstrual period. Guns are fired at the birth of a boy, and friends are feasted. The child is named by either a Bráhmaṇ or a Waiti, after some astrological jugglery. Examples of names will be given hereafter. The child is suckled two or three years. Twin births are not thought to be common.

The fact of the general adoption of polygamy would appear to indicate a natural preponderance of female births, and at the same time prove the absence of the crime of infanticide. This may be further demonstrated by the observation that “old maids of 40 to 45 years of age are constantly seen about Khairwárá carrying wood, &c”. The children are wrapped in clothes after birth and placed in round cradles of bamboo. The father teaches the boy to hunt, fish, &c., and he is said to be a man in his twelfth year, hunting on his own account in his fifteenth.

*Marriage.*—There is no fixed time for marriage: any time after the girl's tenth year, when she first dresses with some decency, will do. When the time has arrived, the father sets out in search of a bride for his son. She must not be a cousin, nor one of his own clan, although of course of the tribe. When the girl is found, she is placed on a stool, under which six pais are thrown, the boy's father now puts one rupee and twelve pais in her hand, with a quantity of rice, which the girl before rising throws behind her back—thus is the betrothal completed. The bridegroom always pays *dápa* (money) for his bride to her guardian,—a clear case of purchase.

On an appointed day (at puberty), the marriage takes place, a priest usually performs the ceremony, the dresses of the bride and bridegroom are knotted together, and they walk hand in hand round the assembly collected to grace their union. There is a feast, and in some places offerings are made to



Gotamjí in the wall of the hut, but these with other portions of the rite are Hindu. The girl is placed on the shoulders of her relations, one after the other, one leg hanging down before, one behind, and danced round in a circle, all over the village until she is half dead, and they too weary for further exertion.

In the absence of a Waiti, any elderly member of the family or party may join the pair together. The number of wives is limited by inclination and wealth alone, it rarely exceeds two. The following incident would seem to prove that the bond is not a very strong one. At a shooting party, a man had the misfortune to lose an eye; as the other organ was showing signs of sympathetic irritation, its removal was recommended, but declined, as the sepoy's seven wives—he said—would support him if only blind, but with a blemished one-eyed unlucky husband would have nothing to do. I heard afterwards that they forsook him, in spite of their promises, when blindness ensued. A sepoy had two children born by different mothers on the same day when I was at Khairwára. The girl has no choice in the selection of a husband. Widows may re-marry. The women are very chaste, and rarely have intrigues with strangers. An attempt of this kind on the part of a foreigner lately gave rise to trouble, the whole pál resenting the outrage. The men of the Maiwár Bhíl Corps leave their wives at home, making almost nightly, often very long journeys, to be with them. Large families are not uncommon. An unchaste woman would not be married; if she were, she and her husband would become outcasts. The adulterer is fined 240 Sháhinsháhi rupees (or about Rs. 187 Imperial); if the woman be married, the husband receives the money, and may repudiate his wife if he please, and so she becomes an outcaste, otherwise she escapes punishment. For a virgin the offender pays Rs. 60 (Sháhinsháhi, the Udaipur currency), and marries the girl. Women may be divorced for adultery, cases being settled by the pancháyat.

*Death and Burial.*—The Bhíl becomes an old man in his fiftieth or sixtieth year, and is then treated by his people with consideration.

When a death takes place, the body is carried to the burning place, usually near a river, the hair is removed, the corpse washed, and money put in the mouth. It is then placed upon the pile, and the friends walk round with burning wood and then light it. After washing they retire, one of their number coming occasionally to see that the cremation progresses favourably. After having consulted a priest, they go to select the bones, taking with them several small earthen pots, a larger vessel of earth, and a little rice. The latter is cooked, and placed with the large pot, filled with water, upon the ashes, while the bones placed in an earthen vessel are put in the hollow of a tree, and afterwards buried or taken to some sacred spot near or at Khairwára. A bone or some teeth are carried either to the Sámláji River, the Gotamjí



River in the Bánswára District, or to the stream which runs through Baneshwar in the Dúngarpúr District, and thrown in to help the deceased on his way to Paradise, or to prevent the manes troubling the living. Any kind of wood that will burn is used in the pile. The whole ceremony is Hindu, excepting the non-performance of the true *kriya karm*, the breaking of the skull and its attendant ceremonies. Other castes or tribes reject this rite, but they are I believe all lower ones, and the fact may be with them also a link with a life in which their ancestors were not Aryans. On the eleventh day the friends shave, on the twelfth feast jogís, and again at the end of the year. No tombs or cenotaphs are constructed, but a few days after death, a relative of the deceased is said to be informed in a dream that the spirit has taken up its abode on a neighbouring hill, whereupon friends and connexions proceed to the place, and erect a platform of stones, and leave there a quantity of food and liquor. There is no tradition of general burial, but the corpse of the first person who dies in a village of small-pox is interred in the earth for a time; if no one else dies of the disease, the body is soon taken up and burnt: Mátá objects to fire, hence the custom. Sir John Malcolm says, that the Vindhya Bhíls bury their dead; but in this and many other respects they seem to differ from the race as it exists in Maiwár.

The Bhíl man generally wears a dirty rag round his head, the hair being either plaited into a tail or two, or wound up and fastened with a comb of wood, and a waistcloth of limited length. He rarely wears anything more, even at festivals; as a rule he has nothing upon his feet. His arms are the bow and arrow. The bow, with the exception of two links of gut, is entirely made of bamboo, even to the string which is fastened in a very simple but ingenious fashion. A seasoned weapon requires the exertion of some strength in its use. The arrow is a reed tipped with an iron spike, either flat and sharp, or like a nail, or blunt for sport (*vide* plate). The Bhíl although very patient is not a good marksman, yet his weapon is a formidable one. His quiver is a piece of strong bamboo matting, and he generally carries in it with his arrows one of hardened wood with a soft piece of tinder-like wood, with which he can produce fire by friction. The weapons are very like those described as in use amongst the Lepchas of Sikkim. They are mentioned in Herodotus as the national weapon of certain Indians; and Sirohí, whence the Bhíl arrows come, derives its ancient name 'Sárú' (Sirohi) from *sár* or *nár*, a reed, a proof of the very great antiquity of these weapons. The men (of position) wear earrings; the whole lobe is bored along the edge, and loaded with little rings usually of gold. The favourite ornament is one which passes behind the whole ear from top to bottom, like the *nath*, or large nose-ring of married women; the same ring there called "pugúl" is worn by the men of the Coromandel coast. The richer men are

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fond of jewellery especially the silver waist belts—the *kamarsál* and *kamar-pattá* of their neighbours. Those who can afford it have guns and swords, but these are not national weapons. They do not tatoo the body. The hair is worn long in their homes, but tied up abroad.

The men usually shave the face, but sometimes wear a beard, as far as I have observed, a scanty one. The head may be shaved, but a top knot is always left. Shaving is a sign of mourning.

*Females.*—In the villages where there are Hindus, the dress is that of the women about them, but in the hills they generally wear only a simple waistcloth, rather more full than that of the men, reaching half way down their well-formed legs. Occasionally they use the small *kanchlí* (corset), worn by the women of Gujarát, and they adopt the mode of the inhabitants of the same province in dressing their hair, which is parted into little squares, and covered with small globular grape-like ornaments. They wear on their arms and legs the lac and glass *chúrís* of the poor Hindu; but their national bangles and bracelets are made of brass, and are sharp-edged, rough, and worn smooth by friction alone, often causing ulceration in the process. In a set of bracelets are four rings (*vide* plate)—

1. A plain bevelled ring.
2. One semi-oval in section, grooved across obliquely.
3. A double plain flat ring.
4. A rough grooved ring with an octagonal boss.

Weight for one arm,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ounces.

For the leg are five ornaments—

- 1 and 2. Two plain rings (semi-oval in section).
- 3 and 4. Two flattened sharp-edged ones.
5. A M shaped ornament, worn only by married women.

Weight of bangles for one leg,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ounces. Total weight of brass ornaments,  $35\frac{1}{2}$  ozs., or 2 lbs.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ozs., an enormous load to drag about the hills, although nothing to be compared with a Hindu *Paṭrání*, who will wear half a maund on a festival day. The young women wear necklaces of beads, and the children are kept without dress to an advanced age; sometimes, however, having a bead or charm by way of pudendal ornament.

*Manufactures, &c.*—The Bhíl brings in grass and wood and a few supplies to Rájput villages, where he purchases ornaments, arrows, &c. He collects ghí, and sells it to neighbouring baniás, also honey, which is procured by smoking out the bees with burning cowdung, and then cutting open the comb and catching the honey in an earthen pot.

*Agriculture.*—The system of agriculture is very rude. The ground is merely scratched below or near the hut of the labourer, and the seed thrown in broadcast. The ploughing takes place during the rains. Wood is burnt as a manure; the fields are surrounded with temporary hedges of

thorn bushes to keep off animals ; irrigation is not undertaken from wells by the Bhíl proper ; well water is used for drinking alone, but for this purpose even he has a more simple contrivance, namely, digging a pit in the dry bed of a river, and thus easily securing an abundant supply by filtration. He loses not a drop of rain, however, if it can be avoided ; he builds walls of loose stones, earthed up with soil, across the narrow valleys, and so forms a series of terraces, on which he grows rice, maize, &c.

The páťels or cultivators in the Rájput villages irrigate and grow many other crops. Indian Corn appears always to have been the staple food. The grain is stored up, the fresh ears of maize are much liked, and the ripe grain in the season costs about twelve annas a maund. Grass is cut on the hill sides and summits, where it seems most to abound, made into bundles, a dozen or more of which are transfixed by a long sharp-pointed bamboo with a peg half way down to prevent slipping, and carried, perhaps, several miles by the women to sell or store up ; the stacks are on raised platforms, macháns, or high up in the tree branches. The principal source of wealth is undoubtedly the rearing of cattle on the hills. The women take the cows and goats out to graze on the mountain sides, which have been worn into thousands of paths by generations of animals. A man's position is estimated by the number of cows he has.

**Habitations.**—A Bhíl village, or pál, is a collection of houses scattered sometimes for miles along the sides of the hills. There are no baniás, these with the páťels reside in Rájput villages or those belonging to Chiefs of mixed blood. A platform of stones and earth is generally erected on the slope of a hill, and on this is raised a loose stone wall ; the roof is of timber and flat tiles. In some places, as at Ábú, the villages are mere thatched bee-hives. The huts are substantial, commodious, and clean, often having a courtyard in the centre : the back of the building usually looks towards a hill to enable the owner to flee to its summit when his fears suggest a hostile approach. In the Tracts many deserted and ruined houses may be seen, but a pál itself is *never* abandoned. Sometimes there are the mere platforms on which huts have never been built as safer spots or better soil have been secured, or perhaps more often, their homes have been burnt over their heads by their Rájput masters as punishment for crime.

The Rájput villages are built on the sides of hills down into the plains, leaving the Fort of the Chief overshadowing and overawing them above ; here, however, the houses are crowded together, and a wall surrounds the whole. In a Bhíl pál, the huts are often half a mile apart. A community such as that of Burla, which formerly numbered a thousand houses and three times as many bows, would therefore occupy a considerable extent of country.

**Food.**—The Bhíl rejects nothing, except perhaps home-fed pork, he will eat the bodies of dead animals—and even beef if he dared. Some time

since a Thákur cut off the legs of two eaters of the sacred cow and plunged the stumps into boiling oil. The mainstay, as before stated, is maize, then comes rice; they like goat's flesh, which is most often eaten after being first used as an oblation, fish, and fruit, especially ním (*Azadirachta Indica*) and jámún (*Syzgium Zambolanum*) berries. They preserve caste amongst themselves, especially when Hindus are at hand; they eat together, but two people never use the same plate or leaf. They will drink raw spirits out of a bottle from their hollowed hands or even in a glass, when only their officers are near them—they really enjoy getting drunk; the women do drink, but not to such excess as the men, and if they should be unfortunate, remain indoors, the degrading spectacle of an intoxicated woman is, therefore, rarely seen. Their favourite beverage, which is used on all festive occasions, and which is prepared by the Bhíls themselves, or a kalál or liquor-seller, who resides in every village, is the spirit distilled from the flower of the Mhowa tree (*Bassia latifolia*). The Khond and other races use the same spirit, and the bear appreciates the flowers. Every tree has its owner, however remote in the jungle. The liquor is not very strong when made in the villages. I was compelled twice to re-distil some obtained in Erinpúra before it would burn in a spirit lamp. A four-anna bottle, however, of Phúl Dárú, 'flowery spirit', will rejoice the heart of a Bhíl.

The Bhíl knows little of cooking, he has as furniture a chápái, a few kotís or large earthen pots for grain, a brass loṭá or two, as many earthen pots, and when there is a baby, a cradle in which to swing it.

His agricultural implements are a rough sort of spade, a kulhárí or hatchet, a khantí or crowbar with a sharp point, a khurpá for cutting grass, a plough and a common piece of flat wood which takes the place of a harrow.

**Customs.**—The Bhíl is taught to hunt by his father and friends; he will shoot small game and not fear to attack large. He is a capital huntsman, tracking and marking down tigers, panthers, and bears, knowing all their haunts, the best places to shoot them, the paths they take and all those points so essential to success in great game shooting; they will remember for years the spots where tigers have been disposed of, and all the circumstances connected with their death.

The Bhíl will himself attack a leopard and, with his sword, aided by his friends, cut him in pieces. No one, not even the Khond, can excel or even equal him in tracking men. He is very skilful in snaring game, and will destroy a hare in this fashion.

A party assembles in an open place surrounded by trees, a hare is started, one man alone shows himself, and runs a few yards after the animal which flies to the edge of the circle, whence another foe darts out and frightens her back, the manœuvre is repeated until at last the poor creature drops from exhaustion.



The hunter is very patient, he will sit for hours to get a chance shot at a fish; should he miss, as he usually does, his arrows float, and when his quiver is empty, he jumps into the stream and brings them out again although the pool may be swarming with alligators.

He is a clever fisherman, often cutting off part of a stream with a network arrangement of stones and bushes, through which the water passes leaving the fish behind, he also nets the stream, swimming into the river to secure his prey. Almost every Bhíl, man, woman, and child, can swim; they generally jump into the water feet foremost, they will dive to great depths and long distances, and to avoid risk from bites of alligators usually go into the streams in large numbers. These creatures they also deter further by striking the water with the foreparts of their feet, progressing Maltese fashion, forming line and shouting. With a line of noisy Bhíls to keep alligators away, a bath in the Maiwár streams and lakes can be very safely indulged in. With these precautions a single Bhíl does not fear to enter the pool to remove his arrows or wounded fish. The traveller may occasionally see large parties of women and children enjoying the pleasure of a good swim in the hill torrents, while some of their friends sit on the banks playing the flute, or herding the flocks.

The forest paths are narrow, necessitating marching in Indian file, a mode of progress which men and women generally preserve when the road is wide enough to walk otherwise.

The Bhíl is an excellent woodman, knows the shortest cuts over the hills, can walk the roughest paths and climb the steepest crags without slipping or feeling distressed. He is often called in old Sanskrit works *Vená-púka*, Child of the Forest; *Pál Indra*, Lord of the Pass—these names well describe his character; his country is approached through narrow defiles—*Pál* or *Nál* (a causeway). Through these none can pass without his permission. In former days he always levied 'rakhwáli' or black-mail, and even now native travellers find him quite ready to assert what he deems his just rights. It has been stated that when the mutineers of the Cavalry detachment stationed at *Khairwára* attempted to escape through the hills in 1858-9, they were compelled to return in many instances, as the Bhíls stripped them of everything, even their clothes.

Though robbers, and timorous, owing to ages of ill-treatment, the men are brave when trusted, and very faithful; they have been looked upon by the *Rájpúts* as wild beasts to be hunted down as vermin, and are now only beginning to feel themselves men. There is a great difference in this respect between the inhabitants of the district round *Khairwára* and those more remote. At the time the Maiwár Bhíl Corps was raised, it was thought necessary to pay certain *Thákurs* for their supposed influence over the Bhíls, but their aid in obtaining recruits was almost nominal, and is now useless, as

service in the regiment is so popular, that hosts of applicants appear whenever a vacancy occurs, and men are willing to be drilled for a year or two before receiving pay rather than run the risk of final rejection. At the same time, though earnest good soldiers, they object to serving at a long distance from their homes; they would, however, in all probability not decline a temporary absence.

History proves them always to have been faithful to their nominal Rájput sovereigns, especially in their adversity.

The Bhíl is a merry soul loving a jest, the better if a bannia or cheating kotwál be the object of sport.

**Laws and Government.**—Crimes are almost invariably punished by fine, with in some cases confiscation, and the awards now given have been in use from time immemorial.

The heads of villages and other men of mark form a pancháyat, and arbitrate and adjudicate in all cases both civil and criminal. Such has been always the custom. Where the Rájput has the Bhíl in his power, his justice is stern enough, decapitation, burning his pál, &c., for even minor crimes.

**Murder.**—A murderer was formerly either killed by the friends of the victim or fined Rupees 240 (Rupees 187 Imperial), twelve bullocks, as many goats, and jars of wine, and had a dozen arrows fired into his back. The fine is now the only punishment, the additional penalties have long since been discontinued.

**Adultery.**—The laws of divorce and punishment for this crime have been already noticed.

**Theft.**—The thief has to restore twice the value of the property stolen, and is fined from Rupees 5 to 10 Imperial.

**Treachery.**—In this case there is a general plunder of the possessions of the guilty person, and in addition he becomes subject to any award the pancháyat may afterwards decree against him, should he wish to re-establish himself in his village.

The headman in a village is called a Gammaití. The office is usually hereditary, subject to confirmation of the Rájput suzerain, when he has the will to exercise his power or feels able to support an adverse order. Some of these men are really hereditary Chiefs, and are held responsible for the peace of their páls.

The Bhíls are locally very clannish, but have not the elements necessary to form a great people: a man thinks only of his pál and his neighbours, and is unmoved by outward changes of government, which affect him but very remotely. There is no tradition of a king amongst them, although Rájput chronicles mention one, who was succeeded or rather supplanted by the Gahlot, Bápá Ráwul, the descendant of the Balabhi monarchs and ancestor of the Ránás of Udaipur. Certain chiefs of mixed race, notably Ogúná and

Punarwa, are supposed to have more influence than Rájpúts of pure descent. On the female side these men are Bhíls; they affect, however, to be pure Kshatriyas, although they have certain privileges, such as applying the *ṭiká* or mark of investiture on the forehead of the Ránás of Udaipúr, which are due entirely to services rendered by their ancestors as Bhíls or semi-Bhíls.

*Tenure of Property, &c.*—The lands are held at the will of the landlord, the Rájpút, nominally. The Bhíl makes a will by calling all his family around him when he is dying, and telling them verbally how he wishes his property disposed of. If he die too suddenly to make a will, the wife and son, if on good terms, succeed, and support the rest of the family, that is, those who were dependent upon the deceased; if not friendly, the wife takes all; in default of wife or son, a brother succeeds, and so on; the daughters and other female relations (except the wife) do not succeed unless by will.

The prominence of the wife in the testament shows that she is looked upon as an equal, while the disposition to a brother in the absence of direct heirs male, proves that there is a desire to keep the property in the family of the man, and to obtain one who will best be able to support the weak survivors.

*Quarrels.*—Should a quarrel arise, which cannot be settled by arbitration, the inhabitants of one or two or more allied páls turn out and fight with their foes. They let down their long hair and begin the conflict with their bows and arrows—the women looking on encouraging them from the hills and displaying also great bravery and humanity in aiding the wounded of either side indifferently—occasionally seeking a truce for a general refreshment; when rested, they commence again. Very little damage as a rule is done, there is much noise with a great expenditure of arrows, but few are wounded, as they are but poor shots, especially under excitement. They show themselves very skilful in taking advantage of cover, and, I am told, when in the Maiwár Bhíl Corps are quite at home at “Sheltered Trench Exercise”. A dead or badly wounded man generally brings on a truce, which is obtained by the suppliant party waving a piece of cloth or running round in a circle. A noisy talk then ensues, all, however, being still armed, to resume battle at a moment’s notice, should occasion require. The solemn administration of opium (the drug used in most cases of murder and suicide) by the jogís or gammaitís secures peace, and a grand feast and debauch on mhowa spirit follows. Battle is generally preceded by the dance called Ghanna—they have a war-song of loud and very unmusical abuse, with magical incantations and nonsense. Quarrels between individuals are generally settled by arbitration, the more easily as, though quick-tempered, the Bhíls are very good-natured, even in their very rough play. Immediately strangers approach the páls, the Bhíls rush to the hills, attacking only when they feel themselves strong enough to master. When a single man is in

danger, and requires assistance, he brings all his friends around him by raising a peculiar trembling cry the 'kilkí' (doubtless from 'kil', a sound; 'kilkilá', a joyous sound), produced by rapidly striking the hollowed hand against the mouth while shouting. The kilkí is heard in the hills at a great distance, and is the usual signal for all gatherings, men and women taking it up one after the other.

It may be observed here that Bhíls do not run a muck and attack every one they meet indiscriminately, as the Moplabs do, although when inflamed with drink, they will attempt to attack a real or fancied enemy. This remark applies to the race as well as to individuals.

**Divisions of time, &c.**—Of time little account is taken. The Bhíl never knows his own age; one man is a 'jawán', youth, another a 'bhábhá', old man. The month is a lunar one, the year is called "bar" (बरिब).

**Sports.**—They have no games of chance. The only children's toys are of mud or ears of corn. The boys and men play a game with sticks and a ball made of rags, something like football and hockey combined, without much aim, but with plenty of spirit. They sometimes run races, and enjoy football when at Khairwára, playing without shoes; they prefer, however, sitting quietly talking and singing. They play upon a flute made of a piece of bamboo, pierced with three or four large holes with a hot iron; the sound is sweet and simple without time or rythm. The men often play as they come from the fields in single file, some of the party singing to the accompaniment. Amongst the Mínás two flutes are often played at once, one serving as an echo to the other. It is customary for one man to sing a verse of a song, and for another to reply in a slightly different key. The Mínás in this respect seem to be more advanced than the Bhíls; the words of the songs are being constantly varied, but it is probable that the frame-work remains unaltered—specimens are given below. The men are capable of tuition in music; some play fairly in the Khairwára band.

**Dancing.**—At the Holi, before battle, and at all feasts, the men dance, chiefly the ring dance called "Ghanna".

Musicians take their place in the centre of the circle and begin to play their drums, at first slowly, then more noisily as the performers grow more excited; the men revolve in a ring—now in single, now in double file—sometimes spread out, at others crowded together—now advancing, now receding—again hand in hand, or dancing a *pas seul*. By and by wands appear, one of which each takes in his hand, and as the dancer advances he strikes the sticks of his neighbours, first that of the one to the rear and then that of the one to the front, making a half or whole turn in doing so, all in harmony with the music; he jumps or goes sedately as his fancy moves him. The circle sometimes revolves with, sometimes against, the sun; as the excitement rises, the speed increases, and some of the men, often after letting down their long



hair, go into the centre of the circle, where they dance alone for a while; when weary they retire but not for long. At a great dance at Khairwára, I once saw a bairáí with his matted hair, his naked mud-bedaubed skin, his long beard, deer-skin, &c., imitated to the life, greatly to the delight of the Bhíls, who every now and then stimulated their countryman, evidently a favourite and noted performer, by their applause and the application of a long pole. Women join in Bhíl dances with the men, in the same circle, but not mixed with them, unless they be members of the same family. The dance at the Holi is usually performed without sticks, with hideous yells and songs, the men all besmeared with red powder and excited with wine; such a scene is very suggestive of Bacchanalian orgies, or a dance of devils. Skilled performers exhibit a war-dance, armed to the teeth, and imitate a combat, pretending to fire at each other with bow or gun, flourishing swords in a most real fashion. To be carried on the shoulders of a principal combatant in the mimic fight is considered a great honour.

The *ghanna* is the favourite, the *asl* or true dance of the desert court of Márwár; there women are the performers, their wands are parti-coloured, and these they strike together, in unison, as they glide round the circle, with a very pretty effect. Quite lately the dance was revived at Udaipúr.

It is very curious, that this amusement, which would appear to be very ancient, has been best retained by the most distant court, and the wildest people of India.

Nicolo Conti, the Venetian, early in the 15th century refers to nautes in rings and lines, and to girls having two sticks, which they struck against each other, as a pretty spectacle.

This dance I should imagine to have no connection with solar or planetary worship, the progression being unfixed, neither sunwise nor the reverse.

**Diseases.**—The Bhíls are a healthy race. They dread small-pox—for which they practise inoculation, at present rather avoiding vaccination—and cholera, as evidenced by their reverence for the Hindu deities, who are supposed to be the authors of these disorders. Cholera is not a common disease amongst them, but small-pox is very fatal. The remedy for everything is the actual cautery; few adults, few children, and even animals are without scars. Entozoa are not very common, although the Mínás, very unclean feeders, as far as my experience goes, appear very subject both to *Ascarides* and Tape-worm. Guinea worm attacks almost everybody. In the Indian Medical Gazette of March 1872, I published statistics of 3229 cases of the disorder. All the sufferers were admitted from the men of the Maiwár Bhíl Corps in the twenty-seven years ending December 1870, giving a yearly average of 11.95 or at the rate of 30.31 per thousand of strength;  $\frac{13}{8}$  were admitted in the six summer months,  $\frac{2}{16}$  in September and October, and the remainder in the cold months. The cause of this disorder is not definitely settled, but my impres-

sion is, that the germ enters by the skin, and is mainly due to the filthiness of the people, whose legs often remain coated for days with mud. This is also no doubt a principal cause of the prevalence of skin affection, although poor food and hardship here are powerful aids. The priests are the chief physicians, although most old men are supposed to know something about medicine. Roots and leaves of trees are used in various forms. Here follows a description of a few :

*Kathár*.—A tree, when 5 feet high used in medicine; if larger, of no value. Its root is bruised and applied to swellings about the jaws.

*Paderí*.—A tree from 12 to 15 feet in height, the moistened bark of which is applied to the part bitten by the Kálgandha snake.

*Tinpattá*.—A creeper with a tripartite leaf. The root in use locally for snake bite and swellings.

*Emná*.—A tree. The root used in bruises also, with wine and lime juice. If the blood in the wound coagulates, it is said to find its way out by natural channels. The smaller trees only in use.

*Sát* or *Bará Múlá*.—In fevers accompanied with dry swollen tongue and bad smell. Used to wash out the mouth,

*Bhút Bhangrá*.—The powder of a small shrub, to incised wounds, twice a day.

*Kajerá*.—3 to 4 feet high. In purulent tiger's wounds. Apply twice a day.

*Jhamnáth*.—A broad thorny tree, 8 to 9 feet high. A piece of the root with a portion of *Kajerá* (with one knot only in it), once a day in cases of fracture. The limb must be bound. If given twice, two knots are formed in the bone.

Insanity is uncommon, perhaps unknown, as we should expect in a savage race with the mind rude and uncultivated and little to excite it. I have never seen a case of mania, and only one or two of dementia in old age. The Bhils recover well, though slowly, after surgical operations.

Dr. Mullen, in his report on the health of the Maiwár Bhil Corps for 1870, mentions that venereal affections are unknown amongst the people, and my experience agrees with his. Nothing could speak more favourably than this fact with regard to their chastity. Goitre is unknown.

**Other Races in the Tracts.**—The Bhils to the north and west touch upon the Mínás and Mhairs, and in some places dwell in villages inhabited by the former, gradually dying out as the plains of Márwár are approached. The Mínás, according to historical records, were later possessors of the plains than the Bhils. They still dwell in them, and are perhaps less pure, are more filthy in their habits and more treacherous, and have no very peculiar feature of skull as far as I can learn. They and the Mhairs still act as the Muhammadan historian says of *Ḳuṭbuddín*, "They were always shooting the arrows of deceit from the bow of refractoriness."

**Country.**—It will be only necessary here to describe the country sufficiently to illustrate my previous remarks, and to show how easily the Bhíl could preserve his individuality, and how difficult it would be for foes to dislodge him. The fact that in this very district their nominal masters, the Ránás of Udaipur, successfully resisted the Mughul Emperors and all the hosts of Hindústán, would explain the difficulty these Chiefs themselves would have in keeping the Bhíls in order. Important battles have been waged to the feet of the hills, at Chawn near the Debar Lake, at Chítor; but no host has ventured within the Tracts without loss or destruction. The Bhíls of Maiwár have their home in that portion of the state, denominated politically the Hilly Tracts, which is nominally under a native official, the Magra Hákim, who dwells on the outer face of the range leading south from the great trigonometrical station of Parshád, but practically for preservation of order under the Political Superintendent at Khairwára. The Bhíls are represented in many other districts, but they are here most distinct. The Bhíls of the Vindhya Mountains seem to differ somewhat in character from them.

The Tracts extend from Udaipur, south of Gujarát, to the west to the plain beneath Mount Ábú, to the east towards Bánswára, Nímach, and Par-tábgarh. The whole country, comprising the southern portion of the Arávali Mountains, is a wonderfully interlaced series of hills, alternating with defiles, with barely a valley, much less a plain anywhere. Streams pour down every ridge to feed the numerous rivers, branches of the Maihí, Sábarmatí, &c. None are navigable in the Tracts, being either too shallow, or having their rocky beds broken up by boulders and rapids; their courses are very tortuous, hence the roads or paths, which generally follow the channels of the streams, are continually crossing them. I will now briefly describe the main roads through the country, and first the one from Ábú to Khairwára, about 110 miles in length. After descending Mt. Ábú by the Rú-ki-Krishn Ghát, so named from a venerable shrine at the foot of the hill, a plain about five miles wide is crossed, and the district in the Arávalis known as the Bhákar, the home of Mína outlaws, is entered. This is left by a long well wooded, but most difficult pass, which laden camels can hardly cross, and Posiná on the triple border of Idar, Udaipur and the Mahí Kántá soon afterwards reached. Thence one stage to Kotrá the path traverses a plain, a few hills, and crosses many wide streams, much swollen in the rains. The scenery is here most magnificent. Kotrá, a permanent outpost of the Maiwár Bhil Corps, stands in a valley in the midst of rivers, not far from the homes of the Ogúná and Punarwa Chiefs. The next stage to Mánpur runs, for the most part, through a defile worn by a large stream, which is crossed about twelve times in as many miles; the jungle is very dense and the trees are of great size, especially a few remarkable banyans (*Ficus Bengalensis*). Some of the defiles are so deep as to be never illuminated

by the direct rays of the sun. Three or four huge dykes, like walls of masonry, parallel and close to each other, extend across the valley, and have the appearance of having been broken through by the river. In stage number two, the huge Som Ghát, with a torrent bed on one side, is traversed; from the summit a beautiful view of the wildest and roughest part of the district is obtained. The hills are covered with jangal, the bamboo, the true teak, &c., with a dense growth of underwood.

Through the third stage the path is very tortuous, the country more undulating; water is abundant, and the scenery more park-like. Bháwalwára, a Rájpút village, is now entered; and the fourth stage, a very varied one, with a pass or two of no great height, a winding road, a lake or two, numerous rivulets with rough boulders in their beds and a peculiar dyke, brings the traveller to Khairwára. This cantonment stands on the banks of a small stream in a valley, the hills adjacent are bare and rounded, the Dhák (*Butea frondosa*) flourishes everywhere, and presents a most glorious spectacle when in bloom.

The second road is the one which runs from Udaipur to Khairwára and thence to Gujarát. The whole of the track between the first mentioned places, about 60 miles long, passes through a similar but rather more open country than that on the Kotrá side. The villages of Rakaknáth and Jáwara merit a separate notice.

At the end of the second stage, Parshád, a defile leads to the plains of Chawnd and thence to the Debar Lake, the largest sheet of artificial water in India. Samblaji, or Samará, on the Gujarát side, until quite lately was only reached by an exceedingly rough road passing through what was called emphatically the 'nál'; here is a lake with a very ancient temple much resorted to by the Bhíls, especially at the time of the great winter fair. A good road, in such a district the best civilizer, is now almost completed all the way from Udaipur to Gujarát. Dúngarpur, the capital of the Ráwul of the State of that name, the chief of the Aháriá or more ancient branch of the Udaipur house, is fourteen miles from Khairwára, and is reached by a road passing through a district in which the Ber, or *Zizyphus jujuba*, flourishes in great luxuriance. I was much struck with this before reading in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, that this part of the Peninsula (Idar) probably derived its Sanskrit name from this tree.

**Geology.**—The rocks are the same as those of the main Arávali range system, and are chiefly metamorphic. Capt. Dangerfield in a map attached to a paper on the Geological formation of this district gives the order of strata as follows, beginning to the south of Khairwára. 1. Sandstone. 2. Hornstone Porphyry (noticed at Khairwára). 3. Granite. 4. Gneiss. 5. Mica clay, chlorite slates (these about Jáwara), and again Granite at Udaipur. Blue and red marls with rotten clay stones are very noticeable near Khairwára and beyond Jáwara, at which places the rocks are very hard.



The general run of the longer ridges with the magnetic meridian, the nature of the rocks, and the observation of practical gold miners would indicate the presence of gold; it has been found at Jáwara, the inhabitants of which place produce specimens of less valuable metals as the true one even now. The silver and lead mines of Jáwara are far-famed, and are, perhaps, the same with those mentioned by Pliny as existing to the east of Mons Capitalium—Ábú.—No others have been worked in this country in recent times, but local tradition points to a less remote period for the opening of these mines.

Many precious stones are presumed to exist in the hills, but no search is made for them, nor as far as I can learn have many been obtained of late.

In the Administration Report of the Ajmer Districts for 1873-4, an extract is given from a work on Ajmer,\* describing the minerals and gems of the Arávalí, which summarises all then known of the mineralogy of the range. The emerald is said to be found near Náthdwará, the shrine of an incarnation of Krishna. Iron exists, also zinc and lead, in sufficient quantities to repay working.

Galena is the principal ore, but there are some valuable coloured ones.

**Products.**—Cattle are reared in large numbers. The forests, if properly conserved, would be of great value. The teak, if left alone, would grow to a large size. Indian corn is the only grain raised in large quantities.

The flora is rich and varied; the fauna scarcely less so. Large game abounds in the hills, fish especially the 'mahser' swarm in the streams, and reptiles are well represented.

**Meteorology.**—The climate is not an unpleasant one. The average rainfall for twenty years was 26·01 inches, and the mean temperature of the year F. 78·98°. The hottest month was May, F. 93·22°. The coldest, January, F. 64·48°.

**Ethnology.**—Early in 1874, I undertook a systematic measurement of a large number of Bhíls, sipáhís in the Maiwár Bhíl Corps, with the following results:

The mean height of 128 males, with an average age of 25·89 years, (calculated as near the truth as records and appearance could make it) was 5 ft. 6·38 in. Of 129, the mean length of the upper extremity 31·56 in. (upper arm 13·81 in., lower 17·75 in.); of the lower extremity, 38·87 in., (thigh 18·71 in., leg 20·16 in.). The upper arm was measured from the head of the humerus to the inner condyle, the lower from the latter point to the tip of the middle finger; the thigh from the anterior superior spinous process of the ilium to the inner condyle of the femur, the leg from the same point to the centre of the sole of the foot resting on the ground. The average length of 79 clavicles was 6·71 in., and as this bone and the hand are usually about the same length, we may look upon the Bhíls as a small-handed race,

\* By Dr. Irving, Civil Surgeon of Ajmer.

as observation without actual measurements also points out. The mean length of 78 sterna was 6·84 in. Special measurements were made of the head and other portions of the frame.

Of the 129 men, not one reached the type or average, which may be regarded as a true one, as the means of separate twenties taken in the order of examination approaches for all measurements the means of the grand totals. This may not be deemed extraordinary when we remember that the very constitution of society requires that there should be a slight differentiation from the type. This of course is most noticeable in the expression of the countenance, but it no doubt exists throughout the body,—the type may of course be found amongst a larger number of men.

*The Head.*—The antero-posterior diameter of 129 heads was 7·21 in., the lateral 5·66 in., the depth from vertex to chin in eighty-one cases 8·05 in. The ratio of length to breadth was as 100 : 79·22, the true ratio—the means of averages of scores being almost the same. Taking the proportion of 80 to 100 as the dividing line, all above being brachy, all below dolicho-cephalic, the Bhil skull is but very slightly dolicho-cephalic, very different from the long thin walled crania of the pure Hindu. Again, as opposed to the latter, the parietal tuberosity is well marked, the occipital hardly at all. The face is orthognathic. A Bhil is generally very dark, his hair black, straight and long, his face smooth with slight moustache, rarely having beard and whiskers, eyes dark with the palpebral apertures limited in size, making the eye look small. The iris is sometimes grey, as in Gújars and other low caste Hindus. Chest, rarely hairy. Face large, wide, almost round. Forehead of fair height, rather more square than amongst Hindus; vertex of skull, flatter. In some cases, however, (almost exclusively where the men were of mixed race) the roof of the skull seemed to begin in the centre of the forehead, thus rendering the facial angle, measured in the ordinary way, appear large, and not affording a correct indication of cranial capacity. Eyelashes and eyebrows ample, bridge of nose broad and sunk, nostrils dilated very round, nose slightly retroussé, broad, clubbed at the tip, and rather more varied than the dead level organ of the Hindu, which, however well shaped, bears little indication of character.

Mouth large, lips thick, inexpressive, sensual, giving the impression that they were made merely to cover the teeth, which are large and coarse. Zygoma very large and salient. Cheeks full. Molar bones flat and prominent. Ears large and prominent, and very moveable. Jaws evenly hung, massive, lower square, large in proportion, angles square, large and widely separated.

Expression amiable, but timid. Long and strange habit, more than inherent race peculiarity, I believe to be responsible for many of the characteristics of the Bhil's head. He has been an outcast for ages, hunted by his neighbours, and so timid has he become, that even when he sees the men of his own tribe, soldiers in the Bhil Corps, passing peaceably through his district,

he flies at once to the highest hill for refuge, a prey to his own fears. The dilated large nostril, the moveable and prominent ear are very suggestive of distrust. His food is of the coarsest, the hardest Indian-corn, and to masticate this his teeth are all very large, the dentine of the very toughest and roughest description; the incisors are square, broad, fixed vertically in the gums, but are generally flat instead of sharp at the edges, bearing marks like those of the horse, approaching the molars in appearance. These teeth are also very large and strong, and to carry them of course there is the huge jaw, which necessitates large muscles, to accommodate which there must be wide and projecting zyzomatic arches, the beginning of a broad skull. It is quite possible, therefore, that the difference between the Bhíl and Hindu crania may have been produced by the long action of a different kind of food; measurement of the skull would therefore appear to give no certain proof that the races are distinct, but if the historical and philological differences are as marked, it would confirm them strongly. In the Vedas, the ancient inhabitants of India are spoken of as Dasyus or enemies; they are the goat-nosed, the noseless, the black skinned; they are taunted with eating raw flesh; and we may prove that there was some foundation for the expressions thus made use of in the case of the Bhíl, if he were what he is to-day. We have found that his nasal organ is ill-shapen, broad with large nostrils, a striking contrast with the nose of the Bráhmaṇ, the typical and perhaps only unmixed Aryan, for it has been stated that there are no Vaisyas or Kshatriyas of pure descent and few Sudras even, these having been unable to preserve their identity during the long sway of Buddhism. The Bhíls and aborigines generally, for those very reasons which prevented them from becoming a prey to the Aryan invaders (presuming them to be non-Aryan), namely their distance in the South, and their inaccessibility in the hills, were likewise enabled to resist the influence of the followers of Sákya Muni. The Bhíl is almost black, and with regard to his flesh-eating propensities hardly an abhorrer of anything, and it is considered I believe that the historical proofs of distinction are forcible enough, but the craniological and philological certainly are less so.

Amongst the men measured were some Grásiás and Mínás. These could be at once told by their pyramidal long skulls, and are supposed to be hybrids.

*Arms.*—The Bhíls are not a long-armed race, and have no great muscular strength; nor are those movements, which require facility of manipulation, easily performed.

In the Mahábhárat it is mentioned that as a penalty for fighting against the royal Krishna, the Bhíls were condemned to lose the forefinger of the right hand, that they might never again enter into conflict with the friends of the hero (whom one slew, however); hence it is said they never use the forefinger in drawing the bow; but times have changed since then. I noticed, however, in examining their hands, that few could move the fore-

finger without the second, indeed the fingers appeared useless as independent members of the hand. This may no doubt be a mere result of their savage condition, which does not necessitate fine movements. In connection with this may be mentioned their apparent inability to distinguish colours, or count numbers—due alone to their want of words, to express themselves.

*The Lower Extremities.*—The Bhíl leg is fairly developed, best amongst the women—all are good walkers.

The measurements of circumference are for the neck, upper arm, chest, thigh and knee, in one hundred and twenty-eight cases, respectively inches 11·52—8·04—30·25—15·95—12·23; the averages of pelvis and leg respectively, inches 26·91 and 11·7. It will be noticed that the broadest part of the calf is not as in the case of most Europeans as well developed as the knee. The Bhíl does not grow up to the capacity of his bones, he is not sufficiently well nourished. Both chest and pelvis are small.

The mesaticephalic skulls are said to be those of the civilizers. Judging from this the Bhíl then must be capable of improvement, and all the care bestowed upon him shows that the remark is true.

*Comparative Table of Bhíl and other Race Measurements.*

| RACE, CASTE.                 | Age.  | Height.                |       | CIRCUMFERENCE OF |            |        |                           |        |       |                           |    |       |
|------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|------------------|------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|-------|---------------------------|----|-------|
|                              |       | Ft.                    | In.   | Neck.            | Upper arm. | Chest. | Pelvis.                   | Thigh. | Knee. | Leg.                      |    |       |
| European, <sup>1</sup> ..... | 21    | 5                      | 5.63  | ..               | ..         | 34.53  | ..                        | ..     | ..    | ..                        |    |       |
| Castes below Baniá, ..       | 30    | 5<br>( <sup>2</sup> )  | 8.7   | 11.17            | 8.19       | 30.5   | 26.96<br>( <sup>2</sup> ) | 15.7   | 12.31 | 11.63<br>( <sup>2</sup> ) |    |       |
| Bhil, .....                  | 25.89 | 5                      | 6.38  | 11.52            | 8.04       | 30.25  | 26.91                     | 15.95  | 12.23 | 11.7                      |    |       |
| Tibetan Tribes.              | {     | Amdoan, .....          | ..    | 5                | 8.5        | ..     | 11.<br>Forearm            | 37.    | ..    | 21.                       | .. | 15.5  |
|                              |       | Horpa, .....           | ..    | 5                | 7.5        | ..     | 9.75                      | 33.    | ..    | 16.75                     | .. | 13.75 |
|                              |       | Gyarung, .....         | ..    | 5                | 3.         | ..     | 10.                       | 35.5   | ..    | 18.75                     | .. | 14.   |
|                              |       | Manyak, .....          | ..    | 5                | 4.         | ..     | 9.5                       | 3.7    | ..    | 19.5                      | .. | 13.5  |
| Oyísá.                       | {     | Juangs 20, .....       | 31.25 | 5                | 1.5        | 12.38  | 9.75                      | 31.75  | ..    | 17.5                      | .. | ..    |
|                              |       | Búrians 20, .....      | 30.25 | 5                | 2.4        | 11.25  | 9.13                      | 31.5   | ..    | 17.13                     | .. | ..    |
|                              |       | Uriahs, all castes 20, | 37.5  | 5                | 3.5        | 11.5   | 8.75                      | 31.    | ..    | 16.                       | .. | ..    |

<sup>1</sup> From Liharzak's tables, many thousand cases in Vienna. <sup>2</sup> 128 cases.



*Comparative Table of Bhil and other Race Measurements—(continued).*

| RACE, CASTE.        | LENGTH OF  |                     |             |             |           |         | HEAD.    |        | STERNUM  | RATIO.   | CHEST REGULATIONS FOR RECRUITING, 1875. |           |               |         |
|---------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|---------|----------|--------|----------|----------|-----------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|---------|
|                     | Upper arm. | Lower arm and hand. | Leg, upper. | Leg, lower. | Clavicle. | Length. | Breadth. | Depth. |          |          | Length to breadth of Head.              | Tribe.    | Age.          | Height. |
| European, .....     | ..         | ..                  | ..          | ..          | ..        | 7.8     | 6.63     | 9.17   | 8.39     | 85.38    | Sikhs, Patháns, &c.                     | 24 years. | 5/6 to 5/8    | 34      |
| Castes below Baniá, | 13.75      | 17.81               | 18.6        | 19.83       | 7.        | 7.35    | 5.58     | 8.33   | 7.35     | 74.84    | Do.                                     | Do.       | 5/10 upwards. | 35      |
| Bhil, <sup>1</sup>  | 13.81      | 17.75               | 18.71       | 20.16       | (2) 6.71  | 7.21    | 5.66     | 8.05   | (4) 6.84 | 79.22    | Hindústánis, Hindus, Dogras, &c.        | Do.       | 5/6 to 5/8    | 33½     |
| { Amdoan, .....     | 12.        | 19.                 | 20.         | 16.5        | ..        | 7.75    | 6.5      | 8.5    | ..       | 83.87    | Do.                                     | Do.       | 5/10 upwards. | 34½     |
| { Horpa, .....      | 12.        | 17.75               | 19.         | 17.         | ..        | 7.75    | 6.       | 8.5    | ..       | 77.42    | Lads, if growing.                       | 16 to 20  | ....          | 31½     |
| { Gyarung, ....     | 11.5       | 17.75               | 18.5        | 15.         | ..        | 8.      | 6.87     | 9.     | ..       | 85.87    | Do.                                     | 22        | ....          | 32½     |
| { Manyak, .....     | 11.25      | 17.25               | 19.         | 17.         | ..        | 8.      | 6.87     | 9.5    | ..       | 85.87    | ....                                    | ..        | ....          | ..      |
| African (Kabúf), .. | ..         | ..                  | ..          | ..          | ..        | ..      | ..       | ..     | ..       | 73.89    | ....                                    | ..        | ....          | ..      |
| Todás, .....        | ..         | ..                  | ..          | ..          | ..        | ..      | ..       | ..     | ..       | 72 to 75 | ....                                    | ..        | ....          | ..      |

<sup>(1)</sup> 128 cases. <sup>(2)</sup> 79. <sup>(3)</sup> 81. <sup>(4)</sup> 78; rest, 129.

**Language.**—A few specimens of songs of the Bhíls are appended, with some in the Míná dialect of Sirohí. In addition to illustrating the difference in disposition between the two people, they will serve as examples of their languages, the latter being evidently a rough form of Hindí, while the former, although understood (with difficulty) by a Bráhmaṇ of Jaipur, and as such classing with the coarser variants of this tongue, contains a large number of words and letters of non-Sanskritic origin.

It will be noticed that the Bhíl contains a majority of words in which the cerebrals ढ ढ, ढ ढ, ढ ढ, ढ dh, ढ ढ, with the ढ ढ and ढ dh changeable into dull r, (letters which in Sanskrit itself are probable Scythian) prevail. In some words, ल l changes to र r or ढ r, as in 'pílá' to 'pírá'; in others, च ch to ञ, as in 'chaláo' to 'saláo'—but these changes (as in the Míná 'Sirohí' to 'Hirohí', where s and h are permutable) exist in Máṛwáṛí, Gujarátí, &c. In Bhíl, as in these ruder forms of Hindí, the long vowels o, á, é (i), ú, are most used; kh and sh, kh and ch च, j and g, b and v or w, are generally permutable—h and s are also.

As far as my observation goes, the Bhíl uses most words from the language of the people next to him. His tongue, an unwritten one, varies therefore with the linguistic frontier, whether Gujarát or Máṛwár; he is able to pronounce English words with unusual clearness, a proof that in language he is singularly susceptible to outward influence, and that for him to have retained a distinct tongue, would have been impossible. Nevertheless as he converts into or adopts most readily non-Aryan forms, words, and letters, there is every reason to believe that he once had a Scythic or, at all events, a mode of speech which was not Sanskrit. It will be noted that the Míná, who is more connected with the dweller in the plains, has been linguistically more affected than the Bhíl. I append a few specimens of Bhíl and Míná names, as these no doubt change less than other words: female Bhíl names end in é long (i), the male of which would end in á and ó.

*Vocabulary, Grammar, &c.*

|              |                                                |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Man          | bhábhá, ádmí, manák. <i>Plural</i> , háí ádmí. |
| Woman        | bairí.                                         |
| Father       | átak, dájí, átá, báp, dádak. No plural.        |
| Grandfather  | dádak.                                         |
| Mother       | ái, má.                                        |
| Sister       | bahin, bahináí.                                |
| Elder sister | bái. Younger sisters are known by their names. |
| Boy          | káuró, suró, sorá. Boys, súra.                 |
| Girl         | káurí, surí, sorí.                             |
| Friend       | gothíyo, guthiyo, haithí.                      |
| Enemy        | bairí, berí.                                   |

|              |                                          |
|--------------|------------------------------------------|
| Bull         | dáhó. Cow, dáhí, gáé, go.                |
| Devil        | bhút. Female devil, churail.             |
| Horse (clay) | garno. Stone horse, túthá, paráno, síro. |
| Calf         | renṛú. Calves, renṛúá.                   |
| He-goat      | bokarro, bakro. She-goat, chhálí.        |
| Sheep        | dobí, bhehí.                             |
| Dog          | kútro, ú. Bitch, kútrí.                  |
| Cock         | kúkro. Hen, kúkri.                       |
| Cobra        | háp.                                     |
| Snake        | kót.                                     |
| Crow         | kágro.                                   |
| Squirrel     | khalí, khárol, garúrí.                   |
| Hare         | háho.                                    |
| Fish         | múthalí, másalú.                         |
| Deer, male   | dolí, haran, harún.                      |
| Head         | múd, münd, mátho, máthún.                |
| Hair         | wál, yár.                                |
| Eye          | ánkh.                                    |
| Ear          | kán.                                     |
| Tooth        | dánt.                                    |
| Hand         | háth.                                    |
| Foot         | pog, paghan. } No plural.                |
| Nails        | nakh.                                    |
| Arms         | bán.                                     |
| Knees        | gúda.                                    |
| Horns        | hingdá.                                  |
| Blood        | lúi, lúhí.                               |
| Bone         | hádká.                                   |
| Leg          | pallí, pag.                              |
| Thigh        | háthal, pagní, háthor.                   |
| Sky          | ábláo, abha.                             |
| Sun          | dáro, vasí, súraj.                       |
| Moon         | chánd, sánd, vasí.                       |
| Star         | tará.                                    |
| Water        | páno.                                    |
| Stone        | páná, páno.                              |
| Vegetable    | harno, bhájí.                            |
| River        | náíí, nadí.                              |
| Grass        | sár, chár.                               |
| Way          | wát.                                     |
| Day          | dúro.                                    |
| Night        | rátúr.                                   |

|           |                               |
|-----------|-------------------------------|
| Tree      | rúkhrrar, rúnkhro.            |
| Fire      | bádí, deutá, dewatá.          |
| Mountain  | dúngar, magro.                |
| House     | ghar.                         |
| Well      | kúra, kúó, náw.               |
| Basket    | kúndlí, húnchlo.              |
| Bread     | rota, roto.                   |
| Shoe      | khayro, juṛo.                 |
| Bed       | khátlo.                       |
| Dish      | thamro.                       |
| Grain     | dáná, náj.                    |
| Clothes   | selrú, labra, katka, chíthrá. |
| Money     | dúkrá.                        |
| Book      | wahíro, puthí.                |
| Flour     | loṭ.                          |
| Salt      | mítho, lún.                   |
| Bow       | dhúní, kamtú.                 |
| Arrow     | haríyo.                       |
| Red       | rátro.                        |
| Blue      | lilo.                         |
| Yellow    | pirá piṛo.                    |
| To hang   | galwáhi.                      |
| „ lift up | hana.                         |
| „ throw   | daṛná.                        |
| „ see     | bhalná, juwíní.               |
| „ run     | dhámo.                        |
| „ walk    | limdra, limdu.                |
| „ find    | jardhanú.                     |
| Good      | hálúí, ekját, nagd, hán.      |
| Bad       | bodá, budú, khráp.            |
| Warm      | úno.                          |
| Cold      | tharo, tar.                   |
| Great     | moto.                         |
| Small     | náplo, loṛo.                  |
| Behind    | valte.                        |
| Now       | ewán.                         |
| Near      | tharmen.                      |
| Hither    | immá.                         |
| Thither   | parme.                        |
| One       | ek.                           |
| Two       | be.                           |
| Three     | tin, taran.                   |



|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| Four        | sár.        |
| Five        | páns.       |
| Six         | sái, sí.    |
| Seven       | hát.        |
| Eight       | áth.        |
| Nine        | nán.        |
| Ten         | do.         |
| Twenty      | ví.         |
| One hundred | ho, pansví. |

*Pronouns.*

|               |                         |        |
|---------------|-------------------------|--------|
| I, mhú.       | <i>masc.</i> , úmo.     | } úmá. |
|               | We, <i>fem.</i> , úmái  |        |
| Thou, tú.     | You, tímá.              |        |
| He, ye ve.    | <i>masc.</i> , vá.      | } whí. |
| She, váí.     | They, <i>fem.</i> , vái |        |
| It, whay, vo. |                         |        |

*Comparison of Adjectives.*

|                         |                           |        |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------|
| A good man              | Háwú mának.               |        |
| A better man than that. | Waná se tajo              | } hai. |
|                         | „ ek zát                  |        |
| Best man                | Son ek zát                | } hai. |
|                         | nagd                      |        |
|                         | Ye mának bejah<br>haglah. |        |

*Verb.*

|              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| I give,      | Mhú álún.     |
| I gave,      | Mhú aldeda.   |
| I will give, | Mhú albo hún. |

No other tenses.

*Sentences.*

|                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| What are you doing ? | Túmá kúnkro ho ?    |
| Go there,            | Parme jawájú.       |
| Come here,           | Im }áo. Tumá awajú. |
| Sit down,            | Inja }              |
|                      | Behjí.              |

|                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| Are you well?      | Túma háwú ho?    |
| I am well,         | Mhú háwú húi.    |
| Are you hungry?    | Túma bhúkhjá ho? |
| To come,           | A'wún.           |
| Come,              | A'yo, áyún.      |
| I will come,       | Mhú áwe.         |
| Thou wilt come,    | Tú áwe,          |
| He will come,      | Ye awe he.       |
| She will go,       | Ve or pelí jahe. |
| They will go,      | Vai pelá jáhe.   |
| „ (women) will go, | Pelí jáhe.       |
| We „ „ „           | Ūmai jáha.       |
| To run,            | Dhám vú.         |
| Run,               | Dhámo.           |
| I will run,        | Mhú dhámhún.     |
| They will run,     | Va dhámhe.       |

*Names.*

| Bhíl Males.                                                                                     | Bhíl Males.                                                                                      | Bhíl Females.                                                                                                        | Míná Males.                                                                                                                           | Míná Females.                                                                                                                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Káná.<br>Dhanjí.<br>Khánjí.<br>Húkra.<br>Jaglá.<br>Manía.<br>Vajía.<br>Lálá.<br>Dalá.<br>Khemá. | Rúplá.<br>Khatú.<br>Bálá.<br>Pemá.<br>Umrá.<br>Púnjá.<br>Hámjí.<br>Hírjí.<br>Manjí.<br>Mandrúpá. | Kehrí.<br>Lálí.<br>Jámí.<br>Manglí.<br>Khátrí.                                                                       | Urjan.<br>Dingá.<br>Chátrá.<br>Chotú.<br>Bírmá.<br>Harjía.<br>Barmálá.<br>Málá.<br>Zálam.<br>Govindá.<br>The names of<br>gods common. | Phatí.<br>Bhúrí.<br>Deo.<br>Kaní.<br>Jánkí.<br>Rúkmá.<br>Udí.<br>Shání.<br>Lálí.<br>Jámrí.<br>Sábo.<br>Kishní.<br>Búli.<br>Pání.<br>Biblan.<br>Korí. |
| Habjí.<br>Manglíá.<br>Jewá.<br>Mogá.<br>Húklá.<br>Kánjí.<br>Bírjí.<br>Homá.                     | Daulá.<br>Sabjí.<br>Nathá.<br>Ratwá.<br>Kúrá.<br>Goklá.<br>Kúberá.<br>Kherá.                     | All these names,<br>if the í be changed<br>to á or ó, become<br>male.<br>Conversely, the<br>male become fe-<br>male. | Sálgái.<br>Rákhá.<br>Bhojá.<br>Nánjí.<br>Harlá.<br>Panjía.<br>Sheolá.                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                      |

Amongst Mehtars, Gújars, and other low castes, a few of these names, or some like them, are found, but more often the people are called after a god.

*The Song of a Bhil in which he explains to his Uncle Dolá the approach of the British, their power, and wealth, and asks whether he shall join them or not at Khairwára, their Head Quarters.*

|                                            |                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ugyañi dhartí jú tarkí áwelá, Dolá kákájí. | Oh ! Uncle Dolá, the Turks are coming from the East, Uncle Dolá.               |
| Hú amwáre tháre áwílágo, Dolá kákájí.      | They have arrived on the banks (of the Sóm river), Uncle Dolá.                 |
| Take áyáñko pařáw kare, Do.*               | And have halted there, U.*                                                     |
| Lílá píra tanbúřa tañáwe, Do.              | And pitched their variously-coloured (blue and yellow tents), U.               |
| Súná ke ríkhúťi edham káráo, Do.           | And have made their golden tent-pegs, U.                                       |
| Rúpá ke ridúre kesáwáo, Do.                | And stretched their ropes of silver, U.                                        |
| Líláje pírá tanbúřá tanwáo, Do.            | Raise the coloured tents, Uncle Dolá.                                          |
| Yadre paroře nagáráñ báge, Do.             | Their drums are beating in the drum house, U.                                  |
| Ehañ tháko pařáwe útháwe, Do.              | From this place strike their camp, U. ( <i>i. e.</i> , if you do not approve). |
| Ke fojañ wářo laskar sálo áwe, Do.         | Oh, a very great army is coming, U.                                            |
| Dhúñdhro dhúñdhhore khere lo úře, Do.      | And is raising dust like the morning fog, U.                                   |
| Uggo súrañ nílogáñ khójáe, Do.             | Which obscures the sun, U.                                                     |
| Gúře lájí kheriá úře, Do.                  | The horses are raising a cloud of dust, U.                                     |
| Gúře lájí dhúmar ramti áwe, Do.            | The horses, leaping and jumping, come, U.                                      |
| Unťarlán to gágartán áwe, Do.              | Camels grumbling come, U.                                                      |
| Háthírán to halá áwe, Do.                  | Many elephants are coming, U.                                                  |
| Áwílágo khákhri áne sere, Do.              | They have arrived at the border village, U.                                    |
| Kháñkhri áno rájánátho jáere, Do.          | Having arrived on the border, the Rájá has run away, U.                        |
| Jakhere jáhoje jákhare bhágo, Do.          | If you do not fight, you also must run away, U.                                |
| Rastere áwúje máre máreñge sálú, Do.       | They are coming and will kill you on the road, U.                              |
| Fojař lípři áni jaga bhářo, Do.            | The army has halted, go to another place, U.                                   |

\* Do. for 'Dolá kákájí'.

\* U. for 'Uncle Dolá'.

|                                              |                                                                                   |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Foṇar lí topar se ráwrán bhátrán,<br>Do.     | The army will hált on the bard's<br>ground, U.                                    |
| Ketrán thán ko paráwene kare, Do.            | They will not halt elsewhere, U.                                                  |
| Lílá píra tapbúrā tapáwe, Do.                | Putting up the coloured tents, Uncle<br>Dolá ( <i>i. e.</i> , if you approve).    |
| Soná ke rikhúṭí ekhe áwe, Do.                | Preparing the golden tent pegs, U.                                                |
| Rúpá ke rídoṛe tapáwe, Do.                   | Stretching the silver ropes, U.                                                   |
| Unṭarlán pídhání Gangá bháro, Do.            | They are bringing much Ganges wa-<br>ter on camels, U. (proving their<br>wealth). |
| Unṭarlán pídhá to píhe ráwránre-<br>tan, Do. | The bards are shouting on the camels,<br>Uncle Dolá.                              |
| Háthírán pídhání jagá bháro, Do.             | Shew a place for the elephants,<br>U. (if you do not run).                        |
| Háthírán go píhe ránránretán, Do.            | A separate place for elephants, U.                                                |
| Goṛelá pídhání jagá bháro, Do.               | A separate place for the horses, U.                                               |
| Goṛelá píhe ránránretán, Do.                 | Shew the place, o rájá, U.                                                        |
| Rawá gajelán dasṛí gáere, Do.                | Prepare for all the other animals, U.                                             |
| Gánṛí áno rájáná gejá ere, Do.               | The Rájá of Gánṛí has fled, U.                                                    |
| Rágáre náhene rání náhe, Do.                 | The rájá and rání have fled, U.                                                   |
| Rágíre náhene báníe náhe, Do.                | The queen and merchants have fled, U.                                             |
| Mathere dupalá nesorí enáhere, Do.           | Every body with his property on his<br>head has run away, U.                      |
| Báreṛe barasní khaṇní mánge, Do.             | They require a camp for twelve years,<br>U.                                       |
| Ter barasno dhúmo mángere, Do.               | They want thirteen years' tax (that<br>is in the twelve years), U.                |
| Nakhere náhone nakhere bhágo, Do.            | If you do not agree (to pay the tax),<br>run away, U.                             |
| Dhúmore bharone pásáre pharo, Do.            | If you can give the tax, return (in<br>place), U.                                 |
| Kharní bháro to pásare pharore, Do.          | The camp is fixed, then return, U.                                                |
| Kharni bharání natháre pás, Do.              | If you do not agree, do not stay,<br>U.                                           |
| Kharníre barso to pásre pharso, Do.          | If you agree to the presence of the<br>camp, then return, U.                      |
| Kharake kharake jak to áwe, Do.              | From village to village conquering<br>they come, U.                               |
| Kharak máhe to kharṇo jhagro báge,<br>Do.    | Opposing villages are forced with<br>the sword, U.                                |
| Jawás men go dolá bhúmiá báje,<br>Do.        | In Jawás lives the Ṭhákur Dolá (the<br>owner of the soil), U.                     |



|                                         |                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hūṇ to māre dolá gúwájúre, Do.          | What I have seen, I have told, U.                           |
| Kharake kharke jak to áwe, Do.          | Having beaten the villages on the road, they are coming, U. |
| Khairwárá mahe kúnre rágá báje, Do.     | Who is living in Khairwárá, U. ?                            |
| Khaṇṇo go bhágone paráw kará, Do.       | Take your sword or fly, U.                                  |
| Khairwárá mēñ aṭhako paráw ne kare, Do. | If you fly, do not stay in Khairwárá, U.                    |
| Jawás máthe bhúmí ká rájá báje, Do.     | In Jawás rules the lord* of the soil, U.                    |
| Jawás máthere dolá ṭhákori báje, Do.    | In Jawás rules Dolá Ṭhákur, U.                              |
| Khairwárá mahe jáe kare bhárore, Do.    | If you agree, go, prepare a home at Khairwárá, U.           |
| Lílá ne pírā tanbúrā taṇáwe, Do.        | Raise the coloured tents, U.                                |
| Soná ke.ríkhúṭi gharwáro, Do.           | Knock in the golden tent pegs, U.                           |
| Rúpá ke.rídore khesáyó, Do.             | Pull the silver ropes, U.                                   |
| Jawás máthe kúnre bhúmíá wájé, Do.      | In Jawás what Lord of the soil rules, U. ?                  |
| Jawás máthe dolá ṭhákori báje, Do.      | In Jawás lives Dolá Ṭhákur, U.                              |
| Kharak máthe khaṇṇo magro báje, Do.     | In the village is a hill fort, U.                           |
| Khaṇṇore bhágone paráw kanrore, Do.     | Fly to the fort and stay there, U.                          |
| Jehán thako bhúri ote báje, Do.         | In his own lands he is ruler, U.                            |
| Jehán thako paráye ne kare, Do.         | If you go there, no one can hurt you, U.                    |
| Thúri ká máregá gánegúere, Do.          | A small place is necessary for me, U.                       |
| Jehán thakí kí jágá barí lídí, Do.      | Prepare a good place in his land, U.                        |
| Khaṇṇore bhágáne paráw kí do, Do.       | Why do you flee? halt there, U.                             |
| Bhúriān to banglá lege, Do.             | The English have houses everywhere, U.                      |
| Bhúriān aprágí ne báje, Do.             | The English have left no place, U.                          |
| Bhúriān koine gere māṇrawe, Do.         | The English to this day have not taken his village, U.      |
| Ewáre nokarí maṛáwe, Do.                | Go there and become his servant, U.                         |
| Bhúriān ekí kánbále, Do.                | The English are one caste, U.                               |
| Búgal báje nokari sále, Do.             | When the bugle sounds, work begins, U.                      |

\* The Jawás Chief was pensioned with a view of obtaining his aid in recruiting amongst the Bhils.

|                                            |                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Te áge kór nokarí ne sále, Do.             | No other service is like theirs, U.                           |
| Málwá náthe kawáj karwáore, Do.            | In Malwá is also held a parade, U.<br>(The Málwá Bhíl Corps.) |
| Hawá pór din saṛí gasore, Do.              | At 10 o'clock go visit them ( <i>i. e.</i> , after parade) U. |
| Dolá káká bár bethíne gáore, Do.           | Uncle Dolá, do you stay or go?                                |
| Khalak naren núririāṇ pharangí, Do.        | The English are everywhere masters, U.                        |
| Náwre útaríne bhúriāṇ áwe, Do.             | The English come in ships, U.                                 |
| Húngo máre dolá júwáj are, Do.             | I am speaking, but you are not answering, U.                  |
| Dariá máthe náwe salávú, Do.               | The ships come on the sea, U.                                 |
| Náwe máthe gúrelá úgáro, Do.               | They put their horses in the ships, U.                        |
| Náwe máthe háthiṛ úgáro, Do.               | They put their elephants in the ships, U.                     |
| Náwe máthe phojar lí úgáro, Do.            | They put their army in the ships, U.                          |
| Havá kháwa bairíone báje, Do.              | They blow their music, do not beat, (as with drums), U.       |
| Dariá máthe náwe áiyeníre, Do.             | A ship full of arms on the sea is coming, U.                  |
| Húṇḍarí sálere bájene nawe salere, Do.     | Hindu soldiers with music also are in the ships, U.           |
| Nawe útarí ne bhúriāṇ áwere, Do.           | Having landed, the English are coming, U.                     |
| Húṇ to máre kharak gúwája ere, Do.         | I have only a sword, U.                                       |
| Dola káko ṭhákori bári baithene jáere, Do. | Uncle ṭhákur Dolá go see and think, U.                        |

*The same in Devanāgarī.*

उमयणी धरती जु तरकी आवेला दोला काकाजी  
 ऊ अमवारे ठारे आवीलागो दोला काकाजी  
 कके अ आंयांको पड़ाव करे दोला काकाजी  
 लोला पीरा तंबुड़ा तखावे दोला काकाजी  
 सुना के रोघुटो अधम काराओ दोला काकाजी  
 रूपा के रोदुरे घेसावाओ दोला काकाजी  
 लीलाजे पीरा तंबुड़ा तखावाओ दोला काकाजी  
 यदरे परोड़े नगरां वागे दोला काकाजी  
 अहां ठाको पड़ावे उठावे दोला काकाजी

के फौजां वारो लसकर सालो आवे दोला काकाजी  
 धुंधरो धुंधरोरे घेरे लो उड़े दोला काकाजी  
 उगगो सुरज नीलोगां घोजाये दोला काकाजी  
 गुड़े लाजी घेरीयां उड़े दोला काकाजी  
 गुड़े लाजी धुमर रमती आवे दोला का०  
 उंटड़लां तो गांगड़तां आवे दोला काकाजी  
 हाथीड़ां तो हला आवे दोला का०  
 आविल्लागो घाघरी आने सेरे दोला का०  
 घांघरी आनो राजानाठो जाअरे दोला का०  
 जघेरे जाहेजे जाघेरे भागो दोला काका०  
 रसतरे आवुजे मारे मारेगे सालु दोला का०  
 फोजड़ लीपड़ी आनी जगा भारो दोला का०  
 फोजड़ ली तोपड़ से रावरां भाटड़ां दोला का०  
 केचां ठां को पड़ावेने करे दोला का०  
 लीला पीरा तंबुड़ा तणावे दोला का०  
 सोना के रोपुटी अघे आवे दोला काका०  
 रूपा के रीदारे तणावे दोला का०  
 उंटड़लां पीधानी गंगा भारो दोला का०  
 उंटड़लां पीधा तो पीहे रावरारेंटां दोला का०  
 हाथीड़ां पीधानी जगा भारो दोला का०  
 हाथीड़ां तो पीहे रावरारेंटां दोला का०  
 गाड़ीला पीधानी जगा भारो दोला का०  
 गाड़ीला पीहे रांवरारेंटां दोला का०  
 रवा गजेलां दसड़ी गाअरे दोला का०  
 गानड़ी आनो राजाना गेजा अरे दोला का०  
 रागारे नाहेने रांणी नाहे दोला०  
 राणीरे नाहेने वांणीअ नाहे दोला०  
 माथेरे दुपला नेसोरी अनाहेरे दोला०  
 बारेरे बरसनी घंणी मांगे दोला का०  
 तेर बरसनो धुंमो मांगेरे दोला का०  
 नघेरे नाहेने नघेरे भागो दोला का०

धुमारे भरोखे पासारे फरो दोला का०  
 घरणी भरो तो पासरे फरोरे दोला०  
 घरणी भरानो नथारे पास दोला०  
 घरणीरे भरसे तो पासरे फरसे दोला०  
 घड़के घड़के जक तो आवे दोला०  
 घड़क माहे तो घांड़ो मगरा वागे दोला०  
 जवास मे गो दोलो भुभीआ वाजे दोला०  
 ऊं तो मारे दाला गुवाजउरे दोला०  
 घड़के घड़के जक तो आवे दोला०  
 घेरवाड़ा महे कुणरे रागा वाजे दोला०  
 घांड़ो गो भागोने पड़ाव करा दोला०  
 घेरवाड़ा में अठाको पड़ावे ने करे दोला काका०  
 जवास माथे भुमी का राजा वाजे दोला०  
 जवास माथेरे दोला ठाकोर वाजे दोला०  
 घेरवाड़ा महे जाअे करे भारोरे दोला०  
 लीलाने पीरा तंबड़ा तणावे दोला०  
 सोना के रोघटीआं घड़वारो दोला०  
 रूपा के रीदोरे घेसायो दोला०  
 जवास माथे कुणरे भुमीआ वाजे दोला०  
 जवास माथे दोलो ठाकोर वागे दोला०  
 घड़क माथे घांड़ो मगरा वागे दोला०  
 घांड़ोरे भागाने पड़ाव कणरीरे दोला०  
 जेहां थको भुरी आते वागे दोला०  
 जेह्वांथको पड़ाये ने काड़े दोला०  
 थुड़ी का मारेगा गानेगुअेरे दोला०  
 जेहींथको की जागा वरी लीदी दोला०  
 घांड़ोरे भागाने पड़ाव की दो दोला०  
 भुरीअं तो बंगला लेगे दोला०  
 भुरीअं अपरागी ने वागे दोला०  
 भुरीअं कोईने गेरे मांड़वे दोला०  
 अवारो नेकरी मड़ावे दोला का०



भुरीअं एकी कांवाले दोला०  
 वुगल वागे नेकरी साले दोला०  
 ते आंग कोर नेकरी ने साले दोला०  
 मालवा नाथे कवाज करवा ओरे दोला०  
 हवा पोर दिन सड़ी गसारे दोला०  
 दोला काका बार वेठीने गाओरे दोला०  
 धलक नरेन नुरेरीअं फरंगी दोला०  
 नावरे उतरीन भुरीअं आवे दोला०  
 ऊंगो मारे दोला जुवाज अरे दोला०  
 दरीआ माथे नावे सलावु दोला०  
 नावे माथे गुडीला उगारो दोला०  
 नावे माथे हाथीड़ उगारो दोला०  
 नावे माथे फोजड़ी उगारो दोला०  
 हवा घावा वैरीआने वाजे दोला०  
 दरीआ माथे नावे आयेरणीरे दोला०  
 हंदरी सालेरे वाजेने नावे सालेरे दोला०  
 नाव उतरी ने भुरीअं आवेरे दोला०  
 ऊं तो मारे षड़क गुवाजा अरे दोला०  
 दोला काको ठाकोर बार बैठेने जाअरे दोला०

*Song of a rich merchant Aṭúji Maṭúji on pilgrimage to the Jain shrine of Rakabnāth, near Khairwārá.*

|                                                       |                                               |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Aṭúji Maṭúji mārī ramtīre gāṇṇī awegī.                | Aṭúji Maṭúji is coming with me from Gujarāt.  |
| Alīhaṇ jīsaṇ kore khúdá wo mārī ramtīre gāṇṇī awe.    | Make a good road, he is coming with me.       |
| Mārī ramtī gāṇṇī áwe kálere kesarī ámārī ramtīre, &c. | To the Lord of Saffron, he is coming with me. |
| Aṭúji Maṭúji mārī ramtī gāṇṇī áwe.                    | Aṭúji Maṭúji is coming with me.               |
| Ágere saláwoke mārī ramtīgāṇṇī áwe.                   | Go before, he is coming &c.                   |
| Samrájī ní wáté mārī, &c.                             | In the Sámblajī (a temple) road he is.        |
| Ágere saló mārī, &c.                                  | Go before he is, &c.                          |
| Motere parūre mārī, &c.                               | At three o'clock at night, &c.                |
| Bāṇswārá mārge mārī, &c.                              | In the Bāṇswārá road, &c.                     |
| Líbojī bhímogīre mārī, &c.                            | The heads of Líboj and Bhímoj are coming, &c. |

|                                        |                                                |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Dápre súkáwo mári, &c.                 | Pay the tax and guide, &c.                     |
| Húnto va vasíne bhetwájíú mári, &c.    | I am going to worship at Rakabnáth, he is, &c. |
| Atújí Matújire mári, &c.               | Atújí Matújí is, &c.                           |
| Agere salávo mári, &c.                 | Go before, &c.                                 |
| Dápsú ká wáre mári, &c.                | Pay the guide, &c.                             |
| Vavasine bhetwágá úre mári.            | I am going to worship, &c.                     |
| Ho rúpía rúkrá álore mári.             | Give a hundred rupees in cash, &c.             |
| Khairwára já máro mári, &c.            | In the Khairwára road he is, &c.               |
| Sálire bhisábhís mári, &c.             | In the middle of the way, he, &c.              |
| Kágdar wára márge mári, &c.            | In the Kágdar road, he is, &c.                 |
| Daṇre súra vo mári, &c.                | Pay the guide, &c.                             |
| Ho rúpía rúkrá álore mári, &c.         | Give a hundred rupees, &c.                     |
| Hañ kó gári hankore mári, &c.          | Pay the cart hire, &c.                         |
| Júójí huṅgo darsan karvá gáu mári, &c. | Look I am going to worship.                    |
| Sámragí jí vate re mári, &c.           | In the Sámbhlají road, &c.                     |
| Kesriane goṛe mári, &c.                | Before the Lord of Saffron, &c., (Rakabnáth).  |
| Darsan ne kí dāp mári, &c.             | Having worshipped, &c.                         |
| Paṛáwe útáro mári, &c.                 | Shew the encamping ground, &c.                 |
| Nawe notore alo mári, &c.              | Go into the new Serai, &c., (at Khairwára).    |
| Jahán paṛaw karo mári, &c.             | Half there, &c.                                |
| Paṛawne kí do mári, &c.                | I have halted there, &c.                       |
| Vávasíne bhetṛe go mári, &c.           | We have worshipped* at Rakabnáth.              |

*The same in Devanágari.*

### अटुजी मटुजी का गीत ॥

अटुजी मटुजी मारी रमतीरे गांड़ी आवेगी  
अलीहं जीसड़ कोरे षुदा वो मारी रमतीरे गाड़ी आवे  
मारी रमति गाड़ी आवै कालेरे केसरी आमारी रमती गाड़ी आवे  
अटुजी मटुजी मारी रमती गाड़ी आवे  
आगेरे सलावेके मारी रमती गाड़ी आवे  
समराजो नी वाटे मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
आगेरे सालो मारी रमती गाड़ी आवे  
मोटेरे परुड़े मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै

\* Merchants and seths (bankers) often travel with an immense following to this great shrine.

वांसवाड़ा मारगे मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 लीबोजी भेसोगीरे मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 दाणरे सुकावो मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 हं तो वावसीने भेटवाजीउ मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 अटुजी मटुंजीरे मारी रमती गाड़ी  
 आगेरे सलावो मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 दाणसु का वारे मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 वावसीने भेटवागा उरे मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 हेा रूपीआ रुकड आलीरे मारी रमती  
 घेरवाड़ा जा मार मारी रमती गाड़ी  
 सालीरे भीसाभीस मारी रमती गाड़ी आ  
 कागदर वारा मारगे मारी रमती गाड़ी आ०  
 दाणरे सुरा वो मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 हेा रूपीआ रुकडा आलीरे मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 हांको गाड़ी हांकोरे मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 जुओजी जंगो दरसण करवा गाउ मारी रमती गा.  
 सामरागी जी वाटे रे मारी रमती गाड़ी आ०  
 केसरीआने गोड़े मारी रमती गाड़ी आ.  
 दरसण ने की दां मारी रमती गा.  
 पड़ावे उतारो मारी रमती गा.  
 नवे नोतीरे आलो मारी रमती गा.  
 जेहीं पड़ाव करो मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 पड़ावेने की दो मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै  
 वावसीने भेटोरे गओ मारी रमती गाड़ी आवै १

*The Song of a Mína woman to her Lover.*

|                                                              |                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hálene Abúre jáiyán Mánsi.                                   | Go, O man, to Abú.                                                         |
| Abúre nasarti rá mára pagrá dhújan lágá.                     | Going up Abú, my limbs tremble.                                            |
| Hálene Naki náwa jáyien dorá káng-si bhúlaayí jire dostdárí. | In bathing in the Naki Lake,* I forgot my hair ribbon and comb, oh friend! |

\* The Naki Lake is on Mount Abú.

|                                                            |                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Dorá ne kangsiyájire bhúl áyi dosdárán.                    | I have forgotten my ribbon and comb, my friend. |
| Tháre ne mári jorí Parmeswar púri dedí are jire dostdárán. | Oh friend, God has made us a perfect pair.      |
| Hálene sáoní para jáien are jire dostdárán.                | We will go to a far-off place, oh friend.       |
| Mahanriyáne máti ne Korhathá ne mánásiyá.                  | Oh man, let us leave my vile husband.           |
| Hálene pardesi jáien hálene mánásiya.                      | Come, go to another land, come, oh man.         |
| Parne ne bis de pare máre ne re mánásiya.                  | Give my husband poison, oh man, and come away.  |
| Hálene pardesí jáien re mánásiya hálene pardesí jáien.     | Come to a distant land, come oh man.            |

*Song of Ketúri Mínd to her lover's brother Senú.*

|                                                        |                                                                                         |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Húbí ne játe thíre Senúrá háth ko miliyáne.            | Oh Senú, I was going for thatching grass, but did not meet him.                         |
| Tímá wálá Kangáro láre ne lágore tanko Tíná wálá.      | Tímá's son, Kangáro, the strong son of Tímá did not go.                                 |
| Mahá lawírā dheḍha Míná main korhe tíne.               | The Máhálánvírā Míná, (her husband,) is a skinner (very low), I will not stay with him. |
| Tímá wálá kangáráre pará jáien re tanko tímáwálá.      | Oh! Tímá's son, Kangáro, the strong son of Tímá, take me to another land with you.      |
| Honá rán már dariyán re Senúrá kadí ko pariyáne.       | I did not wear golden armlets in his house. Oh! Senúra (he was poor).                   |
| Dhírí tobá Khetúrí honárrán lánúre tanka tímá wálá.    | Have patience, Khetúrí, the strong son of Tímá will bring you gold bracelets.           |
| Máragíone páre re Senúrá Mondará rú pare.              | Oh! Senú, rob in the road, in the road of Mondará.                                      |
| Khetúrí Randíre mándariyán lāwere tanká Tímá wálá.     | Oh! woman Khetúrí, the strong son of Tímá will bring you armlets.                       |
| Míná rá jagerá kangará hadái hadái líno.               | Kangáro always fights with other Míná's.                                                |
| Rájpútará jagra kangará hamkái ledāre tanká Tímá wálá. | This time, Kangáro, Tímá's strong son, must fight the Rájpút.                           |
| Nánáure Beráre Kangará wár pare ne áye.                | The people of Nánán and Berá are after Kangáro.                                         |
| Bhágone bhágore Senú bhái Káíya-ne tere.               | Why do you flee, brother Senú?                                                          |



|                                                                 |                                                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nánáure berá re wár par áye re tan-<br>ká Tímá wálá.            | The men of Nánán and Berá are on<br>the road, strong son of Tímá.                       |
| Pelíne golí Senúrá tárá bháire pare<br>lágí.                    | The first shot has grazed your bro-<br>ther's foot, oh Senú!                            |
| Bhá kri ɾa gadí menkángará godí<br>paréwale ne.                 | At the foot of Bhákrí hill, Kangáro<br>has bent his knee.                               |
| Nánán re berá re Senú bhái Rájput<br>pare háro.                 | The men of Nánán and Berá, brother<br>Senú! Slay the Rájputs.                           |
| Tirná Kánúto Senú bhái háth men<br>ne rá lene.                  | Oh, brother Senú, take bow and arrow<br>in hand.                                        |
| War ne wále Senú bhái ekhí ne jíúta<br>choro ne.                | Do not leave a man living in the<br>road, brother Senú.                                 |
| Rájputáre márene to kángára garhe<br>párún mariyo.              | Having killed the Rájputs, return<br>home, Kangáro.                                     |
| Rájputáro jagro Senú bhái jíta na-<br>áyere tanka, Tímá wálá.   | Oh, Senú brother, having conquered<br>the Rájputs, come with the strong<br>son of Tímá. |
| Mándaríyá káná Keturí itirá Ráj-<br>pútára re tanká, Tímá wálá. | For Keturí's bracelets, the strong son<br>of Tímá has slain many Rájputs.               |

*Song of Mánká Míná, a Sirohí rebel.*

|                                                   |                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Parbatí ne sonará lere, Mánká Míná.               | In the early morning, take the omen,<br>Mánká Míná.                             |
| Daurá háth ne mátá bolíre, Mánká,<br>Hanotrá.     | On the right hand speaks the shámá<br>bird, Mánká Míná, Hanotrá (his<br>tribe). |
| Mátá Bhavání belíre aiyí re jo.                   | Mother Bhavání* is pleased with you.                                            |
| Jáwálí rú dárú ro rúláo re, Motíy-<br>ará.        | Go to Jáwálí, men, and bring wine.                                              |
| Párdi wetán láwere bárk rárán láore,<br>Motíyará. | Bring, men, a goat from Párdí.                                                  |
| Mátá ne bákrá márone, Motíyará.                   | Oh men, sacrifice a goat to Mátá.                                               |
| Táre mátá ne belí aiyíre, Mánká<br>Míná.          | Your mother approves, Mánká Míná.                                               |
| Hálore káldáre kí bhaiyán re láo,<br>Motíyará.    | From Káldáre, bring a buffalo, men.                                             |
| Káldará rán Rájput ganna tánkore,<br>Mánká Míná.  | The Rájputs, Mánká Míná, are very<br>strong.                                    |
| Káldárerá Rájputáne ko bitenere,<br>Motíyará.     | Do not, men, fear the Káldáre Ráj-<br>puts.                                     |

\* The goddess Devi.

|                                                       |                                                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Káldárená Bháiyán re leore, Mánká Míná.               | We have brought the Káldár buffaloes, Mánká Míná.                      |
| Káldáre Báháar aiyere, Mánká Míná.                    | The Káldáre men have come out, Mánká Míná.                             |
| Bhágáne bhágá kaiyán, Motiyára.                       | Do not run away, men.                                                  |
| Bhágáne bhágor ghano algore, Motiyára.                | Do not run, Bhágor mountain is very far away, men.                     |
| Ab tír ne kámto taiyar para karo-ne re, Motiyára.     | Prepare your bows and stretch them, men (towards the foe).             |
| Ab katári kád múnk men ne leore, Motiyára.            | Take your daggers in your mouths, men.                                 |
| Galíyára pútí ghorán kaiyáanne díní, Múkandjí Rájpút. | Múkandjí Rájpút, why do you go after the cowherds and not after (men). |
| Mánká Míná, medan men úbá hai, Múkanjí Rájpút.        | Mánká Míná is standing in the plain.                                   |
| Ek ne gwáliyáro paro múá re, Mánká Míná.              | One cowherd is fallen, Mánká Míná.                                     |
| Múkanjí ne paro máre nere, Mánká Míná.                | Mánká Míná, kill Múkanjí.                                              |
| Háre ne Rájpút pare márore, Mánká Míná.               | Kill all the Rájpúts, Mánká Míná.                                      |
| Dhartí men amár nám rákhdíyáre, Mánká Míná,           | Your name will remain immortal in the earth, Mánká Míná,               |
| Nirá thaká jáwálpúrá ne márore, Mánká Míná.           | If you rob Jáwálpúrá in the midst of the road, Mánká Míná.             |
| Jamí men amár nám rakh díyáre, Mánká Míná.            | In the land, your name will be immortal, Mánká Míná.                   |
| Tárine máta bhalo jal mo, Mánká Míná.                 | Your mother has made you great, Mánká Míná.                            |
| Ek húhú gwáliyáne baiyán parededere, Mánká Míná.      | Give a hundred buffaloes to each of our cowherds, Mánká Míná.          |
| Jálore náthone ho bhoíyon dere, Mánká Míná.           | Give a hundred buffaloes to the Jálor* ascetics, Mánká Míná.           |
| Ráj ne darbár men nám terá raiyáre, Mánká Míná.       | In the royal darbár, your name is known, Mánká Míná.                   |
| Dhartí men amár nám rákhiyone, Mánká Míná.            | In the earth, your name is immortal, Mánká Míná.                       |

\* Jálor. A celebrated fort and town in Southern Márwár, held by the Nátha, or split-ear ascetics.

*Note.*

The following Extract from the Political Report of the Superintendent of the Hilly Tracts of Maiwár may be of interest in connection with my remarks on the religion of the Bhíls.

"A reformer, Súrjī, a Bhíl Guru, has for some years past been at work among his countrymen on the Maiwár-Gujarát frontier. He preaches worship of one God, peace and goodwill. His followers take an oath to abstain from all crimes and offences, spirituous liquor, and from causing death to any living thing. They bind themselves to live by the produce of the soil, and to bathe before eating. Súrjī has now a following of upwards of one thousand "bhagats", or believers, and three disciples, Gurus, ordained by himself to preach and convert.

"I saw and conversed with him in February last when I was travelling in the district. He asked for protection to his followers in Dúngarpur territory, where the other Bhíls, he said, annoyed them by calling them "Musalmán" (with them meaning 'infidel'). His influence in securing followers has spread as far as Khairwára and Kotrah.

"I talked with a number of his converts, and they said that they had prospered since they had been guided by the Guru to do as they had sworn. They certainly looked in every way superior to their unreclaimed brethren."

With reference to the above, Mr. Lyall, the Agent for the Governor-General, observes that "All over India, the appearance of teachers of this cast of mind among the non-Aryan tribes may be noticed." The 'Pioneer' of December 29th, also quotes the 'Evangelical Review', which describes the rapid progress of conversion to Hinduism among the Mhairs, due mainly to the presence of high caste Hindus from the North West Provinces amongst them (in the Mhairwára Regiment) as drill instructors. A similar movement was also noted in the Deolí Irregular Force.

These facts are very interesting in connection with the remarks made in my paper, and show the universal desire of the wilder tribes to rise in the social scale. Rájpútáná is a great centre of religious revivalism and change. The Rámsnehís, having their head quarters at Bhílwará and Sháhpúr in Maiwár; the Dádú Panthís at Narána near Sámbar; and other sects, seem to hold views similar to those of Súrjī, the Bhíl.

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*Popular Songs of the Hamírpur District in Bundelkhand, N. W. P.—By*  
VINCENT A. SMITH, B. A., B. C. S.

In the belief that any contribution which serves to add to our knowledge of the languages and customs of India, will be welcome to the Society, I now submit a sample of the popular songs of the Hamírpur District in the local dialect. Nowhere can the real popular language be better studied than in the songs which are constantly in the mouths of the people, and these compositions further illustrate vividly the domestic customs and manners of the masses.

Should the specimen now submitted prove acceptable, I propose to continue the series from time to time. I have already collected a large number of songs of various kinds, but at present I have not leisure to work up my materials. So far as I am aware, none of these songs has ever before been reduced to writing. They have now been taken down by my paṇḍit, who is a native of this district, from the lips of persons who learned them by tradition. The paṇḍit was instructed to record accurately, without alteration or correction of any kind, the sounds which he heard, and I believe that my instructions have been carried out. At some future time, I hope to analyze the dialectic peculiarities of the songs which I am now collecting. In order to render the following set of ditties intelligible, I prefix an abstract of the

*Legend of Hardaul.*

Hardaul, a son of the famous Bir Singh Deo Bundelá of Orchhá, was born at Datíyá.\* His brother Jhājhár Singh suspected him of undue intimacy with his wife, and at a feast poisoned him with all his followers. After this tragedy, it happened that the daughter of Kunjávatí, the sister of Jhājhár and Hardaul, was about to be married. Kunjávatí accordingly sent an invitation to Jhājhár Singh, requesting him to attend the wedding. He refused and mockingly replied that she had better invite her favourite brother Hardaul. Thereupon she went in despair to his tomb and lamented aloud. Hardaul from below answered her cries, and said that he would come to the wedding and make all arrangements. The ghost kept his promise and arranged the nuptials as befitted the honour of his house. Subsequently, he visited at night the bedside of Akbar, and besought the emperor to command *chabútras* to be erected and honour paid to him in every village throughout the empire, promising that if he were duly honoured, a wedding should never be marred by storm or rain, and that no one who

\* Bir Singh Deo died in 1627 A. D. For some account of him, see *Gazetteer*, N. W. P., Vol. I, article Orchha; *Áin* translation, I, pp. XXV, 488.



first presented a share of his meal to Hardaul should ever want for food. Akbar complied with these requests, and since that time Hardaul's ghost has been worshipped in every village. He is chiefly honoured at weddings and in Baisákh, during which month the women, especially those of the lower castes, visit his *chabútra* and eat there. His *chabútra* is always built outside the village. On the day\* but one before the arrival of a wedding procession, the women of the family worship the gods and Hardaul, and invite them to the wedding. If any signs of a storm appear, Hardaul is propitiated with songs.

I am told that it is a common saying that cholera has only been known since the introduction of Hardaul worship.

#### SONGS IN HONOUR OF HARDAUL.

### हरदौल का गीत ।

#### I.

- १ दतिया के लला हरदौल तुम्हारी कजा जगत जाहिर भई  
कहना से दल उमहे कहना परो है मिलान दतिया से दल  
उमहे एरक्क परो है मिलान एरक्क को क्या मेलनो लाला खर  
पानी को टूट ।  
लौटके मैलौ टकटकौ लाला चरै वकड़े दूब ।  
लाला निकरे देश का देत भनेजन भात बुन्देला देशा के रैया  
राव के तुम्हारी ।  
दखिन वजी तरवार । १ ।

#### II.

- २ जलमत खाये गोतिया हेटे खाये माई बाप ।  
चन्दन रूख कटायकै राजा माई के ।  
दाग दिवाव ।  
माई बाप काह्ल के सदा न जीवै भैया दाहिनी बांह ।  
अंसुवन भीजे चूनरी रोय करे कुइलान विष दार मा विष भात  
म। विष की बनाई रसखीर ।  
गाँव न २ चौतरा लाला देशन २ नाम बुन्देला देशा के रैया राव  
के तुम्हारा जय राखै भगवान । २ ।

\* This day is known by the name of *tel*.

## III.

- ३ पाँच बताशा नौबोरा लाला यही ठाकुर का भोग ।  
 काँधले घौरा काँधले मोरी बहिनी ।  
 विस्वरत जाय ।  
 आँधो पानी जिन करौ लाला जिन ।  
 बरसावो मेह ।  
 बुन्देला देशा के रैया राव के लाला ।  
 भौजी के परम अधार । ३ ।

## IV.

- ४ अपना बैठे राह मा लाला औरन को पक़्ताय ।  
 माटी को यो ठेकरा लाला धरो आदमी नाम ।  
 बुन्देला देशा के रैया राव के तुम्हारी ।  
 दखिन बजी दरवार । ४ ।

*Translation.*

## I.

Hardaul, the darling of Datiyá,<sup>2</sup> your fame is brilliant in the world.  
 Whence comes the host<sup>3</sup> exultingly, where has the halt been made ?  
 From Datiyá comes the exulting host, at Erichh has the halt been made.

At Erichh why did you halt, dear boy, where fodder and water fail ?  
 Turn back and halt at Takṭakan, dear boy, where your cattle may graze on dúb<sup>4</sup> grass.

Our<sup>5</sup> darling comes out on a long journey, to offer his sister's daughter boiled rice.

You are a Bundelá chief of chiefs, in the south your sword has been busy.

## II.

At<sup>6</sup> the time of your birth, your clansmen, your father, and mother perished.

O King ! have sandal wood cut and fire put to your mother's pyre.

No man's father and mother live for ever ;<sup>7</sup> a brother is as a right arm.

With tears of unrestrained weeping the garment<sup>8</sup> was wet through :  
 poison<sup>9</sup> in the pulse, poison in the boiled rice, of poison was the rice-milk made.

In every village, darling, is your *chabútra*, in every region your name is known.

You are a Bundelá chief of chiefs, God grant you victory!

### III.

Five<sup>10</sup> sweetmeats, and nine balls of betel and *pán*, darling, these form the repast of the god.

'Take,<sup>11</sup> take your load on your shoulders, white bullock; my sister will be thinking of me.'

Darling, don't send storm or shower, don't send rain. You are a Bundelá chief of chiefs, the best support of your brother's wife.

### IV.

Darling, you sit by the roadside yourself, and take thought for others.<sup>12</sup>

To<sup>13</sup> an earthen potsherd, darling, is given the name of man. You are a Bundelá chief of chiefs, in the south your sword has been busy.

### Notes.

<sup>1</sup> These songs are sung by women, the specimens now given were obtained by my Pandit from *pardah-nishin* women.

<sup>2</sup> Datiyá, now a small separate state in Bundelkhand, was formerly included in Orchha; *vide* N. W. P. Gazetteer, *sub voce*.

<sup>3</sup> The verb *umhná* conveys the idea of abundance, or exuberance, and of joy or exultation. The allusion here is to the troop of attendants whom Hardaul's ghost led to the wedding.

<sup>4</sup> A fine kind of grass (*Cynodon dactylon*).

<sup>5</sup> It is the duty of the brother of the bride's mother (*mámú*) to make this offering to the bride on the first day of the wedding ceremonies.

<sup>6</sup> Hardaul's relatives died when he was born.

<sup>7</sup> Hardaul performed a great service to his sister by doing the honours of her daughter's wedding.

<sup>8</sup> A spotted garment (*chúnri*), worn by women.

<sup>9</sup> Alludes to the mode of Hardaul's death.

<sup>10</sup> *Batásá* is a special variety of sweetmeat. All the principal kinds are enumerated in a *halwái's* song.

Ten *birás* make a *gilauri*, and 100 *birás* make a *dolí*. The meaning of the verse is that Hardaul should make the usual offering to the gods before starting.

<sup>11</sup> Hardaul has now started, and admonishes the refractory bullock which carries the wedding gifts.

<sup>12</sup> *i. e.*, your sister.

<sup>13</sup> *i. e.*, Man is but dust, and like Hardaul all must die.



# I N D E X

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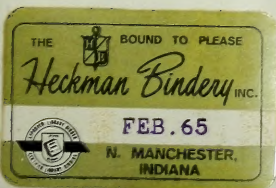






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